THE

LIFE

OF

Sir *JOHN LEAKE*, Knt.

ADMIRAL of the FLEET, &c.

By *STEPHEN MARTIN-LEAKE*, Esq;
Clarenceux King of Arms.



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MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM



PREFACE.

MY Principal Motive for undertaking the following Work, was to have a true and particular Account of Sir *John Leake*'s Naval Tranſactions: To clear up ſome, which have been miſrepreſented, and to relate others, which have not been mentioned by our Hiſtorians and Naval Writers. As it was chiefly intended for private Information, I had no Deſign to print it; till recollecting the Copy was liable to many Accidents, which, at once, might render all I had done of no Effect, I reſolved to ſend it to the Preſs, and accordingly have printed a few [a] Copies, for the Uſe of my Family and Friends: Thus much might therefore ſuffice by Way of Preface; but, as whatever is printed, is in ſome Meaſure publiſhed, and conſequently will fall into other Hands than thoſe for whom it was intended, it may be proper I ſhould ſay ſomething more in Relation to the Work.

[a] Fifty Copies only.

The Subject, is the Life of an *Engliſh* Admiral; a Subject, indeed, not altogether ſo entertaining as ſome others, but as intereſting as any, no Actions being more for the Honour and Intereſt of our Country than naval Atchievements: Such, therefore, deſerve to be recorded; not only to perpetuate the Memory of them, but as Examples for Imitation; the Hiſtories of brave and virtuous Actions raiſing an Emulation in others to do the like. Mr. *Boyer*, in his Hiſtory of the Life and Reign of Queen *Anne*, remarks, *That Providence was ever conſpicuous in Sir* John Leake's *Expeditions*; and he is uſually mentioned under the diſtinguiſhing Epithet of *The Brave and Fortunate*; to which, if we add his Fidelity, Diſintereſtedneſs and publick Spirit, this Age cannot give a brighter Example for Imitation.

As to the Work itſelf, it is a Narration of Facts, upon the inconteſtable Evidence of original Papers and other authentick Proofs. If I may ſeem to bear a little hard ſometimes upon particular Perſons, it is no more than Truth required, and much leſs than I could have ſaid, had I been diſpoſed to cenſure the Actions of others: To avoid this, I have omitted the Parallel of Sir *John* with the Admirals his Contemporaries, which would have appeared greatly to his Advantage, my Deſign being only to do Juſtice to him, and diſcharge my Obligation.

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THE

EUROPE.

By

H. Moll Geographer.

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THE LIFE OF Sir *JOHN LEAKE*, Knt. ADMIRAL of the FLEET, &c.

BOOK. I.

CHAP. I.

His Birth, and Tranſactions before he was made a Captain, with a brief Account of the Life and Actions of his Father, Captain Richard Leake.

SIR *John Leake* was Son of Captain *Richard Leake*, Maſter-Gunner of *England*, and Grandſon of Mr. *Richard Leake*, deſcended from the *Leakes* of *Derbyſhire*.

Mr. *Leake* the Grandfather, being bred to the Sea, took up his Reſidence at *Harwich*, in the County of *Eſſex*, where his Son *Richard*, the Father of Sir *John*, was born in the Year 1629. He is ſaid to have been firſt in the King's Service; however that be, he went into the Service of the Parliament, upon the breaking out of the Civil War, and had a Commiſſion in their Fleet, under the Command of the Earl of *Warwick*, by which Means his Son was neceſſarily engaged in the ſame Cauſe; but

as he heartily deteſted it, he took the firſt Opportunity to deſert it: He engaged ſome of the Seamen in the ſame Deſign, and, in the Night, they went away with the Boat. As his Father ſuſpected his Deſign, he watched him ſo cloſely, that he was diſcovered almoſt as ſoon as he put off from the Ship, and ſeveral Shot were fired at the Boat, to ſtop or ſink it; but they got ſafely on Shoar, and Mr. *Leake* had the good Fortune to eſcape his Father's Reſentment, who would not have ſpared him had he taken him, being very zealous in the Cauſe he had eſpouſed, and in which he died ſoon after.

After this Eſcape, Mr. *Richard Leake* went a Voluntier in the King's Service; but his Majeſty's Affairs proving very unfortunate, more eſpecially by Sea, he retired to *Holland*, and entered into the Service of the *Dutch* Artillery, where he improved himſelf in the Art of Gunnery and Engineering, to which he had a particular Genius.

As ſoon as it might be done with Safety, he returned to *England*, and, entering into the Merchant Service, had the Command of a Ship ſeveral Voyages up the *Mediterranean*; and during this Time, his two elder Sons *Henry* and *John* were born.

Upon the Reſtoration, he quitted the Merchant Service, and was made Gunner of a Man of War, a Poſt though now eſteemed but mean, at that Time of good Account: The Sailing and the Fighting were then two diſtinct Affairs: The Maſter and his Mates were to navigate the Ship, and the Commiſſion Officers and Gunner to fight the Ship; and as the Management of the great Guns is the principal Part of a Sea Engagement, the Succeſs was thought to depend very much upon the Skill and Conduct of the Gunner; for this Reaſon, in caſe of the Death of the Commiſſion Officers and Maſter, the Gunner had the Command of the Ship; and by theſe neceſſary Qualifications, and the Nature of his Office, a Gunner was eſteemed a genteel Employment: And the *Maſter-Gunners* (for ſo they were always ſtiled in their Warrants) eſpecially thoſe of great Ships, wore their Swords on Shoar, kept Company with the Commiſſion Officers, and were much reſpected by all. A Writer [a] ſpeaking of the Oeconomy of the Navy obſerves, That Gunners were better obeyed in thoſe Days than Lieutenants were in his, and had as much Command over the Seamen; and indeed, ſays he, they deſerved it, for they were fit to command, and very often did it with great Reputation; and inſtances ſome particular Actions of Mr. *Leake* (which follow) as a Proof of the Qualifications of Gunners at that Time.

[a] A Pamphlet, Entituled, *The old and true Way of manning the Fleet*; or, *How to retrieve the Glory of the* Engliſh *Arms by Sea*. Quarto, London, 1707.

The

The firſt Ship of which Mr. *Leake* was appointed Maſter-Gunner, was the *Princeſs* of 50 Guns, in which he continued till *May* 3, 1669; during this Time, which included the firſt *Dutch* War, he was in many Engagements, and always diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his Skill and Bravery. "It was in this "War, that the *Princeſs* [a] meeting with fifteen Sail of *Rot-*"*terdam* Men of War, fought with the Rear-Admiral of 64 "Guns, and five others of 48 and 50 Guns each, and pre-"ſently after with the Admiral of 70 Guns, and two of her "Seconds, forcing the Enemy to lie by the Lee; and the "Captain, Lieutenants, and Maſter, being all killed during "the Battle, the extraordinary Defence of this Ship was en-"tirely owing to the Bravery and Conduct of the Gunner.

"Likewiſe in another Engagement [a], in the ſame Ship, in "the Year 1667, in the *Baltick* Sea, he gained no leſs Ho-"nour to himſelf; for engaging two *Daniſh* Men of War, "after four Hours Fight, his Captain being killed, the Lieu-"tenant deſperately wounded, and the Maſter ſlain, he took "the Command, and plied the *Danes* ſo warmly, that they "were both glad to ſheer off, with the Loſs of Abundance of "their Men; however, they anchored about a Mile from him "all Night, repairing their Damage, as Mr. *Leake* did likewiſe "on his Part, expecting to renew the Fight next Day; but "either they were not able, or durſt not do it; for, in the "Morning, though they were to Windward, inſtead of bear-"ing down upon him, they kept faſt at Anchor; whereupon "Mr. *Leake* having ſaluted each of them with a Shot of Defi-"ance, bore away for *England:* He expected to be made "Captain of her, as he well deſerved; but was diſappointed, "another Perſon being made Captain before he came home: "But, upon his Arrival, his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York*, "then Lord High Admiral, was pleaſed to ſign the following "Warrant in his Favour."

[a] *The old and true Way of manning the Fleet*, &c. Fol. 15. Where this and the following Action are related of Mr. *Leake*. Theſe two Actions are likewiſe mentioned in *Columna Roſtrata*, but ſaid to be done by the *Elizabeth*, Captain *Dawes*, which is a Miſtake; becauſe at the Time of both theſe Engagements, Captain *Dawes* commanded the *Princeſs*, and Mr. *Leake* was Gunner, as appears by the Pay-Books of that Ship in the *Navy-Office:* Beſides, in the latter Engagement ſhe is called a Frigate, whereas the *Elizabeth* was a Ship of 70 Guns; the *Princeſs* indeed might be called a Frigate, her Compliment of Men, at that Time, being but 220, though ſhe mounted 46 or 50 Guns.

JAMES *Duke of* York *and* Albany, *Earl of* Ulſter, *Lord High Admiral of* England *and* Ireland, *&c.*

WHEREAS I am informed, that Richard Leake, *Maſter-Gunner of his Majeſty's Ship the* Princeſs, *did, in a late Engagement with two* Daniſh *Men of War, wherein all his ſuperior Officers were ſlain and wounded, behave himſelf with very commendable Courage and Valour, as well in fighting the Enemy, as preſerving the ſaid Ship: Theſe are therefore to will and require you, forthwith, to cauſe a Bill to be made forth, for the Sum of thirty Pounds, to be paid as his Majeſty's Free-gift, to the ſaid* Richard Leake, *for his good Service, until Opportunity offer for his further Preferment. Given under my Hand at* St. James's, June 8, 1667.

JAMES.

To the Principal Officers and Commiſſioners of His Majeſty's Navy.

Likewiſe by Warrant from the Commiſſioners executing the Office of his Majeſty's Ordnance, bearing Date the 13th Day of *Auguſt*, 1667, he was appointed one of his Majeſty's Gunners within the Tower of *London*, in Conſideration (as the Warrant expreſſes it) "of his good and faithful Service to his "Majeſty during the War, with the *French*, *Danes* and *Dutch*, "both by Sea and Land;" by which it appears he had ſerved in the Army as well as the Navy, though the Particulars of his Land Services have not come to our Knowledge.

Notwithſtanding Mr. *Leake*'s Merits and Qualifications, and the Duke of *York*'s Favour and Recommendation for Preferment, he continued Gunner of the *Princeſs* till *May* 1669, and about that Time was promoted to be Gunner of the *Royal Prince*, a firſt Rate Ship, wherein he had the good Fortune to diſtinguiſh himſelf in a moſt extraordinary Manner; of which Action, as one of the moſt remarkable of the Kind that ever happened, Sir *Jacob Acworth*, the preſent Surveyor of the Navy, has a Painting, taken from a Drawing of Mr. *John Leake*'s, (afterwards Sir *John*) in the Poſſeſſion of *Samuel Percival*, Secretary of the Navy. The Engagement that gave Birth to this Action, was the laſt great Sea Fight between the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, *Auguſt* 10, 1673. The brave Sir *Edward Spragg* hoiſted his Flag that Day on board the *Royal Prince*. He is ſaid to have promiſed the King to bring him the *Dutch* Admiral, *Van Trump*, alive or dead, or periſh in the Attempt; accordingly he ſingled him out, and engaged him deſperately for three Hours: The Ships were not able to ſtand the Shock: *Van Trump* was firſt obliged to leave his Ship, and go on board another; and ſoon after *Spragg* was forced to do the like, and afterwards

terwards to remove to a third, in doing which he was unfortunately drowned. "In the mean Time, the *Royal Prince*[a] "having all her Masts shot away, near 400 of her Men "killed and disabled, and most of her upper Tier of Guns "dismounted; as she lay thus like a Wreck, for some Time, "a great *Dutch* Man of War came down upon her, with "two Fireships, either to burn or carry her off, and the Cap- "tain-Lieutenant Mr. *Rooke* (afterwards Sir *George Rooke*) "thinking it impossible to defend her, ordered the Men to "save their Lives, and the Colours to be struck. Mr. *Leake* "hearing this forbad it, ordered the Captain-Lieutenant off "the Quarter-Deck, and took the Command upon himself." The *Royal Prince*, says he, shall never be given up to the Enemy, whilst I am alive to defend her: He had two Sons then on board, *Henry* his eldest, who was one of his Mates, and *John* (afterwards Sir *John*) his second Son, who was a Midshipman, and withal a good Gunner: He called them both to him, told them his Resolution, and that if they followed his Example, he did not doubt of Success: The undaunted Spirit of the Gunner inspired the whole Ship's Company with Resolution: The same Men who just before thought only of providing for their Safety by Flight, returned with Alacrity to the Fight, and under the Direction of their valiant Gunner and his two Sons, sunk both the Fireships, and obliged the Man of War to sheer off. Thus after a long and desperate Defence, half burnt, and reduced almost to a Wreck, they saved the *Royal Prince*, and brought her afterwards to *Chatham*, to the Admiration of all that saw her: But this good Fortune of Mr. *Leake* was much allayed by the Death of his eldest Son *Henry*, who, imitating his Father's Virtue, fell a Sacrifice to his Glory, being slain in the Battle very near him.

The *Royal Prince* being rendered altogether unserviceable by the late Engagement, Mr. *Leake* had a Warrant to be Gunner of the *Neptune*, a Second Rate Ship at *Chatham*, and not long after was promoted to the Command of a Yacht, and Master-Gunner of *Whitehall*; and lastly, by Patent dated *May* 21, 1677, had a Grant, for Life, of the Office of Master-Gunner of *England*, being likewise appointed Store-keeper of his Majesty's Ordnance and Stores of War at *Woolwich*: Accordingly he removed from *Whitehall* to the Warren-house at *Woolwich*, where he lived, and, as the Writer before-mentioned[b] observes, discharged his Office with great Reputation till the Day of his Death. Both these Preferments were the more extraordinary, because they were in the Disposal of the Master-General of the

[a] See the Pamphlet before-mentioned, where this Action is likewise related.

[b] Ibid.

Ordnance, and always given to Engineers bred in the Army, whereas Mr. *Leake* was properly a Seaman, and therefore his extraordinary Qualifications only, could have procured, or even juſtified this Preference to him, in Injury, no Doubt, to other Engineers, who had more regular Pretenſions to it: And for the ſame Reaſon he attended the Lord *Dartmouth* to *Tangier*, in the Year 1683, to demoliſh the Fortifications of that Town.

Being now in the Station of Maſter-Gunner of *England*, he had full Scope for his Genius; his Invention was perpetually at Work, and he had, indeed, a ſurpriſing one in all Manner of fiery Productions, ſo as to excel all the Engineers of his Time. He had frequent Trials of his Skill with *French* and *Dutch* Gunners and Engineers, in the Warren at *Woolwich*, at which King *Charles* and the Duke of *York* were often preſent; and he never failed to baffle all his Competitors. Nor was he leſs ſkilled in Pyrotechny, or the Art of making all kinds of Compoſitions of Fireworks, of which likewiſe he made frequent Trials, with equal Succeſs; and, indeed, he made ſome very great and uſeful Improvements, if the Art of deſtroying Mankind may be ſo called. For, he firſt contrived to fire a Mortar by the Blaſt of the Piece, which has ever ſince been uſed, but before was done with great Hazard, by ſetting Fire to the Fuſee firſt, and then to the Mortar. He was likewiſe the principal Contriver of what the *French* called Infernals, uſed at the Bombardment of *St. Maloes* in the Year 1693, of which Father *Daniel* and *De Larrey*[a] in their Hiſtories give a particular Deſcription; but what is moſt to our Purpoſe, is, his Invention of the Cuſhee-Piece, ſo called, becauſe intended to be placed on the Fore-caſtle of a Ship, as a Piece of that Name is placed in a Galley; but inſtead of Shot, was to fire Shells and Carcaſſes. This was a favourite Invention of Capt. *Leake*'s, and having anſwered his Deſigns in Theory, he only wanted to put it in Practice, but unfortunately it was a Time of Peace; however, it was not long before an Opportunity offered, for King *James* being under great Apprehenſions of an Invaſion from *Holland*, reſolved to fit out a ſtrong Fleet, and Captain *Leake* took that Occaſion to propoſe the Trial of his Cuſhee-Piece. It was readily granted; the *Firedrake* Fireſhip was ordered for that Service, and for the better Execution of it, his Son *John* was appointed Commander, whoſe Life and Actions are to be the Subject of what follows.

Mr. *John Leake* was born at *Rotherhithe*, in *Surrey*, in *June* 1656; being well inſtructed in Mathematicks and Gunnery, by his Father, he entered very early into the Navy, and was a

[a] Father *Daniel*'s Hiſt. de la Mil. Fr. and *De Larrey*'s Hiſt. *France ſous Louis* XIV.

Mid-

Midſhipman ſome Time before the Concluſion of the laſt *Dutch* War, and was in that memorable Engagement, wherein his Father had the Honour to ſignalize himſelf in ſo extraordinary a Manner, and himſelf had no inconſiderable Share. The War being at an End, and there being but little Hopes of Preferment in the Navy in Time of Peace, Mr. *Leake* engaged in the Merchant Service, and was Commander of a Ship two or three Voyages up the *Mediterranean*; but having a military Genius, and Notions of Honour inconſiſtent with Trade, he reſolved to quit the Mercantile Life the firſt Opportunity; or rather, went into that Service, to continue in it no longer, than till Preferment offered in the Navy. When the Father was promoted, it was a natural Gradation for the Son to ſucceed him; ſo when one was made Captain of a Yacht, the other was made Gunner of the *Neptune*, the beſt Preferment he could hope for at that Time, there being but few Commiſſion-Officers employed in Time of Peace; and none had then Half-Pay but Captains, who in the late War had commanded Firſt and Second Rates: All others unemployed were ſtarving, or under the Neceſſity of ſeeking Bread in the Merchant Service: Whereas a Gunner was in conſtant Whole-Pay, though he never went out of Harbour; and Maſter-Gunner of a great Ship, as I have obſerved, was a Poſt of much greater Reputation at that Time, than it has been eſteemed ſince. For theſe Reaſons he had refuſed to be a Lieutenant; and becauſe he was well aſſured of Promotion to a Command, from the Poſt of Gunner: He was beſides one of the Maſter-Gunner's Mates, and by his Behaviour in both Stations, gained the Good-Will and Eſteem of all that knew him, ſo that not only upon his Father's Account, but his own, he had many Friends. The Times indeed proved very unfavourable for Naval Promotions, which made him continue in the Station of Gunner much longer than he expected; and therefore the Trial of his Father's Cuſhee-Piece was made uſe of as a Means for his Preferment: Accordingly he received a Commiſſion to command the *Fire-drake* Fireſhip, dated *September* 24, 1688. But this was unhappily attended with the Death of his younger and only Brother *Edward*, who was blown up at *Woolwich*, as he was preparing the Compoſition for the Cuſhee-Shells.

CHAP. II.

The State of the Navy from the Time of Queen Elizabeth, *to King* James II. *with the Circumſtances and Proceedings of the Fleet at the Revolution.*

BEFORE I bring Captain *Leake* into Action, and enter upon the War with *France*, which raiſed our Naval Glory ſo high, it will not be amiſs to premiſe the State and Progreſs of the *Britiſh* Navy to that Time. The Royal Navy, conſidered as a ſtanding military Force by Sea, is but of modern Date. Queen *Elizabeth*, indeed, made a great Figure in the World as a maritime Power, and her long and proſperous Reign produced many brave and experienced Sea-Officers, yet ſhe had not what may properly be called a Navy; for, at her Death [a] ſhe left but thirty Sail from 200 to 1000 Tons, and of the latter two only, requiring to man them all 7920 Men; and it muſt be obſerved, that to make out this Number of Men, each Ship had more Men and fewer Guns, in Proportion to their Burthen, than they had afterwards. Theſe, with the Aſſiſtance of ſome Merchant Ships, were ſufficient for the Time ſhe lived in: For having overcome the *Spaniard*, the then greateſt maritime Power, ſhe had little to fear; but however found it neceſſary to keep a certain Number of Ships of her own againſt all Emergencies. By this, and other prudent Meaſures, ſhe may be ſaid to have laid the Foundation of the Naval Power, which all her Succeſſors wiſely improved. King *James* I. added to the Navy three Second Rates, the *St. George*, the *Triumph*, and the *Union*, which remained upon the Eſtabliſhment of Second Rates, even at the Revolution. His Son King *Charles* I. beſides a third Rate Ship, added the *Royal Sovereign*, the biggeſt Firſt Rate in *England*, even then or afterwards, till the Building of the *Britannia* in the Year 1682; and theſe two Princes together, added about twenty Sail of leſſer Ships, which we know of; and, no doubt, many others that have not come to our Knowledge, which were deſtroyed or worn out in the *Dutch* Wars. King *Charles* I. likewiſe ſettled the Wages of the Officers and Seamen, and made other Regulations, from whence it may well deſerve the Denomination of a Navy Royal; that is, a ſtanding Force of Ships of War, regularly diſciplined, and ready upon all Occaſions to oppoſe a foreign Force: Though, even yet, it continued a Practice to join Merchant Ships with ſome of the King's, upon every Expedition where a Number of Ships were required; but the Reaſon of this

[a] Sir *William Monſon*'s Naval Tracts.

ſeems

ſeems to be, that, in theſe Undertakings, the Merchants joined as Adventurers, and bore Part of the Charges of the Voyage, and ſometimes the whole Expence was theirs, and the Perſons employed in it, the King only countenancing the whole by his Commiſſion, and ſome few of his Ships.

After King *Charles*'s Martyrdom, and during the Confuſion that followed, the *Dutch*, having out-ſtript us in Trade and Navigation, and becoming rich and proud, diſputed the Sovereignty of the Sea; for though they had yielded that Point to the Monarchy of *Britain*, yet, as Commonwealths, they were the elder Siſter; this produced Wars, and increaſed our Navy in Proportion to theirs; for, beſides what were loſt and decayed, there remained at the Concluſion of the *Dutch* War, one Second Rate, eight Third Rates, twenty-ſix Fourth Rates, ſix Fifth Rates, and one ſixth Rate, built by the Commonwealth. But the greateſt Addition of Strength the Navy received, was after the Reſtoration of King *Charles* II. in the Wars with *Holland*, wherein he built ſeven Firſt Rates, two Second Rates, ten Third Rates, ſixteen Fourth Rates, five Fifth Rates, and ſix Sixth Rates. After the War in 1674, the Parliament conſidering the Condition of the Navy, and the Neceſſity of a Standing Naval Power, to maintain the Honour and the Trade of the Nation, granted a large Sum of Money, for an additional Force of thirty Capital Ships, which were accordingly built. The State of the Navy, for the Time we have been ſpeaking of, may be ſeen, at one View, by the following Scheme.

At the Death of Queen *Elizabeth* were 38 Ships, *viz.*

		Tons.			
5	of	900 and 1000	equivalent by Tonnage to	5	Second Rates,
5	of	700 and 800		5	Third Rates,
12	from	300 to 700		12	Fourth Rates,
8	from	200 to 300		8	Fifth Rates,
8	from	40 to 120		8	Sixth Rates.

A SCHEME of the *Navy*, *Anno* 1684.

	Guns.	By whom built.	Nº.	Tons.
First Rates.	90 to 100	*Charles* I.	1	1545
		Charles II.	7	1107 to 1441
		Dº by Act of Parliament	1	1739
Second Rates.	80 to 90	*James* I.	3	845 to 900
		Commonwealth	1	1020
		Charles II.	2	1050 and 1029
		Dº by Act of Parliament	9	1273 to 1546
Third Rates.	60 to 80	*Charles* I.	1	727
		Commonwealth	8	704 to 809
		Charles II.	10	813 to 1107
		Dº by Act of Parliament	20	1032 to 1174
Fourth Rates.	40 to 60	Commonwealth	26	372 to 676
		Charles II.	16	345 to 722
Fifth Rates.	20 to 40	Commonwealth	6	223 to 294
		Charles II.	5	234 to 346
Sixth Rates.	20 and under	Commonwealth	1	151
		Charles II.	6	33 to 199
		Total 123		

This was the Navy King *James* found at his Acceſſion to the Crown; but the Condition of ſome of them was very bad, having been ſo neglected the latter Part of King *Charles*'s Reign, that many even of the thirty laſt built Ships were rotten and ready to ſink at their Moorings. One of the firſt, and beſt Things therefore King *James* did, was to redreſs the ill State of the Navy: And he uſed the only effectual Means for that Purpoſe, by taking the Admiralty Affairs into his own Hands, by which Means, by *October* 1688, as Mr. *Pepys*[a] informs us, he had a Fleet at Sea of 40 Sail of the Line, 11 Frigates, and 20 Fireſhips; and the reſt repaired, or under Repair. By this extraordinary Care of the Navy it appears, King *James* depended very much upon it; and, indeed, having been much in the Fleet, and ſo often commanding it, he might well have been thought to have had the beſt Intereſt there; but, as Biſhop *Burnet* obſerves[b], he found all the great Seamen, by a Tincture in their Education, averſe to *Popery*, and Lovers of Liberty; therefore he began, very early, the Me-

[a] Memoirs of the Navy, p. 132, 139.
[b] In his Character of King *James* when Duke of *York*.

thod

thod of ſending Pages of Honour, and young Perſons of Quality, to Sea, who were made Commanders before they were qualified: *Popiſh* Prieſts were likewiſe introduced into the Fleet, and moſt Preferments given to *Roman Catholicks*. By this Means, the old Seamen being diſcouraged, left the Navy. And though the Earl of *Dartmouth* carried as ſtrict a Command as he durſt, at ſo critical a Conjuncture, he could not reſtrain the rough Seamen, who threatened to throw the Prieſts overboard, being privately ſet on by the *Proteſtant* Officers, who knew what was doing.

This was the State and Situation of the Fleet, when Captain *Leake*, purſuant to his Orders, joined the Fleet at the *Nore*, under the Command of the Lord *Dartmouth*; and ſoon after, the reſt of the Ships being come to the Rendezvous, they all proceeded to the *Gunfleet*, to oppoſe the Prince of *Orange* in his Paſſage. When they came to the *Gunfleet*, his Lordſhip called a Council of War, and ſome of King *James*'s Friends propoſed to go over to the Coaſt of *Holland*, and wait the coming out of the *Dutch* Fleet: This indeed would have done the Buſineſs, but, by a great Majority of the Captains, it was reſolved, to continue where they were; for, previous to this Council of War, the *Proteſtant* Captains had privately agreed it was more adviſeable to avoid meeting the *Dutch* Fleet, than be put to the Neceſſity of revolting to them upon their coming to Action. As they acted under King *James*'s Commiſſions, they choſe to avoid the Imputation of being the firſt to deſert him, waiting till the Prince of *Orange* was landed. And, indeed, had they acted otherwiſe, it might have had fatal Effects, and overthrown the whole Deſign. In the mean Time the Wind that kept them faſt at the *Gunfleet*, carried the Prince of *Orange* to the deſired Port. However, as ſoon as they could follow them they did, and in a few Days came off of *Torbay*, where the *Dutch* Fleet lay; but preſently a Storm of Wind aroſe, that forced the *Engliſh* Fleet out of the *Channel*; and by the Time they returned, the Prince of *Orange* was landed, and all Things favouring his Deſigns, the Lord *Dartmouth* ſailed with the Fleet to the *Downs*. Upon their Arrival there, the *Roman Catholick* Officers were diſmiſſed; and the reſt joined in an Addreſs to the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*. The Ships were ordered into Harbour, and Mr. *Leake* proceeded with the *Firedrake* to *Chatham*.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Captain Leake's *Proceedings in the Year* 1689, *the Battle of* Bantry *Bay, and the Relief of* Londonderry.

KING *James* having abdicated the Kingdom, and the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* having been declared King and Queen, by the Convention of Lords and Commons, *February* 13, 1688-9, the next Step to be taken was to put King *William* into a Condition, to oppoſe all Attempts to reſtore King *James*: For the King of *France*, making the Cauſe of King *James* the Cauſe of Religion, and the Common Cauſe of Kings, reſolved to uſe his whole Power to reſtore him. For this End, before Affairs could be ſettled in *England*, he diſpatched King *James* from *Breſt*, with a conſiderable Number of *French* Troops, to land in *Ireland*, and ſecure that Kingdom; and this had the more Probability of Succeſs, by reaſon of the Number of *Papiſts* there, who would join him out of a Principle of Religion. Intelligence of this being laid before the Parliament, Preparations were made with great Diligence, to equip a Squadron to prevent the *French* from executing their Deſign; and Admiral *Herbert* was appointed to command it. But long before he ſailed, King *James* landed at *Kinſale*; wherefore, getting together, in haſte, what Ships he could, of which the *Firedrake*, Captain *Leake*, was one, he made for the Coaſt of *Ireland*, in Hopes, at leaſt, to intercept the Convoy in their Return; ordering the reſt of the Ships to follow him to the Rendezvous, which was the Coaſt of *Ireland*, or ten Leagues Weſt of *Scilly*.

Arriving before *Cork* the 17th of *April*, they heard, that King *James* had landed two Months before, and that the Convoy was returned to *Breſt* for a further Supply. Upon this Intelligence they proceeded off *Breſt*, and into the *Soundings*, in Queſt of them, but not meeting them, they returned to the *Iriſh* Coaſt, and on the 29th diſcovered the *French* Fleet off of *Kinſale*. They followed them all the next Day, and in the Evening ſaw them ſtanding into *Bantry* Bay, conſiſting of 28 Men of War, from 60 to 70 Guns, and upwards, and 5 Fireſhips, commanded by Monſieur *Chateau-Renaud*, and a Fleet of Tranſports, which had landed 5000 Men. The *Engliſh* Fleet lay by all Night off the Bay, and the next Morning, by Day-break, being the 1st of *May*, they ſtood towards the *French*, having but 18 Ships of the Line, *viz.* 8 Third Rates, and 10 Fourth Rates, the *Dartmouth* Frigate of 40 Guns, and the *Firedrake* Fire-ſhip. The *French*, encouraged by their Su-

Superiority, preſently got under Sail, and bore down upon the *Engliſh*, but would not engage ſo cloſe as Admiral *Herbert* endeavoured to do; however, they maintained a diſtant Fight, till Five in the Afternoon, when they tacked and ſtood further into the Bay. The *Engliſh*, being moſt of them diſabled from further Action, could not follow them; but the Admiral continued ſome Time after before the Bay, and then repaired to the Rendezvous, to meet the reſt of his Squadron, having acquired Honour enough to have maintained a Fight ſo long, againſt an Enemy double his Force, and this with the Loſs only of one Captain, one Lieutenant, and about ninety-four Seamen killed, and two Hundred and fifty wounded: (Amongſt the latter of whom was Mr. *Martin*, afterwards Sir *John Leake*'s Brother-in-Law and Captain, who had his Thigh broke by a Cannon-ball, being then a Midſhipman on board Captain *Shovel*.) King *William* was ſo ſenſible of it, that when he received the News of this Sea Fight, he is reported to have ſaid, That ſuch an Action was neceſſary in the Beginning of a War, but it would be raſh in the Courſe of it. Indeed it was eſteemed ſo ſignal, that when the Fleet returned to *Spithead*, King *William* himſelf went to *Portſmouth*, and diſtributed Honours and Rewards to every Officer and Seamen that had been in the Battle; Captain *John Aſhby*, of the *Defiance*, and Captain *Cloudeſly Shovel*, of the *Edgar*, were knighted, and the Admiral was created Earl of *Torrington*.

In this Engagement, Captain *Leake*, though in a Fire-ſhip only, had the Reputation of doing very ſignal Service, for by means of the Cuſhee-Piece, he ſet one of the *French* Ships on Fire during the Battle, commanded by the *Chevalier Coetlogon*, whereby Part of her was blown up, and ſhe narrowly miſſed being wholly conſumed. Father *Daniel* [a] ſpeaking of this Engagement ſays, It was by a Cannon-ball, not knowing what it was, nothing of that Nature having been uſed before; but it wholly diſabled her from further Service; and ſeveral other Ships received Damage by the ſame Means. The Admiral was very ſenſible of the Service Captain *Leake* had performed, and two Days after the Battle gave him a Commiſſion to command the *Dartmouth* Frigate.

The Battle of *Bantry* Bay was the firſt Opportunity Captain *Leake* had had to try his Father's Cuſhee-Piece; and it ſeems to have anſwered ſo well, as to have done Honour to the Inventor: But whether he thought it too deſperate and deſtructive to be brought into Uſe, or hating it for his Brother's Sake, who loſt his Life by it, it is certain he did not recommend it; and I do not find it was ever uſed afterwards.

[a] In his Hiſtory of *France*.

During

During the Naval Tranſactions, King *James*'s Party in *Ireland* having ſecured the moſt important Places, and diſarmed, plundered and impriſoned the *Proteſtants* in the South of *Ireland*, they retired to their Brethren in *Ulſter*, who had declared for King *William* and Queen *Mary*, and ſeized the Towns of *Kilmore*, *Colrain*, *Inniskilling* and *Londonderry*, and even made a Shew of oppoſing King *James*'s Forces; but being defeated, the Loſs of *Colrain* and *Kilmore* ſoon followed; and on the 20th of *April*, *Londonderry*, their Capital, was inveſted by an Army of 30000 Men.

The *Proteſtant* City of *Londonderry* (ſo called from the *Londoners* who built and planted it) is ſituate in the North of *Ireland*, at the Bottom of *Lough-Foyle*, upon a ſmall navigable River, which diſcharges itſelf into the *Lough*, about 3 Miles from the City, and 15 from the Sea; the Mouth of the River being defended by a Fort, called *Culmore* Caſtle. As ſoon as it was inveſted, they had a general Pardon offered them, if they would ſurrender, and even a *Charte Blanche*, ſigned by King *James*, to inſert their own Terms, but they rejected both; which brave Proceeding ſo enraged the *French* General, Monſieur *Roſe*, that he drove 7000 *Proteſtants* under the City Walls, in order to ſtarve them, where they muſt have famiſhed, had not the Gariſon erected a Gallows, and threatned to hang all the Priſoners they had taken during the Siege. Though the Duke of *Berwick*[a] ſaw, that his utmoſt Efforts could not put a Stop to the Advantages of the Beſieged, yet he hoped the Army might ſtill reduce the Place, if he could hinder any Succour from entering it: For this Purpoſe, as the Beſieged could only be relieved from the River, he lined both Sides of it with 2000 Muſketeers, and contrived in the narrow Part, a little above *Culmore* Caſtle, where the Ships which were to come to their Relief muſt paſs, a Stoccado, being a Bomb of Timber, joined by Iron Chains, and ſtrengthened by a Cable of 12 Inches Thickneſs twiſted round it, and at each End thereof were Redoubts with heavy Cannon; and they had likewiſe ſunk ſeveral Boats, and drove Stoccades with Spikes into the River, ſo that the whole ſeemed impenetrable.

This was the State of *Londonderry*, when Captain *Leake*, two Days after the Battle of *Bantry* Bay, was diſpatched to haſten the Recruits for their Relief, which were to embark at *Liverpoole*. The ſame Day therefore that he entered upon his Command of the *Dartmouth* he left the Fleet, and proceeding up the *Iriſh* Channel, the 17th arrived at *Hyle Lake*, near *Liverpoole*, where he found the *Swallow* Man of War and the Tranſports, with the Soldiers on board. They were detained here by contrary Winds till the 23d, when they endeavoured

[a] Life of the Duke of *Berwick*.

to

to ſail, but the Wind ſhifting again contrary, with very bad Weather, they could not ſail till the 31ſt. There was one of the Victuallers with Proviſions at the *Iſle of Man*; Captain *Leake* therefore left the Fleet under the Care of the *Swallow*, and went thither to bring her from thence. Soon after he left the Fleet, it blew ſo hard, he was forced to lie under a main Courſe; when it cleared up he purſued his Courſe along the Shoar of that Iſland, looking into *Douglaſs* Bay, and after into *Ramſey* Bay, in which laſt Place he found his Convoy; and with her, the 8th of *June*, he joined the Grand Fleet, under the Command of Sir *George Rooke*, in *Red* Bay. The next Day the whole Fleet ſailed towards the Coaſt of *Derry*, but were forced to *Rathlens* Bay, where, ſending their Boats aſhoar, they brought off a hundred Head of Cattle.

When the Fleet arrived with the Forces off of *Lough-Foyle*, the Admiral ordered Captain *Leake*, with the *Dartmouth*, *Greyhound*, and *Kingfiſher* Ketch, to join the Land Forces under Major-General *Kirk*, it being found impracticable to relieve the Town but by Sea, and theſe Ships being the ſmalleſt, were moſt proper to go up the River; and the King had before ordered the *Swallow* upon the ſame Service; and four Sail were ſtationed off the Harbour's Mouth, to aſſiſt and ſecure them from any Attempts of the Enemy by Sea.

The 16th, Captain *Leake* run up the *Lough*, the *Swallow* and Merchant Ships following him, and came to an Anchor about a Mile and a half below *Culmore* Caſtle; and being ſo near the Place, the General held a Council of War on board the *Swallow*; and conſidering how the Enemy had blocked up and ſecured the River, it was judged impracticable for the Ships to force a Paſſage to the Town, and reſolved to ſtay till their Force was augmented; and then, by making a Deſcent, to endeavour to oblige the Enemy to raiſe the Seige.

In the mean Time the Land Forces poſſeſſed themſelves of the Iſland of *Inch*, in *Lough-Swilly*, a little to the Weſtward of *Lough-Foyle*, and ſecured the Paſs from the Iſland to the Main, by two Redoubts and a Battery of Cannon; on each Side of which the *Greyhound*, and *Kingfiſher* Ketch, were moored; and then Sir *George Rooke* ſailed from his Station on that Coaſt, in queſt of ſome *French* Ships that had taken two *Engliſh* Veſſels, and were gone to the Iſle of *Mull* with Forces; whither he proceeded, but not Time enough to prevent their landing.

All this while the Beſieged were weakened by a raging Famine, having lived ſome Time upon Hides, Dogs, and Cats, Horſe-fleſh, Tallow, and ſuch like: And though in this diſmal Scene of Diſtreſs, many bold Attempts were made, by thoſe in the Town, to reach the Ships for a Supply, they were intercepted by the Enemy, and, as it had been judged im-

impracticable to force a Paſſage to the Town, there remained only to periſh miſerably, or ſubmit to their enraged and mercileſs Enemies, which was worſe than Death. But Providence provided them a Deliverer in Captain *Leake:* He was ſenſibly touched with their Sufferings, and reſolved to attempt their Relief, though he could have no other Man of War to aſſiſt him, the *Swallow*, which was the only one there, being too large to go up the River; only he borrowed the *Swallow*'s Long-Boat, to be aſſiſtant in cutting the Bomb. Having well concerted before-hand what was to be done, he agreed with the Commanders of the two Victuallers, upon the Manner of the Attack: That he leading the Van, ſhould engage the Caſtle and Batteries, whilſt they, in the mean Time, ſhould paſs by and run with full Sail againſt the Bomb, in order to break it. And the Boats being well manned and prepared for the Work, were immediately to join them, and uſe their beſt Endeavours to cut the Bomb aſunder, and haul the Ships through; and the Evening was judged moſt proper to make the Attack. Theſe Diſpoſitions were no ſooner made than carried into Execution, and about Seven in the Evening, of the ſame Day, being the 28th of *July*, Captain *Leake*, got under Sail with the *Dartmouth*, and made towards the River, followed by the Victuallers, *viz.* the *Montjoy* of *Derry*, and the *Phœnix* of *Colrain*, but under the great Diſadvantage of having but little Wind to enable them to paſs the Batteries, or carry them with any Force againſt the Bomb; but the Circumſtances of the Town would not admit of any Delay.

Whilſt theſe Meaſures were taking for their Relief, the Rev. Mr. *Walker*, their Governor, was preaching to the Gariſon, encouraging them by the many Inſtances of divine Providence, ſhewn to them ſince the Beginning of the Siege, to hope for a ſpeedy Deliverance; and, as if it had been prophetically ſpoken, about an Hour after Sermon, they diſcovered Captain *Leake* with the Victuallers coming to their Relief.

The Enemy made a moſt furious Fire upon the *Dartmouth* from *Kilmore* Caſtle and the Batteries, which was received and returned with great Bravery; but having paſſed the Caſtle, the little Wind they had had failed them, and a dead Calm ſucceeded, ſo that the Victuallers ſtopping at the Bomb, but not having Force to break it, recoiled, and the *Montjoy* run Stern-foremoſt on Shoar. Upon this, the Enemies gathering in Swarms to the Water-ſide, gave the loudeſt and moſt joyful Shouts, crying out, Our Ships were taken; at the ſame Time firing their great and ſmall Shot, and preparing their Boats to board her, which, however, was not to be done ſo eaſily as they imagined. The Trouble and Concern of the Beſieged, who plainly ſaw what paſſed from the Walls of the Town, to ſee their laſt Hopes diſappointed, is not to be ex-

expreſſed; but by great Providence, the *Montjoy* firing her Guns, the Shock looſened her ſo, that by the Help of the riſing Tide ſhe got clear, though with the Loſs of Mr. *Browning* her Commander, who was killed by the Enemy's Shot. In the mean Time, the Cannon of the *Dartmouth* had done great Execution againſt the Batteries, ſome of their Guns being diſmounted, and the Men hardly able to ſtand to thoſe that were not; and whilſt the Enemy were exulting with Joy, for the Succeſs they ſeemed to have over the *Montjoy*, the Boats Crews got upon the Bomb, cut it aſunder and hawled the *Phœnix* through; and ſoon after the *Montjoy* followed, Captain *Leake* continuing the Fight till he ſaw they had both got in Safety to the City, to the inconceivable Joy and Tranſport of a Gariſon, which reckoned only upon two Days Life, nothing being left for their Subſiſtance, but nine lean Horſes, and a Pint of Meal to each Man, having ſuſtained a Siege of one hundred and eleven Days. This brave and ſucceſsful Undertaking, in ſpite of all the Enemy's Works to prevent it, and in Sight of an Army of 30000 Men, was performed with inconſiderable Loſs: This ſo diſcouraged the Enemy, that on the laſt Day of *July*, they raiſed the Siege in the Night, with great Confuſion, and in their Retreat, for Revenge of the Diſappointment, blew up *Culmore* Caſtle, and made a miſerable Havock of the Country. If we may believe the *French* Writers[a], 7000 *Proteſtants* were famiſhed to Death in the City during the Siege; however that be, it is certain the Loſs of the Enemy was greater, and could not be leſs than between 8 and 9000 Men; for they acknowledge[b] to have loſt a *great Number* of Officers and Soldiers. Major-General *Kirk*, who ſaw the Attack from on board the *Swallow*, was ſo highly pleaſed with the Conduct and Bravery of this Action, that he gave Captain *Leake* a Company in his own Regiment, which he enjoyed many Years, even after he was a Flag-Officer.

If the relieving the *Proteſtant* City of *Londonderry* from *Popery* and Slavery, was a great and glorious Action, the happy Conſequences attending it were ſtill greater with Regard to the Publick; it broke the Spirit of King *James*'s Army, to meet with ſuch Reſiſtance, and to loſe ſo much Time, and the Flower of their Army, in the Beginning of their *Iriſh* Conqueſts, before one Town, and at laſt be obliged to draw off with Shame and Confuſion. At the ſame Time it encouraged the *Proteſtants* by the Example of *Londonderry*, to hold out to the laſt Extremity, ſince there were not wanting brave Spirits, who would run the greateſt Hazards, and attempt Things judged impracticable, in the glorious Cauſe of Liberty. This

[a] Father *Daniel*, and the Writer of the Life of the Duke of *Berwick*.

[b] Ibid.

Succeſs likewiſe gave new Life to the intended Expedition from *England*, which waited the Event of this Siege; for had *Londonderry* ſurrendered to King *James*, all *Ireland* had gone with it; (there being only this City and *Inniſkilling* in the Hands of the *Proteſtants*) and then it would have been too late to have made a Deſcent from *England*, with any Probability of Succeſs.

In Memory of this Action, a Medal was ſtruck by the *Dutch*, exhibiting the Buſt of King *William* upon a Pedeſtal, and two Figures repreſenting *England* and *Holland* ſupporting a Crown of Laurel over his Head; at a Diſtance the City of *Londonderry*, and this Inſcription upon the Pedeſtal, WILHELMUS MAXIMUS IN BELGICA LIBERATOR IN BRITANNIA RESTAURATOR; underneath LONDONDERRY, 1689. And the ſame has likewiſe been commemorated in the new Tapeſtry of the Houſe of Peers in *Ireland*, as one of the moſt remarkable Events attending that Kingdom at the Revolution.

CHAP. IV.

Proceedings with the grand Fleet in the Years 1690, *and* 1691; *with the Trial of the Earl of* Torrington.

THE ſame Day the *Dartmouth* was paid off, Captain *Leake* was appointed to command the *Oxford*, a Fourth Rate of 54 Guns, then in *Portſmouth* Harbour. He had no ſooner received his Commiſſion, than he haſtened to his Ship, to fit her with all Expedition for the Sea, which having compleated, he ſailed the 5th of *December* to *Spithead*: But he was no ſooner anchored, than a violent Storm aroſe, wherein he was in great Danger; for though he rode faſt himſelf, a large *Dutch* Man of War driving on board him, broke his Bowſprit, ſprung his Fore-maſt, beat in his Cat-head, and otherwiſe very much damaged the Ship; ſo that as ſoon as the Storm was over, he was obliged to go into the Harbour again to refit. He continued no longer than to repair the Damage he had received, and then joined the Fleet at *Spithead*, bound to the *Mediterranean*, under the Command of Vice-Admiral *Killegrew*.

They weighed from *Spithead* the 3d of *February*, and two Days after arrived at *Plymouth*, leaving that Place the 25th, with the Trade; the next Day they joined Admiral *Ruſſel*, in *Torbay*, with the Fleet under his Command, bound to the *Groyne*, with the *Queen of Spain*. The two Fleets weighed from

from thence next Morning, but were forced back again the ſame Day. On the 7th of *March* they ſailed, having under Convoy between four and five hundred Sail of Merchant Ships. Three Days afterwards they parted with Admiral *Ruſſel*, purſuing their Voyage to the *Streights*; but, in their Paſſage, they met with ſuch a violent Storm in the Bay of *Biſcay*, that they were obliged to lay under a Mizen, in which Time two *Dutch* Ships of War, one of 72, and the other of 60 Guns, unhappily foundered; the Admiral and another *Engliſh* Ship loſt their Main-maſts, and the whole Fleet was diſperſed, and very much ſhattered; but by good Providence, moſt of the *Dutch* Men from the Wrecks got on board our Men of War, and Captain *Leake* hoiſting out his Boat, had the good Fortune to ſave fifty-five, when they were almoſt periſhed. Afterwards he kept Company with the other Ships in Diſtreſs, from the 18th at Noon, till the next Day at Night, when he was forced to leave them to the Mercy of the Sea, to preſerve his own Ship; and at length the Fleet, very much ſhattered, arrived at *Cadiz* the 8th of *April*.

Three Days after their Arrival, the Admiral, purſuant to an Article in his Inſtructions, ordered Captain *Leake* in the *Oxford*, with ſome other Ships, to convoy the Trade to *Malaga* and *Alicant*. The ſame Day therefore he ſailed, and having performed that Service, returned the 18th.

The 9th of *May*, the Admiral having received Advice of the *Toulon* Squadron, called a Council of War, and it was reſolved to ſail with as many Ships as were in a Condition, and joining ſix Sail that were at *Gibraltar*, to follow the Enemy. Purſuant to this Reſolution, they ſailed, and on the 11th arrived at *Gibraltar*. Here, the next Morning, Captain *Leake* received a Commiſſion from the Admiral to command the *Eagle*, a Third Rate of 70 Guns. The ſame Day, in the Afternoon, upon Advice that the Enemy were the Night before at Anchor in *Tetuan* Bay, the whole Squadron ſailed, conſiſting of fifteen Sail of the Line, *viz.* ten *Engliſh*, and five *Dutch*, two Frigates, and two Fireſhips. They ſtood over for *Ceuta* Point, and lay by all Night. The next Morning, ſtanding for *Tetuan* Bay, they found only two Ships, one of which was taken, being a *French* Ship bound to *Antegoa*: They then ſtood over for the *Spaniſh* Shoar, and ſoon after diſcovered the *French* Fleet: They chaſed them till Ten the next Day; but the *French* Ships being clean, and ours foul, (having ſome of them been ſeventeen Months from the Ground) and there being no Proſpect of coming up with them, they gave over Chaſe; and all the Ships having joined the Admiral, they bore away for *Cadiz*; but, by Reaſon of contrary Winds, could not reach that Place till the 21ſt. From thence they ſoon after made the beſt of their Way

for *England*, and on the 14th of *July* arrived at *Plymouth*, after a Paſſage of thirty-five Days.

At *Plymouth* they found Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel*, with 10 Sail; and likewiſe Letters from the *Admiralty*, acquainting the Admiral of the Defeat of the Earl of *Torrington*, adviſing him therefore to take Care for the Security of his Squadron. Upon this, a Council of War was called, and it was reſolved to proceed with the Ships into *Hamoze*, within *Plymouth Sound*; and a large Battery of Cannon was reſolved to be raiſed on Shoar, to prevent any Attempts the Enemy might make to enter the Harbour. This was performed under the Direction of Captain *Leake*, in ſo convenient a Place, that the Enemy could not have entered without expoſing themſelves to a Fire, that would have made them ſhrink. The 27th they were alarmed with the Appearance of the *French* Fleet off that Harbour, upon which the Batteries were manned, by Detachments from the Ships, and all poſſible Preparations were made for a brave Defence; but the Enemy did not think fit to attack them; wherefore, continuing there a few Days, and hearing no more of the Enemy, they run out into the *Sound* the 10th of *Auguſt*, ſailed 8 Days afterwards, and the 28th anchored at *Spithead*.

Captain *Leake* had not arrived here many Days, before he received Orders to join the Fleet, going to *Ireland*, under the Command of the joint Admirals, *viz.* Sir *Richard Haddock*, *Henry Killegrew*, Eſq; and Sir *John Aſhby*, having on board 6000 Soldiers, under the Command of the Earl of *Marlborough*. They ſailed the 17th of *September*, and arrived before *Cork* the 21ſt. The next Day, it being calm, they were obliged to tow into the Harbour, on the left Side whereof was a ſmall Battery of ten Guns, which fired at them very briſkly, and killed the Admiral, one Man, and wounded two; but the Ships giving them a few Shot as they paſſed, they were ſoon ſilenced; and the Boats going on Shoar, took Poſſeſſion of it, diſmounted the Guns, and ſet it on fire. The two following Days were employed in landing the Soldiers, to which were added 5 or 600 Seamen, Gunners, *&c.* to manage the Artillery. The 25th ten Pinnaces, manned and armed, went up to attack the Town, and four Days after the Town was taken: Whereupon, the Admirals having received Orders to return home, weighed from *Cork* the 2d of *October*, and arrived four Days afterwards in the *Downs*. Here Captain *Leake* continued till the 24th following, when he ſailed for *Chatham*, in order to lay up his Ship for the Winter; but met with ſuch bad Weather in his Paſſage round, that he did not reach *Blackſtakes* till the 5th of *November*.

During this Receſs there occurred one remarkable Tranſaction, and that was the Trial of the Earl of *Torrington*, which muſt not be omitted, Captain *Leake* being one of the Court-

Martial. After the Earl had been impriſoned ſeveral Months in the *Tower*, he was brought to his Trial before the Court-Martial at *Sheerneſs*, the 10th of *December*, to anſwer the Charge againſt him, of Misbehaviour in the late Engagement with the *French* off *Beachy*, where the *Dutch* loſt 6 Ships, and the *Engliſh* 1. This had cauſed the *Dutch* to make great Clamours againſt the Earl's Conduct; and, indeed, this great Man muſt have fallen a Sacrifice to their Reſentment, had he not been ſupported by the Integrity of his own Countrymen, who ſcorned to ſacrifice this worthy Gentleman to the Meaſures of the Court, and the Malice of the *Dutch*.

But there was another Cauſe which was the Spring and Foundation of Lord *Torrington*'s Miſfortunes: Admiral *Ruſſel* looked upon him with envious Eyes, as ſtanding in his Way; and being a deſigning ambitious Man, uſed all Arts to ſupplant him; and *Torrington*, not liking the Proceedings at the *Admiralty*, reſigned his Place at the Board; which put him entirely in the Power of his Enemies, who were *Ruſſel*'s Friends. They had even ſuperſeded his Commiſſion before the Battle [a], and got one for *Ruſſel*; but the Opportunity offering of the Battle which followed, they thought it more adviſeable to bring *Torrington* into Diſgrace, to give a Sanction to their Proceedings, and advance the Reputation of *Ruſſel*: For this End, they procured a poſitive Order from the Queen to him, to fight the *French*, by concealing from her their Strength and our Weakneſs; thus betraying their Country for private Ends. After the Defeat, the publick Clamour being well improved, both in *England* and *Holland*, had the deſired Effect; *Torrington* was diſgraced, and diſplaced, and *Ruſſel* made Admiral.

At this Court-Martial, Sir *Ralph Delaval*, who had been a Vice-Admiral in the Engagement, was Preſident. The firſt Time (ſays Mr. *Burchet* [b]) an *Engliſh* Admiral, (and I may add the chief Admiral, and a Peer of *England*) was called to an Account in ſuch a Manner; and which ſhews it was calculated for his Deſtruction. Nay, ſo little Compaſſion had the King for this unfortunate Admiral, (who was one of the firſt that went over to meet him in *Holland*, and by his Intereſt in the Navy, and Letter to the Officers of the Fleet, was the chief Inſtrument to bring them to the Prince's Meaſures; and for that Reaſon was intruſted with the Command of the *Dutch* Fleet that brought him over) ſo little Compaſſion had he for him, that it is ſaid, there was private Orders to have executed him directly, if the Court-Martial had found him Guilty, as the Courtiers thought they would have done; though that was ſtifled, as ſoon as it was known he was cleared: And this, I

[a] See the Earl of *Torrington*'s Defence, in his Speech to the Houſe of Commons.

[b] Naval Hiſtory.

may ſay, was very much owing to the Conduct of Capt. *Leake*; for, when he found the Court wavering in their Opinion, and it was inſinuated that all the Eyes of the Kingdom were upon them, expecting Juſtice, and even Threats and Promiſes were likewiſe uſed, to work upon the Members of the Court to find him Guilty, Captain *Leake* generouſly undertook his Cauſe, examined every Particular of his Lordſhip's Conduct, and ſo fully juſtified him, that he brought over the Majority to acquit him. But ſo bent was the King upon his Ruin, that the Opinion of the Council of War was returned to be re-conſidered, and certified under their Hands. This ſhewed plainly what they would have, and, indeed, made ſome waver; but Captain *Leake* reſolutely adhered to his former Opinion, and excited others to do the ſame; ſo that they bravely confirmed it under their Hands, notwithſtanding what had been publickly declared, as well as privately intimated, That they might expect thereby to loſe their Bread, or, at leaſt, their Preferment. A *Dutch* Writer[a] ſays, the King was ſo extremely diſſatisfied with their Sentence, that he diſcarded ſome of the Members of it from the Service, together with two and forty Officers of the Navy, who were ſuſpected to be influenced by the Earl. Biſhop *Burnet*, who did not much affect Lord *Torrington*, and who never has any Charity for thoſe he diſlikes, is pleaſed to charge the Court-Martial with ſo groſs a Partiality, as reflected much on the Juſtice of the Nation; but this reflects no more upon the Court-Martial, than upon the Parliament, who likewiſe acquitted him, which the Biſhop, in his Zeal, ſeems to have forgot. But beſides the Abſurdity of ſuppoſing the Court-Martial partial to the Earl, when they were told, their Intereſt was otherwiſe, and were threatned if they favoured him, whoever impartially conſiders his Defence, which was publiſhed at that Time, with a Draught of the Line of Battle, as drawn up on both Sides in the Engagement, muſt acquit him, as his Peers did, and acknowledge that he took the propereſt Meaſures upon the Occaſion: For having poſitive Orders to fight, he drew up his Fleet, in the beſt Manner that 56 Sail could engage with eighty-four, and if he had diſpoſed them in any other Manner, there muſt have been many more loſt. As to his Courage, it could not be ſuſpected, he having upon all Occaſions given ſuch Proofs of it; and having, as he obſerves in his Speech to the Lords, loſt more Blood in his Country's Service, than, perhaps, any Gentleman in *England*. Whatever Loſs the *Dutch* ſuſtained, was owing to their own ill Conduct, by ſuffering the *French* to weather them; which, as ſoon as the Admiral perceived, he uſed the only Means to bring them off. In ſhort, whatever has been ſaid to depreciate

[a] Hiſt. de Guil. III. Roy d'Angl.

this

this Action, by *Dutchmen*, prejudiced Perſons, or incompetent Judges, it was a fine Retreat, and is a ſingle Inſtance in the *Engliſh* Hiſtory, where our Fleet has engaged with ſo great Superiority, and come off with ſo little Loſs; and as *Kennet*[a] obſerves, ſeveral *French* Officers, who had been in the Engagement, coming into *England* after the Peace, when they could not be ſuſpected of Partiality, openly commended the Earl's Conduct, as rather meriting to be rewarded than cenſured, ſince he had preſerved the greateſt Part from being totally deſtroyed. It is well known, after all that had been done by the Court-Martial, his Lordſhip's Conduct was canvaſſed, for the third Time, in Parliament, (as I hinted before) where he made a brave and ingenuous Defence, and was as bravely acquitted, to the great Mortification of the Court. And this is a notable Example of the changeable Diſpoſition of the *Engliſh*, upon the firſt ill Succeſs, to forget the Man to whom they had been ſo much and ſo lately obliged for their Deliverance; and a flagrant Inſtance of the Ingratitude of Princes; but in this an Act of the greateſt Cruelty too, as being done to one, who had contributed ſo much to ſet the Crown upon his Head.

The Defeat of the Earl of *Torrington* will likewiſe afford us Matter of Reflection upon the Naval Power of *France*, under that mighty Tyrant *Louis* XIV. that it could increaſe in ſo ſhort a Time, as to be able to contend with the united Force of the two great Maritime Powers. Not ſatisfied to attempt the univerſal Monarchy of the Earth, he muſt compaſs the Sea too, and circumſcribe the whole Globe with his Dominion, agreeable to that Prince's vain Deviſe of the Sun, with the Motto, *Nec pluribus impar*; by which they confeſſed their Meaning to be, that he was capable of governing the whole World as the Sun was of enlightning it. But his Sun was now at its Meridian Height, it will ſoon decline, and at length ſuffer an Eclipſe. But this was reſerved for the Glory of another Reign, and will be the Subject of the following Books. But to return to our Story.

After the Trial of the Earl of *Torrington*, tho' he was acquitted, his Majeſty thought fit to lay him aſide, and thereby made Room for Mr. *Ruſſel*, who ſucceeded him as Admiral of the Fleet; and great Diligence was uſed to get a large Fleet ready for an early Campaign. We muſt therefore return to Captain *Leake*, whom we left Commander of the *Eagle* at *Chatham*. He was now very buſy there, refitting his Ship, in order to make one of the Fleet to go with the Admiral. For this Purpoſe, his Ship being ready, he ſailed to the *Nore* the 7th of *March*, where, eight Days afterwards, the Admiral

[a] Hiſtory of *England*.

hoiſted his Flag on Board the *Britannia*: The next Day, Prince *George* of *Denmark* came down to ſee the Fleet, and being accompanied by the Admiral, went on board a Ship of each Rate; and, to ſee a Third Rate, did Captain *Leake* the Honour to come on board the *Eagle*, which was likewiſe a Mark of the Admiral's Favour, notwithſtanding what had ſo lately paſſed in Relation to the Earl of *Torrington*; and I think it remarkable, that although Mr. *Ruſſel* was exceſſively proud and haughty, difficult to be pleaſed, unleſs flattered, and implacable, if offended, and Captain *Leake* was one that could not gain Favour by ſuch mean Compliances, but did his Duty bravely and honeſtly, without reſpecting the Perſon of any Man; yet Mr. *Ruſſel* always ſhewed a particular Regard for him, which could be only upon Account of his extraordinary Merit and Qualifications.

The Ships from the River and from *Chatham* being joined at the *Nore*, the 14th of *May* they ſailed, and two Days after anchored in the *Downs*. The ſame Day the Admiral came from *London* and hoiſted his Flag, the Fleet then conſiſting of 74 Sail of the Line, beſides a great many Frigates, Fire-ſhips, *&c.* They were detained there by tempeſtuous Weather till the 9th of *June*. The 14th the Fleet got off the *Iſle of Wight*, when the Admiral called a Council of War: Soon after they were off *Plymouth*, but were forced into *Torbay* the 20th. Two Days after they ſailed again, when the Admiral received Advice of the *French* Fleet, conſiſting of 80 Sail. Upon this they ſtretched over for the Coaſt of *France*, and off *Uſhant*, to endeavour to intercept them, and remained cruiſing between *Scilly* and *Uſhant* till the 2d of *September*, when they were taken with a violent Storm, inſomuch, that all that could poſſibly be done, (which nevertheleſs *Burnet* finds much Fault with) was to bear up for ſo dangerous a Port as *Plymouth*, and by Reaſon of the Wind and the Hazineſs of the Weather, the Fleet was ſo diſperſed, that not half of them arrived with the Admiral in the *Sound*; a Second Rate foundered, and moſt of the great Ships, not being able to weather the Eaſtermoſt Point of Land, at the Entrance into the *Sound*, were forced to come to an Anchor upon a Lee-ſhoar. The *Hanover*, a Third Rate, bulged, and two more tayled aſhoar, but were afterwards got off; and moſt of them were miſerably ſhattered in their Maſts, Sails, and Rigging. Nevertheleſs, being moſtly joined by the 15th, they ſailed for the *Downs*, and Captain *Leake* with his Ship to *Chatham*, where we ſhall leave him laid up for the Winter.

Thus ended a very expenſive and fruitleſs Campaign, as well to the Officers of the Fleet as to the Nation. It anſwered Admiral *Ruſſel*'s Purpoſe only, who obtained from the King a Grant of *Suffolk-ſtreet*, valued at 18,000*l.* to make his Equi-

Equipage as Admiral, though he did not go beyond the Mouth of the Channel; and was firſt Lord Commiſſioner of the Admiralty, and Treaſurer of the Navy all the Time.

CHAP. V.

The Campaign of 1692; *a particular Account of the Battle of* La Hogue; *Captain* Leake's *Proceedings therein, and afterwards with the Fleet in the* Soundings.

EARLY in the Spring, Captain *Leake* haſtened to *Chatham* to look after the refitting his Ship, the *Eagle*, which he was always careful ſhould be ready one of the firſt, to join the Fleet. Accordingly he got out of that Harbour the latter End of *February*. He continued at the *Nore* till *April* 26, following, by which Time a conſiderabie Squadron having been formed under the Command of Sir *Ralph Delaval*, they ſailed from thence, and two Days afterwards anchored in the *Downs*. The next Day they left that Place, ſtretching over for the Coaſt of *France*; in their Way to *Spithead*, where they joined the reſt of the Ships deſigned to form the grand Fleet for that Campaign, under the Command of Admiral *Ruſſel*. The two Squadrons being thus united, a Council of War was called, and immediately ſome light Frigates were diſpatched to gain Intelligence of the *French* Fleet. Having likewiſe conſidered of a malicious Report, that ſeveral of the Captains of the Fleet were diſaffected, which had been tranſmitted to the Admiral by the Secretary of State, they joined in a dutiful Addreſs to their Majeſties: But this was thought to be only a political Contrivance to put their Allegiance to the Teſt.

The 18th of *May*, the Admiral ſailed towards the Coaſt of *France*, the Fleet conſiſting of near 100 Sail of the Line; and the following Day, very early in the Morning, had Notice given by the Scouts of diſcovering the Enemy, being about 53 Sail of Fighting Ships; upon which our Fleet was drawn into a Line of Battle. About Eight o'Clock the Line was pretty well formed, ſtretching from S. S. W. to N. N. E. the *Dutch* in the Van, the Admiral in the Centre, and the Blue in the Rear; but by Reaſon there had been little Wind the Night before, the *Dutch* were very far a-head, and the Blue a great Way a-ſtern. The *French* Admiral taking Advantage of this Poſture of our Fleet, bore down bravely upon the Centre, and bringing to very near our Admiral, began the Engagement, which by that Means was wholly with the Red Squadron that formed

formed the Admiral's Diviſion, and the *French* being ſuperior, both in the Number and Bigneſs of their Ships, hoped, no doubt, by this reſolute Attack, to force a Paſſage through our Line.

Captain *Leake* was the third Ship a-head of the Admiral; the ſecond a-head was a Ship of 50 Guns, which being oppoſed to a great Ship of the Enemy's, was ſoon obliged to go out of the Line; whereupon Captain *Leake* backing a-ſtern, cloſed the Line, and the Battle continued from Eleven till near Four, with great Fury on both Sides; when the Enemy, finding they could not force the Line, and having ſuffered very much, Monſieur *Tourville* prudently retreated whilſt he was able, and towed away, there being but little Wind, all the *French* Fleet doing the like, being much favoured in their Retreat by a Fog, which aroſe about that Time. We loſt abundance of Men in the Battle, and the Ships were much ſhattered; and had not the whole Diviſion ſtood ſtifly to it, the Enemy had defeated our Centre, whilſt the Van and the Rear had been idle Spectators only.

Captain *Leake*'s Ship, the *Eagle*, ſuffered very much in this Battle, having, for a conſiderable Time, been expoſed to the Fire of two of the Enemy's great Ships. Her Mizen-maſt was ſhot ſo that it fell upon the Deck, the Fore-maſt and Bow-ſprit were much damaged, and Main-top-maſt ſhot, Fore and Main-ſtay ſhot away, and the Ship's Hull very much torn, beſides 17 Guns, and her Sheet and ſmall Bower Anchors diſabled; 70 Men killed outright, and more than twice that Number wounded: Amongſt the latter was the firſt Lieutenant, Mr. *Martin*, Captain *Leake*'s Brother-in-Law, who, having been twice wounded, and being upon the Quarter-Deck, receiving his Brother's Orders, a Cannon-ball had like to have taken them both off together, for it paſſed between them as they were ſpeaking to each other. Notwithſtanding the ill Condition of the *Eagle*, Captain *Leake* applied himſelf with ſo much Diligence to repair the Damage, that he performed his Duty with the reſt, in the Purſuit of the Enemy.

About Four o'Clock it was a thick Fog, ſo that none of the Enemy could be ſeen, upon which all Firing ceaſed; but clearing up in a little Time, the *French* Admiral was diſcovered towing away Northward, our Admiral's Diviſion doing the like, it being calm. About Seven the Wind ſpringing up at Eaſt, the *French* made Sail: But our Blue Squadron having got to the Weſtward of the Enemy, during the Engagement, they fell in with them, and were engaged afreſh, whereby the Admiral's Diviſion came up with them, and they run and fought till Night ended it, with the Loſs of one Ship blown up, and another burnt, by our Fireſhips.

It continued foggy all Night, and ſo hazy the next Morning, that not any of the Enemy, and but few of our own Ships could be ſeen; but clearing up about Eight o'Clock, the *Dutch* made the Signal of ſeeing the *French* Fleet; and about Nine, 34 Sail were diſcovered, about two or three Leagues off, the Wind at S. S. E. our Ships chaſing with all the Sail they could, (having the Weather-Gage) but not in a Line, that ſo every Ship might make the beſt of their Way; but the Enemy ſoon left them. Between Eleven and Twelve, the Wind veered to the South-Weſt, when the *French* crowded away Northward, and our Fleet after them. About Four, the Tide off Ebb being done, both Fleets anchored, the *French* about three Leagues Diſtance to Windward, and the Weather hazy. At Midnight our Fleet weighed again, continuing the Chaſe till Day, and then ſaw the *French* again, both plying Weſtward, and ſo continued till Four, the *French* then being got between *Cape de la Hogue* and the Iſle of *Alderney*, the Cape bearing S. b. W. and *Alderney* S. S. W. When the *French* coming to an Anchor at once, with all their Sails ſtanding, our Ships drove out with the Current to the Eaſtward, and by this Stratagem the greateſt Part of them got off; a Circumſtance, which our Naval Hiſtorians were not acquainted with, or carefully concealed. As ſoon as this Stratagem was diſcovered, our Fleet anchored; but about Eight in the Morning the Flood being done, the *French* cut, upon which the Admiral made the Signal to do the ſame, which being done, our Fleet chaſed along Shoar after the *French*, to *Sherbrock*. There the Admiral of *France*, and three great Ships more, run cloſe in, the Admiral cutting away all his Maſts; and Sir *Ralph Delaval* was left with them, and afterwards deſtroyed them; Part of the Red Squadron (of which Captain *Leake* was one) purſuing the reſt. About Four in the Afternoon, the Admiral having Advice that 18 of the Enemy's Ships, which were got to the Eaſtward of *Cape Barfleur*, had haled in for *La Hogue*, followed them, and anchored there about Ten at Night. The next Morning early he weighed, and ſtood in near the Land, and anchored again; and at Two in the Afternoon plied in cloſe with *La Hogue*, where they found 13 of the Enemy's Ships very near the Shoar.

On Monday the 23d of *May*, Mr. *Rooke*, Vice-Admiral of the Blue, was ordered to go in with a Squadron, ſome Fire-ſhips, and the Boats of the Fleet, to deſtroy thoſe Ships; and for that Purpoſe hoiſted his Flag on Board the *Eagle*, Captain *Leake*, notwithſtanding the ill Condition ſhe was in. About Seven in the Evening he ſailed, and got as near the Enemy's Ships as poſſible; but they had run themſelves ſo far in, that none but the ſmall Frigates could advance near enough for Service: However, they kept firing at them, and at Night,

the

the Boats going in, ſet 6 of their Capital Ships, of three Decks each, on Fire, and came away by their Light. The next Morning they made a ſecond Attempt, and as ſucceſsful as the former, burning the other Seven, of 60 and 70 Guns each, with one Store-ſhip; the *Eagle*'s Boats, commanded by Lieutenant *Martin*, Captain *Leake*'s Firſt Lieutenant, ſetting Fire to one of the great Ships, and doing otherwiſe very conſiderable Service. After that they went up a Creek, and ſet fire to 12 or 14 Sail of Merchant Ships; and all this in Sight of the *French* and *Iriſh* Camp, that lay ready to invade *England*. If they had kept on board their Ships, as King *James* adviſed, and defended them, it would have been impoſſible for our Fleet to have deſtroyed them, none but ſmall Ships being able to come near them; but they had ſuffered ſo much in the Battle, and were under ſuch Terrors, that they left moſt of their wounded Men to periſh with the Ships, though they had Time given them on Purpoſe to carry them off. Sir *George Rooke* having thus intirely executed his Orders, in deſtroying the *French* Ships, he weighed with his Squadron, and ſoon after joined the Admiral, who ſailed the 25th, and arrived at *St. Helens* the Day following. Queen *Mary* was no ſooner informed of this Victory, than ſhe ſent a Gratuity of 30,000 *l.* to *Portſmouth*, to be diſtributed amongſt the Seamen and Soldiers; Medals were ſtruck and given to the Officers, as Tokens of Honour; and the Bodies of Rear-Admiral *Carter*, and Colonel *Haſtings*, who were killed in the Battle, were honourably interred.

As to the Battle in general, it was a very confuſed Buſineſs, though fortunately crowned with Succeſs; but the Succeſs might have been much greater, if it had been as well conducted on our Part, as on the Part of the Enemy, who made a brave Attack, and a fine Retreat, without having one Ship taken; ſo that little Glory could redound to the Admiral, for having beaten 56 Sail with near 100: But, conſidering the Situation of our Fleet, and the Abſence of the Van and Rear, it was as brave as if it had conſiſted of the Red Squadron only; and therefore it may truly be ſaid, that the Enemy were beat by an inferior Number: And the Succeſs that followed at *Sherbrock* and *La Hogue*, gave ſuch a Shock to the Naval Power of *France*, that they never appeared with a Fleet able to face ours afterwards during the War. It likewiſe prevented their Deſign of puſhing over King *James* from *Ireland*, at the Head of 20,000 Men; for which they only waited the Iſſue of a Battle. And this Defeat fell ſo heavy upon King *James*, that it made him give over all Thoughts of recovering his Crown, and at length broke his Heart.

It was believed, (ſays Biſhop *Burnet*) "that if this Succeſs "had been purſued with Vigour, conſidering the Conſternation "with

" with which the *French* were ſtruck, that the Victory might " have been carried much farther than it was; but *Ruſſel* was " provoked by ſome Letters and Orders ſent him by the Queen, " and upon that he fell into a Croſſneſs of Diſpoſition; he " found Fault with every Order that was ſent him, but would " offer no Advice on his Part."

The Fleet being returned to *Portſmouth*, and having been refitted, ſailed from *Spithead* the 14th of *June*, to endeavour to prevent the *French* Blue Squadron, which had got into *St. Malos* after the late Battle, and were now repaired, from joining the reſt in *Breſt* Harbour; and in order to improve the late Victory by making a Deſcent upon *France*. Three Days after Captain *Leake*, in Company with 5 Sail more, having been refitted, followed after, and joined the Fleet on the Coaſt of *France*. The 2d of *July* the whole Fleet anchored in *Guernſey* Road. Three Days after Vice-Admiral *Rooke*, with 32 Sail, was ſent off *St. Malos*, and the reſt of the Fleet ſailed a cruiſing, but were forced by bad Weather, the 8th, into *Torbay*. Here they were joined by Mr. *Rooke*, from the Coaſt of *St. Malos*, where he had been taking the Soundings, in order to attack that Place. Upon this a Council of War was called, and the 15th, the whole Fleet ſailed from *Torbay*, and ſeveral Detachments were made to intercept the *St. Malo* Squadron, whilſt the Admiral, with the Groſs of the Fleet, (wherein Captain *Leake* remained) continued to cruize to and fro, as Wind and Weather permitted; but the Wind coming Weſterly, and fearing they might be drove to the Eaſtward of *Torbay*, they put in there with the Fleet, and took in Proviſions. They ſailed from thence the 26th, and two Days after were joined by the Tranſports with the Land Forces, under the Command of the Duke of *Leinſter*. Upon this Junction a Council of War was held, conſiſting of Sea and Land Officers; and it was agreed to be impracticable to attempt *St. Malos*, or any other Place, ſo late in the Year. *Kennet* ſays, That in Regard this Fleet ſet ſail with a fair Wind, in the moſt favourable Seaſon of the Year, there was no ſmall Expectation of ſome conſiderable Enterprize; but in four or five Days the Tranſports, with Part of the Fleet, returned to *St. Helens*. This unexpected Return occaſioned various Conjectures. Enquiry was afterwards made in Parliament, in Relation to the Eſcape of the *French* Ships which got into *St. Malos*, after the late Battle, and why a Deſcent had not been made, as was intended; *Ruſſel* made but poor Excuſes: But the Houſe of Commons, of which he was a Member, (ſays *Burnet*) gave him Thanks over and over, and remained ſo fixed, that though the Lords then communicated to the Commons the Papers which the Earl of *Nottingham*, Secretary of State, had laid before them, they would not ſo much as read them. The King was, how-

however, ſo well ſatisfied of his Miſconduct, that he ſet him aſide in the Spring.

The Expedition againſt *France* having been laid aſide, as above-mentioned, Captain *Leake*, after a ſhort Cruiſe in the *Channel*, arrived at *Spithead* the 7th of *September*. The 18th, Sir *John Aſhby* hoiſted his Flag on board the *Eagle*, and the next Day ſailed with 25 Ships of the Line, *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, and 8 Fireſhips. They cruiſed off *Uſhant* ten Days, and the 1st of *October* put into *Torbay*, from whence they ſailed the 9th, and the next Day anchored at *St. Helens*. The Admiral continued his Flag flying till the 3d of *November*, when he removed to another Ship, the *Eagle* being ordered to *Chatham*: Purſuant to theſe Orders Captain *Leake* ſailed the 11th, and, after a very bad Paſſage, arrived at that Place the 14th of *November*; and the laſt of *December* the *Eagle* was put out of Commiſſion.

CHAP. VI.

Captain Leake's *Proceedings with a Squadron in the* Channel, *and afterwards with the Grand Fleet in the* Mediterranean, Channel, *and* Soundings, *to the Concluſion of the War.*

THE Day Captain *Leake* was diſcharged from the *Eagle* at *Chatham*, he was commiſſioned for the *Plymouth* at *Portſmouth*, a Third Rate of 60 Guns; for, by Mr. *Pepys*'s Liſt of the Navy, and all Lines of Battle at this Time, it appears 60 Gun Ships were Third Rates, but under 60 Guns were Fourth Rates. There was at this Time a great Want of Seamen; nevertheleſs, by his Application and good Character he manned his Ship, and got her in a Readineſs for the Sea by the 27th of *February*. He was thereupon ordered upon a Cruize in the *Channel*. Purſuant to theſe Orders, on the 8th of *March* he ſailed from *Spithead*, taking under his Command the *Adventure*, *Crown*, *Soldadoes* Prize, and *Goodwin* Sloop. Two Days after he was off the *Saine-Head*, and diſcovered two Sail, which he chaſed; but not being able to come up with them, he lay by the next Day to join his Squadron. The following Day he chaſed two Sail more, till Night intercepted them, and by that Means they got off. In this Chaſe, ſeveral of his Squadron loſt Company; but the 16th he fell in with them again, and a *Swediſh* Ship they had ſtopt on Suſpicion, which being laden

laden with Iron and Deals, and having but a ſingle Bill of Lading, he thought proper to retain as Prize.

On the 18th they had very hard Gales, when they chaſed, and came up with a Ship, which proved to be the *Diamond* Man of War, going for the *Downs*; and having put the Prize under his Convoy, and the Priſoners on board him, he continued his Cruize. The two following Days he chaſed a Ship under *Dutch* Colours; but ſhe going from them, he put into *Spithead*, and having watered his Ships purſued his Cruize, being joined by the *York*. The next Day he chaſed a ſmall Ship, which, loſing her Main-maſt, he came up with off the Iſle of *Alderney*; but ſhe only proved an *Oſtender*. The 3d of *April* he re-took a ſmall Ketch off the Iſland of *Baſs*. Early the next Morning he diſcovered a Fleet coming along Shoar, to the Number of 18; immediately he endeavoured to cut them off from the Land, but before he could reach them, they run in amongſt the Rocks, and got into a Place called *Port Sall*; but he came up with one in the Rear of the Fleet, which he took to be of their Number, but proved to be a ſmall *Engliſh* Merchant Ship. Preſently Captain *Leake* ordered his own and the *York*'s Boats to be manned and armed, and putting a Pilot on board the Merchant Ship, ſent them all in to ſee if any Way they could take or deſtroy them; but the Weather was ſo bad they could do nothing. The next Day he attempted again to go into *Port Sall*, but the Weather hindered him, and blew ſo freſh, they were forced to keep off the Land. On the 9th he made a Shift to look in again, and ſaw them remaining there ſtill; but it blew ſo hard he could do nothing, and continued ſo for two Days, that he broke both Top-maſts. The 12th, being off of *Portland*, and having got up other Top-maſts, he crowded away for Cape *de la Hogue*; the next Day he was off the Cape, and ſeeing all clear, he bore away for *Spithead*, being in Want both of Proviſions and Water, and arrived there the laſt of *April*.

Here he found Orders to convoy the *Eaſt India* and *Virginia* Ships on their Way to thoſe Places; accordingly he delivered out Sailing Inſtructions for that Purpoſe; and being joined by the *Crown* and two *Dutch* Men of War, he ſailed; but was forced to lie by ſome Time for his Convoys, in all ninety-four, which having joined him, he continued, with an eaſy Sail, to keep the Merchant Ships together; and on the 9th of *May* arrived with them in *Plymouth* Sound. On the 30th he intended to have ſailed from thence with his Convoy; but two *Dutch* Men of War going out of the *Sound* that Morning, returned with Sails flying, having diſcovered a Fleet; upon which he ordered the Merchant Ships to make Preparation to get into the Harbour; but ſoon after another *Dutch* Ship coming in, diſſipated their Fears, by bringing an Account that it was only

a Fleet of *Danes* and *Swedes* from *St. Ubes*. The next Day therefore he ſailed with his Convoy, being increaſed now to 150 Sail; and the Day following he joined the Grand Fleet, under the Command of the joint Admirals, *Killegrew*, *Shovel*, and *Delaval*, who had Orders to proceed with the Trade as far as ſhould be judged neceſſary, having likewiſe with them the *Turky* and *Mediterranean* Trade, which were to be convoyed by a ſtrong Squadron, under the Command of Sir *George Rooke*; and for their greater Security were to be accompanied by the whole Fleet 30 Leagues W. S. W. from *Uſhant*, to ſecure them from the *Breſt* and *Toulon* Squadrons: But the Admirals not having receceived any Intelligence of the Enemy, reſolved, at a Council of War, *June* 4, they would accompany the *Mediterranean* Squadron with the Trade 20 Leagues farther, and then proceed to the Rendezvous, 10 Leagues North-Weſt of *Uſhant*; ſo that leaving the *Streights* Convoy on the 6th of *June*, with Sir *George Rooke*, (who parted with ſome Reluctance, as foreſeeing the Danger he was expoſed to) they arrived at the Rendezvous two Days after.

In the mean Time ſome Ships that had been ſent to gain Intelligence, returned the 17th, with an Account that there were not any Ships in *Breſt*; and a Number of Ships having been ſeen ſome Days before off *Scilly*, they were judged to be the *French* Fleet; whereupon it was determined to ſail for *Scilly*, in Queſt of the Enemy, and from thence to *Torbay*, where they arrived the 21ſt of *June*. Two Days after the Admirals held a Council of War, upon Orders received from the Queen, in relation to the Danger Sir *George Rooke* was in, and they reſolved to proceed to *Lisbon* to join him; but preſently after they agreed they had not Proviſions ſufficient to enable them to do ſo. In the mean Time the Blow was given, and the greateſt that happened to our Trade during the War, whereby we loſt 4 Men of War, *viz.* 3 *Dutch* and 1 *Engliſh*; 40 Merchant Ships taken, of which 4 were rich *Smyrna* Ships, and 50 deſtroyed. This Miſcarriage was charged to the joint Admirals; becauſe, firſt, they neglected to ſee the Convoy out of Danger, which they had Reaſon to fear; and, in the next Place, becauſe they did not endeavour to follow them, when they were ordered to do ſo, and knew the Danger they were in. Upon the Examination of this unhappy Miſcarriage by the Houſe of Commons, it was reſolved, That the Fleet had ſufficient Proviſions on Board, when they parted with Sir *George Rooke*, to have ſerved them till they had accompanied that Squadron out of Danger; and that there had been notorious and treacherous Miſmanagement in the Miſcarriage of the *Smyrna* Fleet. *Burnet* ſays, Two of the Admirals were thought to be in King *James*'s Intereſt; but that no Exception lay againſt *Shovel*, who was joined to give a Reputation to the Com-

Commiſſion: But though the Miſcarriage was very notorious, it paſſed over, the Houſe not being able to fix the particular Blame, a Conveniency which will ever attend joint Commiſſions.

After the Admirals had received Advice of this Misfortune, they made a ſhort Cruize, wherein, on the 19th of *July*, Captain *Leake* removed from the *Eagle*, being appointed Captain of the *Oſſory*, a Second Rate, being then off the *Lizard*. They continued cruizing till the 16th of *Auguſt*, when the Fleet arrived in *Torbay*; and the *Oſſory* proving very leaky, was ordered, with ſome other Ships, to repair to *Chatham*. Accordingly Captain *Leake* took thoſe Ships under his Command, and arrived at that Place the 3d of *September*, and continued there all the Winter.

Upon the King's Return from *Holland*, his Majeſty, to ſhew a juſt Reſentment, diſſolved the joint Commiſſion, and appointed Mr. *Ruſſel*, Admiral of the Fleet, in their Stead; and Preparations were forthwith made for a large Fleet, to be early at Sea, for the next Summer Expedition. Captain *Leake*'s Ship, the *Oſſory*, being appointed for that Service, he ſailed from *Chatham* River, and joined the Admiral of the Blue at the *Nore* the 12th of *March*, from whence they ſailed, and arrived in the *Downs* the 22d of *April*, 1694: There they were joined by 13 Sail of *Dutch* Men of War, upon which they ſailed directly for *Portſmouth*, and joined the Grand Fleet the 7th of *May*.

Upon this Junction, Admiral *Ruſſel* ſailed with the Groſs of the Fleet, leaving Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel* with a good Squadron (of which Captain *Leake* was one) to take in the Forces deſigned againſt *Breſt*; and each Ship took on board their Proportion of 6000 Men for that Purpoſe. The 3d of *June* they left *Spithead*, and three Days after joined the Admiral; but the Squadrons ſoon parted again, thoſe with Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel* going upon the *Breſt* Expedition, except Capt. *Leake*, whom the Admiral was pleaſed to retain with him, to go to the *Mediterranean*.

The 25th they got into the Latitude of 39 Degrees off of the Rock of *Liſbon*, when ſome Ships were diſpatched to Cape *St. Vincent*, to gain Intelligence of the Enemy. The 30th of *May* Rear-Admiral *Nevil* with the *Dutch* joined the Fleet, upon which the Line of Battle was formed, conſiſting of 63 Ships. Upon this Junction it was reſolved to proceed after the *French* Fleet, which they had Advice was off *Barcelona*; but they did not arrive at *Carthagena* till the 13th of *July*, by Reaſon the Wind had been Eaſterly, ever ſince they entered the Streights. In the mean Time the *French* Fleet returned to the Iſles of *Hyeres*, off of *Toulon*. The 21ſt the Fleet came to an Anchor in *Altea* Bay to water, from thence they ſailed

the 27th, and two Days after arrived at *Barcelona*, where they continued till the 16th of *Auguſt*; and having proceeded down the *Streights* as far as *Malaga*, the Admiral received Orders to winter at *Cadiz*. Hereupon it was reſolved to proceed up the *Mediterranean* as high as *Alicant*, which they did accordingly, and arrived there the 10th of *September*. During the Time they lay there, Admiral *Ruſſel* was taken ſo ill, that he was obliged to go on Shoar, committing the Fleet to the Care of Vice-Admiral *Aylmer* of the Blue Squadron, with Orders to ſail in Queſt of the *French*, which he had Intelligence were at Sea; purſuant to theſe Orders he ſailed with the Fleet, *September* 15; but, meeting with nothing remarkable, returned the 22d of the ſame Month. By this Time the Admiral being in a better State of Health, returned on board, and the 29th ſailed, and arrived at *Cadiz* the 8th of *October*.

The Fleet being laid up at *Cadiz* for the Winter, the Reparations were vigorouſly carried on, to make them ready for the Sea againſt the Spring. For this Purpoſe, the latter End of *December*, ſeveral Ships with Naval Stores, Officers and Artificers, arrived from *England*. In the mean Time a ſmall Squadron was detached to cruize, till the 12th of *February*, for the Protection of the Trade, and the Annoyance of the Enemy. By this Squadron two *French* Men of War were taken, one of 70 and the other of 60 Guns; and in *March* a ſtrong Squadron was ſent out under Admiral *Nevil*. Soon after the Land Forces arrived from *England*, and by the 30th of *April* 1695, the whole Fleet came to ſail.

The 8th of *May* the Fleet anchored off *Alicant*, and ten Days after at *Barcelona*, from whence they ſailed the 20th, lying off of *Toulon*. The 22d of *June* the Fleet arrived in *Cagliari* Bay, at the Iſland of *Sardinia*, to water, and the 18th of *July* came to *Barcelona*; and having agreed with the Vice-Roy to attempt *Pallamos*, they proceeded thither. The 12th of *Auguſt* Sir *Martin Beckman*, with 8 Bomb-Ketches, went in near the Walls of *Pallamos*, and did conſiderable Damage to the Town; and near 4000 Forces were landed. But the Admiral having Intelligence from *Toulon*, that the *French* had 60 Sail of Ships ready to put to Sea, it was determined to reimbark the Forces, which being done, the Admiral returned down the *Streights*, and arrived in *Cadiz* Bay the 23d of *September*. Here, having appointed Sir *David Mitchell* with a Squadron to remain abroad, himſelf, with the reſt, (amongſt which Captain *Leake* was one) ſailed for *England*, and arrived in the *Downs* the 6th of *November*. Though no Action of Conſequence was performed theſe two Campaigns, and Admiral *Ruſſel* added nothing to his Reputation, yet it was an Honour to the Nation to have the *Britiſh* Fleet riding triumphantly

in

in the *Mediterranean*, whilſt the *French* Fleet remained cooped up in the Harbour of *Toulon*.

Two Days after the Arrival of the Fleet, Captain *Leake* ſailed with the Ships for *Chatham*, where they arrived ſoon after, in order to be refitted for the next Campaign.

The Beginning of the Year 1696, the *French* were making Preparations for a Deſcent upon *England*; but Admiral *Ruſſel* appearing ſuddenly upon the Enemy's Coaſt, prevented their Deſign; and then leaving the Fleet to attend the other Functions of his Duty, as firſt Commiſſioner of the Admiralty, and Treaſurer of the Navy, the Command of the Fleet fell to Sir *George Rooke*, then lately arrived from the *Streights*.

Captain *Leake* had been at *Blackſtakes* ever ſince the 24th of *February*, where he remained waiting for Orders till the *April* following. The latter End of that Month he joined the Fleet in the *Downs*, under the Command of Sir *George Rooke*, from whence they ſoon after proceeded to *Spithead*. The 4th of *May* the Fleet ſailed from thence, proceeding down the *Channel*, in order to intercept the *Toulon* Squadron, and prevent them from getting into any Port of *France*. Four Days after, being off of *Dartmouth*, they had Intelligence that the *French* Fleet had been ſeen ſix Days before in the Latitude of 45. The 14th the Fleet were on the Coaſt of *Uſhant*, where they had farther Intelligence, that the *Toulon* Fleet got into *Breſt* the 5th, being 45 Ships of the Line. Whereupon at a Council of War it was reſolved to repair to *Torbay*, where they arrived the 23d; and four Days after their Arrival there, Sir *George Rooke* left the Fleet to the Command of *John* Lord *Berkeley*, who was appointed Admiral of the Fleet. He preſently ordered the Fleet to ſail; the 24th got out of the *Channel*; and in *Broad* Sound one of the Ships took a Privateer. The 1ſt of *July* they were off *Uſhant*; the next Day they bore away for *Belle-Iſle* in the Bay of *Biſcay*, and two Days after came to an Anchor in that Road; upon which all the Ships Boats manned and armed, were ſent on Shoar upon *Houat*, one of the Iſles called *Cardinals*, and burnt and deſtroyed all the Houſes, Cattle, and whatever they could find there. The next Day they did the like to *Hovais* and *Heydie*, two other of thoſe Iſlands adjacent, having made a terrible Havock of many Hundred Houſes and Cattle, beſides deſtroying about twenty Sail of ſmall Veſſels: Sailing from thence the Day following, they arrived again at *Torbay* the 22d of *Auguſt*; from thence they came to *Spithead* the 31ſt; and the 20th of *September* arrived in the *Downs*. Here the Admiral left the Fleet. The next Day Captain *Leake* took under his Command the Ships deſigned for *Chatham* and the *River of Thames*. The 23d he came to the *Nore*, and the 18th of *October* arrived at *Blackſtakes*.

By this Time, both Sides being pretty well tired of the War, the Preparations for the next Campaign went on but ſlowly: However, it being neceſſary to keep the Sword drawn till Matters were fully concluded, a Fleet was aſſembled in the Spring, under the Command of Sir *George Rooke*. The latter End of *April* Captain *Leake* joined the Fleet in the *Downs*, from whence they ſailed the 6th of *May*, and four Days afterwards arrived at *Spithead*. There they were joined by ten Sail of *Dutch* Men of War; upon which a Council of War was held, and the Ships were found to be in want both of Proviſions and Men. Notwithſtanding this, they received Orders for proceeding to Sea, which they did the 23d, to the Number of 33 Sail, *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, and 8 Fire-ſhips. The 25th they were joined by Admiral *Mitchel*, with his Squadron, which made them 44 Sail of the Line. They arrived off *Uſhant* the 28th, at which Time they diſcovered there were in *Breſt* but 10 Ships ready for the Sea: Whereupon they cruized in the Mouth of the *Channel*, till Proviſions growing ſhort, they returned to *Torbay*, the Place of Rendezvous, and from thence arrived at *Spithead* the 28th of *Auguſt*. Soon after the War being concluded, by the Ratification of the Peace at *Ryſwick*, the 20th of *September*, 1697, Captain *Leake* received Orders to go for *Chatham* to lay up his Ship: He arrived there the 10th of *October*, and the 5th of *December* his Ship was paid off. So that from his firſt Command of the *Firedrake*, in 1688, to this Time, making upwards of nine Years, he had not been one Day out of Commiſſion.

CHAP. VII.

His Proceedings after the Peace of Ryſwick *to the Commencement of the War with* France, Anno 1702. *He is appointed firſt Captain to the Lord High Admiral. Concluding with the State of the Navy during King* William's *Reign.*

WE have now brought Captain *Leake* to the Concluſion of King *William*'s War, which he finiſhed with as much Reputation to himſelf, and Honour to his Country, as any one had done in the Station of a private Captain. Though he was now out of Commiſſion, he was not however wholly unprovided for: His Majeſty ſome Time before had taken into Conſideration the Hardſhips that the Officers of the Navy would

would be expoſed to in a Time of Peace, if they had not improved their Fortunes by ſome lucky Hit during the War, eſpecially the ſenior Officers, who, having ſpent their Strength in the Service of their Country, well deſerved to be ſupported at the publick Charge. Beſides, he had found by Experience, a great Scarcity of Officers the Beginning of the War, for want of ſome Proviſion in Time of Peace. His Majeſty therefore in Council, the 22d of *February* 1693-4, eſtabliſhed an Allowance of Half-Pay to the Captains and ſome other Officers of the Navy, to commence from the 1st of *January* 1693-4, whereby every Captain was entitled to Half the Pay of the biggeſt Ship he had commanded for one Year, or in a general Engagement. Capt. *Leake*, therefore, by his Command of the *Oſſory*, was entitled to the Half-Pay of a Second Rate. This was the State of the Half-Pay at the Peace of *Ryſwick*; but by a ſecond Eſtabliſhment in the Year 1700, the Method was altered, and the Half-Pay made perpetual. From the 1st of *July* the fifty ſenior Captains, who had ſerved in the preceding War, were to be ſupported on Shoar; and in like Manner the fifty ſenior Captains always for the Time to come, to be ready upon any Occaſion, whereof the firſt twenty were to receive ten Shillings a Day, and the reſt eight Shillings a Day. This Alteration was in Favour of the twenty ſenior Officers, by giving them the Half-Pay of Firſt-Rates, though ſome of them were not otherwiſe entitled to the Half-Pay of Second Rates: But ſtill more advantageous to the ſucceeding Seniors, who, War or Peace, employed or unemployed, were to receive the ſame.

Leaving military Affairs for a while, we muſt now conſider ſome Tranſactions that happened at Home in his Abſence. In *July* 1696, whilſt Captain *Leake* was employed with the Grand Fleet in the *Soundings*, his Father died in the 68th Year of his Age, at *Woolwich*, where he was buried. Captain *Leake* was his only ſurviving Son, beſides whom, he had a Daughter *Elizabeth*, whom he made whole and ſole Executrix of his Will, leaving to his Son only one Moiety of his Books and Inſtruments; the other Moiety to his Daughter's Son, by which it appears, his Reſentment for the ill Succeſs of his Cuſhee-Piece continued to the laſt; though Captain *Leake* ever continued a moſt dutiful and affectionate Son.

Upon the old Man's Death, Captain *Leake*'s Wife and Friends, to whom he was as dear in private Life, as valuable to all in his publick Station, without his Conſent or Knowledge, from an earneſt Deſire of having him at home, had procured for him his Father's Place of Maſter-Gunner of *England*, and Store-keeper at *Woolwich*, by Means of the following Letter from Admiral *Ruſſel* to the Lord *Romney*, Maſter-General of the Ordnance.

My LORD,

'I AM desired by Captain *Leake*, to recommend him to 'your Lordship's Favour, to succeed his Father, lately 'dead, who was Master-Gunner of *England*. He has been 'for many Years his First-Mate; he is a Man that I can an-'swer for his Knowledge in the Art of Gunnery, Courage, 'and Fidelity; at present he is Captain of the *Ossory*, a very 'honest and good Man; thus far I can answer for on my own 'Knowledge; and a Man that will be very diligent in his 'Office. I must now ask your Lordship's Pardon for the 'Trouble I have given you; but would not refuse a Friend, 'to recommend him to your Favour: I promise myself he 'will not fare the worse, since it comes from,

My LORD,

Your LORDSHIP's

Most faithful

And Humble Servant,

E. RUSSELL.

Chippenham,
July 28, 1696.

This Letter shews Admiral *Russel*'s Opinion of Captain *Leake*, as well as his Friendship for him; but though he was pleased to find he had so good a Friend, yet the Thing itself was not at all agreeable, and therefore he was surprized, when he returned into Harbour, to find himself nominated Master-Gunner of *England*. He had, indeed, been one of the Master-Gunner's Mates, ever since his Father had been in that Office, and a considerable Time First Mate; so that he had fair Pretensions to succeed, if he had desired it; but so far from it, that he had only kept the Mate's Place, out of Complaisance to his Father, designing to throw it up whenever he died, as he now actually did. He therefore handsomely excused himself from accepting the Master-Gunner's Place, not only because it was a very troublesome Office, but because it interfered with his Pretensions in the Navy, where he was now a senior Officer; and he hoped, that would, in Time, afford him a Post more suitable, and equally advantageous on Shoar, if he did not meet with the Preferment he expected at Sea.

Indeed, with the Fatigues of nine Years War, wherein he had not been one Day out of Commission, he might well desire a Recess, to enjoy a little domestick Tranquillity, with his Family and Friends; but not like one who had no further Expectations: For, as by his Bravery and Conduct, he had gained the Applause of the Publick, so had he made himself many Friends; and he had no Reason to doubt but they would serve

him, when Occaſion offered; and he was reſolved, at leaſt to wait the Event ſome Time. But Men of active Spirits muſt be employed: He had not been a Twelvemonth on Shoar, but he languiſhed for Employment; eſpecially, as the late War had not afforded him many Opportunities to increaſe his Fortune; neither did he improve the few that had offered; for being of a brave and generous Diſpoſition, he did not conſider ſo much to raiſe his Fortune, as his Reputation. Contrariwiſe, he whoſe Mind is turned to get Money, can hardly do a brave Action; and ſuch an one may make an excellent Trader, but can never make a good Officer; ſo difficult it is, honourably, to acquire a moderate Fortune by the Profeſſion of Arms, with all its Hazards and Fatigues, which moſt other Profeſſions bring with Eaſe and Security; whilſt a military Man, if he eſcapes with Life and Limb, in the ſame Time, ſhall be hardly known, for a little Honour, that fades as ſoon as the glittering Arms are laid aſide.

The Conſideration, then, of making a better Proviſion for his Family than Half-Pay, and the Uncertainty of another War, determined him to comply with the Deſires of his Relations, and endeavour to procure ſome Preferment in the civil Branch of the Navy, and quit the Sea. What he had chiefly in View, was to be a Commiſſioner of the Navy, a conſtant Reward to ſenior Captains, worn out in the Service, or deſirous to retire. And this he had good Pretenſions to, being one of the oldeſt Captains upon the Liſt. For this Purpoſe he reſolved to apply himſelf to thoſe he accounted his Friends, of which Number were Admiral *Ruſſel*, Sir *George Rooke*, and Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel*; but Admiral *Churchil* was more particularly ſo, and upon every Occaſion expreſſed a Deſire to ſerve him. This Gentleman was Brother to the Earl of *Marlborough*, and had a powerful Intereſt: He had a great perſonal Eſteem for Captain *Leake*, ever ſince the Battle of *La Hogue*, where he bravely ſuſtained him after the Ship between them had been beaten out of the Line; and from that, and other Inſtances of his Conduct and Behaviour, Mr. *Churchil* had fixed his Eye upon him, as upon one formed by Nature, to perform great Actions by Sea. To Mr. *Churchil* Captain *Leake* firſt opened his Deſign of applying to be a Commiſſioner of the Navy; but inſtead of giving him Encouragement to proceed, he wholly diſſuaded him from it: He told him, it was Time enough to think of that, when he was incapable of further Service at Sea, or had been diſappointed in his Promotion; that probably the Peace might not continue long; if it did, he would be a Flag in his Turn, and that was not far off; and, in the mean Time, he would endeavonr to get him a Ship; but he would not by any Means have him think of quitting the Navy to be a Commiſſioner, for he hoped he was reſerved for ſomething

more to his own and his Country's Honour. The Advice and Encouragement of ſo good a Friend, determined him to wait with Patience; but it happened his Patience was not long put to the Trial, for Mr. *Churchil* being ſhortly after appointed one of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, ſoon brought Mr. *Leake* into Action; and the 5th of *May* 1699, he was commiſſioned for the *Kent*, a Third Rate of 70 Guns, at *Deptford*.

The 26th he fell down to the *Hope*, and having taken on board ſome Soldiers with their Officers, to recruit the Regiments in *Ireland*, he ſailed for the *Downs*, and joined the Squadron under the Command of Rear-Admiral *Hopſon*. The 2d of *Auguſt* they ſailed for *Ireland*, but by Reaſon of turbulent and hazy Weather, were forced into *Torbay* four Days after. They left *Torbay* the 12th, but with contrary Winds and very foggy Weather, and plying to Windward, on the 20th, coming in with the Land, they found themſelves before *Cork*, and coming to an Anchor in that Harbour, diſembarked the Soldiers. Leaving that Place the 28th, with a fair Wind, they arrived in the *Downs* the 1st of *September*. They did not continue long here; for on the 6th they received Orders to go for *Portſmouth*, and weighing immediately, came two Days afterwards to *Spithead*. The 10th Rear-Admiral *Hopſon* hoiſted his Flag on board the *Kent*, continuing there till the 11th of *November*. The 27th Captain *Leake* hoiſted a diſtinguiſhing Pendant at *Spithead*, as Commander in Chief of the Ships in that Harbour, and continued at that Place till the 1st of *February*, when he received Orders to go to *Chatham*. He ſailed the next Day, and the following anchored in the *Downs*; from whence he ſailed for *Chatham* two Days after; and the 22d the *Kent* was put out of Commiſſion.

After this Captain *Leake* continued a Year out of Commiſſion, when the Times ſeemed to promiſe an Occaſion for further Service; for, though it was not believed a War would break out with *France* ſo ſoon as it did, yet there was a Suſpicion the Beginning of the Year 1701, that the *French* had a Deſign to make a Deſcent upon *England*: Orders were therefore given to aſſemble a Fleet, and Captain *Leake* was appointed to command the *Berwick*, a Third Rate of 70 Guns, in *Chatham* Harbour. He entered on board her the 28th of *February* 1700-1, and finding the Ship ready manned, and under ſailing Orders, he ſoon left that Place, and anchored in the *Downs* the 28th of *March*. Shortly after he came to *Spithead*; but finding the Ship very foul, he went into the Harbour to clean; and ſhe was in ſuch a bad Condition, that ſhe did not get out again till the 2d of *July*. The 19th of *Auguſt* he joined the Fleet under Sir *George Rooke*, bound down the *Channel*; and they anchored in *Torbay*; from whence they ſailed the 26th following; but

were no ſooner clear of the Land, than a Storm obliged them to return. They ſailed again the 29th, ſtretching off the *Fowne* Head, near the Iſle of *Uſhant*, where they cruized till the Middle of *September*; and then leaving that Station, they beat for ſeveral Days between the *Start* and *Plymouth*, till the 10th of *October*; when, the Signal being made to ſeparate, Capt. *Leake* ſailed directly for *Spithead*, and arrived there the 23d of *November*; continuing at that Place till the 19th of *January*, 1701-2, when the *Berwick* was put out of Commiſſion.

In the mean Time ſome Events had happened during this Cruize, that made a War unavoidable. For, upon the Death of King *James*, which happened at St. *Germains*, the 16th of *September*, the *French* King acknowledged and declared the titular Prince of *Wales* King of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, which was ſo great an Inſult to the King, and the whole Nation, that his Majeſty immediately recalled his Ambaſſador from that Court, and ordered the *French* Miniſter home: And the Parliament reſented this Indignity ſo highly, that they addreſſed his Majeſty, that no Peace might be made, till his Majeſty and the Nation had Reparation for the Affront.

That theſe vigorous Reſolutions might effectually be carried into Execution, and the Declaration of War be immediately followed by ſome notable Action, uncommon Pains was taken to get a ſtrong Fleet ready, with a large Body of Land-Forces, for an Expedition to *Cadiz*, in Conjunction with the *Dutch*; and under the Command of the Earl of *Pembroke*, who, for that Purpoſe, was appointed Lord-High-Admiral: And this was done, that the Command both of the Land and Sea-Forces might be in one Perſon, it having been found by Experience, that moſt Expeditions, where they have been under ſeparate Commands, have miſcarried by their Diſagreement; as indeed it afterwards proved in this Expedition to *Cadiz*: Whereas, had it been carried on in the Manner at firſt intended, it would, in all Probability, have ſucceeded.

As the Lord-High-Admiral was no Seaman, it was abſolutely neceſſary to have the Officers immediately under him to be Perſons of Experience and of approved Conduct and Fidelity; and upon this Score, Admiral *Churchil* recommended Captain *Leake* to his Lordſhip, as the fitteſt Perſon for his Purpoſe. The Lord-High-Admiral therefore, having made Choice of the *Britannia*, the fineſt Firſt Rate in *England*, to go to Sea in, and having, as uſual, appointed three Captains to command her under himſelf, did Captain *Leake* the Honour to make him his firſt Captain, by Commiſſion the 22d of *January* 1701-2, three Days after his former Ship the *Berwick* had been paid off.

There

There were, ſays Mr. *Burchet*, ſome Doubts, whether his Lordſhip ſhould have borne, at the Main-Top-Maſt-Head, the Royal Standard of *England*, or the Union Flag, worn by the Admiral of the Fleet; ſome inclined to think the latter; but having (ſays he) an original Journal, kept by the Secretary to the Duke of *Buckingham*, Lord-High-Admiral in the Expedition to the Iſle of *Rhee*, it plainly appeared thereby, that he bore the Standard, as ſeveral High-Admirals had done before: But this is further exemplified in a Book, entituled, *Colloquia Maritima* [a], which was publiſhed ſome Years before, by Captain *Boteler*, a Commander of great Judgment and Experience in Naval Affairs. Whenever, ſays he, the Prince is in Perſon, or his High-Admiral in his Room, there is carried out on the Main-Top of the Admiral's Ship, where he himſelf is, the Standard Royal, which is the Arms of his Kingdom: Nevertheleſs, as it is in the Power of the Prince to transfer his Favours at Pleaſure, ſo in my Time, I once ſaw this Standard carried out, during a whole Voyage, when neither of both were preſent; but (as I take it) it was a Grace extraordinary, and cannot be challenged by any General, (*quatenus* a General) though of a Fleet Royal, ſave only of the High and Chief Admiral. But whilſt every Thing was in a Manner ready for his Lordſhip's Reception, the Death of King *William*, which happened on the 8th of *March*, 1701-2, and her Majeſty Queen *Anne*'s Acceſſion to the Throne, put an End to his Lordſhip's intended Voyage, though not to the Expedition; however, Captain *Leake* continued in his Station of firſt Captain, till the 27th of *May*, 1702, when the Earl of *Pembroke* was removed, to make Way for his Royal Highneſs Prince *George* of *Denmark*, her Majeſty's Conſort, whom ſhe declared Lord-High-Admiral, and Generaliſſimo by Sea and Land.

By this Means Captain *Leake* had been raiſed to the higheſt Station as a Captain; and, if I am not miſtaken, higher than any private Captain ever before attained: For, not to look for Precedents of that Kind before the Reſtoration, when the Oeconomy of the Fleet was but in its Infancy, *Penne*, who was firſt Captain to the Duke of *York*, Lord-High-Admiral, was a Vice-Admiral at that Time; and we have had no Inſtance ſince, of a Lord-High-Admiral at Sea: Only the Earl of *Berkeley*, in the Year 1719, being then Vice-Admiral of *Great Britain*, and Firſt Lord Commiſſioner of the Admiralty, endeavoured to come as near as poſſible, both in Power and State, and by particular Warrant from the Crown, hoiſted the Lord-High-Admiral's Flag, as it is called, (the firſt Time, I believe, it was ever worn in Command at Sea) and had three

[a] *London*, Octavo, 1688.

Cap-

Captains appointed under him, as a Lord-High-Admiral: *Littleton*, then Vice-Admiral of the White, being his firſt Captain. Indeed, if we conſider that the firſt of the two Captains allowed the Admiral of the Fleet, has both the Rank and Pay of a Rear-Admiral, for the Honour of that Flag, it follows, that as the Lord-High-Admiral bears the Royal Standard, which immediately repreſents the King's Majeſty, and therefore, for the Honour thereof, has three Captains (the ſecond of whom ranks with the firſt Captain to the Admiral of the Fleet;) the firſt, ſhould, in Proportion, be not leſs than a Rear, if not a Vice-Flag, as the Practice juſtifies. But I do not find any Settlement of the Rank or Pay of ſuch an Officer: In the preſent Caſe, the firſt and ſecond Captains both received Rear-Admirals Pay, by Warrant from the Lord-High-Admiral: But probably there might be ſome extraordinary Allowance to the firſt Captain.

Notwithſtanding Captain *Leake*'s Promotion to ſo high a Station, the ſame Day he was diſcharged from that Poſt he took the Command of the *Aſſociation*, a Second Rate: This was, indeed, going backward: But there being no Pay peculiar to the firſt Captain of a Lord-High-Admiral, and conſequently no Half-Pay, as there was to the firſt Captain to the Admiral of the Fleet, he choſe to accept of a Command, till an Opportunity offered for his Promotion. This happened very ſoon; for, three Weeks afterwards, he was appointed Commander of a Squadron to *Newfoundland*, which, with other ſubſequent Tranſactions, will be the Subject of the following Books; wherein, as I have the Advantage of better Materials, I ſhall be as particular as may be, without Prolixity.

Having now finiſhed what I propoſed in the firſt Book, namely, The Life and Actions of Sir *John Leake*, as Captain, I ſhould here conclude: But having, in the ſecond Chapter, given an Account of the Riſe and Progreſs of the Navy, with the Condition of it, at the Beginning of the War, I think it proper to ſhew the Increaſe of it during the War, and the State thereof at King *William*'s Death.

The

The GENERAL STATE of the *Royal Navy*, from the 5th of *November* 1688, to the 1st of *January* 1698.

		Rates	1	2	3	4	5	6
Remain on the 5th of *November* 1688 —			9	11	39	41	2	6
Increaſe,	Bought and built — —		0	4	23	44	33	22
	Taken from the *French* —		0	0	1	2	9	15
			9	15	63	87	44	43
Decreaſe,	Burnt and blown up — —		1	0	2	0	0	0
	Caſt away — — — —		0	2	6	10	7	5
	Taken or deſtroy'd by the *French*		0	0	2	9	10	8
	Preſented by the *Czar* of *Muſcovy*		0	0	0	0	0	1
	Caſt as irreparable, ſold, broken-up, and laid to ſecure Docks and Graving Places		0	1	0	3	12	13
			1	3	10	22	29	27
		Remain —	8	12	53	65	15	16
Forty-four Ships altered in their Rates, and Sorts, which are thus adjuſted, *viz.*		Taken off	2	0	8	9	2	1
		Set on	0	2	0	8	20	3
Remain on the 1st of *January* 1698 —			6	14	45	64	33	18
Total of Ships in the Navy Royal in the Year 1702 — — — — —			7	14	47	61	30	15

By this Account, allowing the Decreaſe of two Firſt Rates to be made up by the Addition of two Second Rates, the Increaſe of the Navy during King *William*'s Reign, will be one Second Rate, eight Third Rates, twenty Fourth Rates, twenty-eight Fifth Rates, and nine Sixth Rates, beſides ſmaller Veſſels; but reckoning by Tonnage, including ſmall and great, the Increaſe will appear much greater.

	Tons.
Navy Royal in *May*, 1660 - -	62594
Navy Royal in *Dec.* 1688 - -	101032
Increaſe from 1660 to 1688 - -	38438
Navy Royal in *Dec.* 1688 - -	101032
Navy Royal in — 1702 - -	158992
Increaſe from 1688 to 1702 - -	57960

But

But having mentioned, in this Account, the Decreaſe of our Navy, by Ships taken and deſtroyed by the *French*, during the War, I muſt, in Juſtice to my Country, obſerve, that the Enemy's Loſs was double to ours; for, by Mr. *Burchet*'s Account, our whole Loſs amounted to no more than 1112 Guns; whereas that of the *French* amounted to 2244, and thoſe much larger.

THE

THE LIFE OF Sir *JOHN LEAKE*, Knt. ADMIRAL of the FLEET, &c.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

Captain Leake *is appointed Commodore of a Squadron to* Newfoundland; *he proceeds thither, deſtroys the* French *Trade and Settlements there, and returns to* England.

WE are now entering upon a Period of Time, that will be ever famous in Hiſtory, for reducing the mighty Power of *France*, and thereby ſecuring the Liberties of *Europe*, a Work reſerved for the glorious Reign of Queen *Anne*, under whoſe auſpicious Influence, the military Glory of *Great Britain*, both by Sea and Land, was carried to the utmoſt Height, and, for nine ſucceſſive Years, an uninterrupted Series of Victories and Triumphs, over an Enemy till then formidable to all *Europe:* But in particular, our Naval Power was remarkably conſpicuous in this War: For though it was not at all increaſed in Strength, our Succeſs was much greater

greater than in the former War. Our Land Atchievements were indeed great and glorious; but our Naval Succeſſes were permanent and laſting: By Sea we conquered *France*, and ſecured our Naval Dominion by important Conqueſts, the happy Effects of which we feel at this Day.

At the Concluſion of the laſt Book, we left the *Britiſh* Nation under a juſt Reſentment, for the Indignity offered by the *French* King, in acknowledging and declaring the pretended Prince of *Wales*, King of *England*; and with a brave Reſolution, not to make Peace, till ample Satisfaction was made for the Affront; and for this End vigorous Preparations were making for a new War againſt that mighty Tyrant, who, during the ſhort Peace, which he never meant to continue longer, than till his Projects were ripe to break it, having now accumulated his Strength, pulled off the Maſk, to make a vigorous Puſh once more for Univerſal Monarchy. This was therefore the laſt Struggle for our Honour and our Liberty, and conſequently required ſuch a vigorous Reſolution, as a *Britiſh* Parliament inſpired, not to ſheath the Sword, till that haughty Monarch was humbled and brought to Reaſon.

Her Majeſty therefore, at her Acceſſion to the Throne, made her firſt Declaration to her Council, a Declaration of War, by acquainting them ſhe deſigned to carry on all the Preparations that were making againſt *France*; and purſuant thereto, War was proclaimed againſt *France* and *Spain* the 4th of *May*, 1702.

In this War, the Nation lay under the greateſt Diſcouragement, having maintained a long and expenſive War, ſo lately, with ſo little Succeſs. Queen *Anne* likewiſe laboured under great Difficulties, which King *William* did not: For whereas, during the late War with *France*, we had *Spain* as an Ally, and their Ports to harbour and refit our Fleets: Now, a Prince of the Houſe of *Bourborn* was upon the Throne of *Spain*; and we had the united Force of both thoſe powerful Kingdoms to contend with. The Duke of *Savoy* too, had declared for *France*; and it was to be doubted whether we could perſuade the King of *Portugal* to break his late Engagements with the *French* King; ſo that we had no Harbour in the *Mediterranean*, or thoſe Parts, and were reduced to the hard Neceſſity, of courting the Friendſhip of *Portugal*, otherwiſe very inconſiderable: And it was a Year after the War begun, before they could be prevailed upon to come into the Grand Alliance. Our Allies the *Dutch* too, did neither furniſh ſo large a Proportion of Shipping, nor perform what they agreed to do as they had done the laſt War; ſo that the whole Brunt of the War by Sea, fell upon the *Engliſh*. But theſe Diſadvantages made the Event ſo much the more glorious.

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The Earl of *Pembroke* having been removed from the Poſt of Lord-High-Admiral, to make Way for his Royal Highneſs Prince *George* of *Denmark*, her Majeſty's Conſort, and Captain *Leake*'s Commiſſion as firſt Captain to his Lordſhip, being thereby become void, he had been appointed Commander of the *Aſſociation*, a Second Rate Ship, till an Opportunity offered for his further Promotion, as we obſerved before. There were then but five Captains upon the Liſt his Seniors, of whom one or two only expected Flags; for, as yet, the Cuſtom of Preferment according to Seniority was in Uſe, unleſs poſtponed upon Account of ſome Misbehaviour or Incapacity in the Perſon, and then with good Reaſon; for he who cannot command a ſingle Ship as he ought, is not fit to be truſted with a Squadron: The Rule elſe was ſo ſtrictly obſerved, that the firſt Captain to the Admiral of the Fleet, though allowed the Rank and Pay of a Rear-Admiral, was not advanced to a Flag the ſooner upon that Account (as has been the modern Practice;) for Captain *Byng*, afterwards Sir *George Byng*, having been firſt Captain to Admiral *Ruſſel* in the Year 1695, and upon Rear-Admiral's Half-Pay, as firſt Captain, nevertheleſs was afterwards a private Captain, and ſo continued, till his Seniors were made Flags. Captain *Leake* is another Inſtance, in a higher Degree, who having been firſt Captain to the Lord-High-Admiral, was not promoted to be a Flag-Officer, till Captain *Graydon*, the Captain next before him, was made a Rear-Admiral, and it came to his Turn by Seniority.

The 23d of *May*, his Royal Highneſs appointed Sir *George Rooke*, Sir *David Mitchell*, *George Churchil*, and *Robert Hill*, Eſqrs. his Council, as Lord-High-Admiral. The three firſt of theſe were Captain *Leake*'s Friends, but particularly Mr. *Churchil*, who beſides was of the Bed-Chamber to his Royal Highneſs, and very much in Favour; he therefore had it more immediately in his Power to ſerve Captain *Leake*, and he ſoon found an Opportunity to do it; for the 9th of *June* he ſent him the following Letter.

'SIR,

'I HAVE propoſed to the Prince, your going to command 'a Squadron to *Newfoundland*; you will be a *Chief de* 'Squadron; I hope it will be agreeable to you. I deſire you 'would keep this to yourſelf, and let me hear from you by 'the next Poſt. I am,

'*Your Friend and Servant,*

'GEORGE CHURCHIL.

And

And the 18th he was informed by a Letter from Mr. *Clark*, his Highneſs's Secretary, that he was appointed Commander in Chief to *Newfoundland*, with Power to wear a diſtinguiſhing Pendant; that his Commiſſion would be ſent to him very ſoon, and that he gave him this Notice, that he might prepare himſelf in the mean Time for his Voyage.

Newfoundland is an Iſland in *North-America*, as large as *England*, ſituated between the 46th and 53d Degrees of North Latitude, but not ſo valuable in itſelf, as for the extraordinary Fiſhing carried on upon the Sholes or Banks contiguous to it, and from thence called *the Banks of Newfoundland*; the Iſland being of little Uſe but to prepare and dry the Fiſh upon, and to afford Harbours for the Shipping, which aſſemble there in great Numbers at the Fiſhing-Seaſon. King *Charles* II. was the firſt that allowed the *French* to ſettle there; who being very ſenſible of the Advantages to be drawn from thence, poſſeſſed themſelves of the beſt Part of the Iſland, and ſtrengthned themſelves with Fortifications, and ſoon became too ſtrong for us; and in the Year 1696 deſtroyed all our Settlements there. By the Peace of *Ryſwick*, they were obliged to give up all the Settlements on the South-ſide of the Iſland; and ſoon after King *William* ſent a Squadron with ſome Land-Forces, who made a Fort at *St. John's*, one of the beſt Harbours, and left a Gariſon there. This was the only Settlement of any Strength we had there at this Time, and the *French* being become very ſtrong, and continually encroaching, even in Time of Peace, it was not to be doubted but they would take the firſt Opportunity at the Opening of the War, wholly to diſpoſſeſs us of the Iſland, and thereby ſecure that advantageous Branch of Trade to themſelves. It was therefore abſolutely neceſſary to ſend a Squadron thither early in the Fiſhing-Seaſon, to ſecure our Footing there, and annoy the Enemy.

On the 24th of *June*, Captain *Leake* receiv'd his Commiſſion, appointing him Commander in Chief of the Ships deſigned for *Newfoundland*, and likewiſe Inſtructions from his Royal Highneſs to proceed thither with the ſaid Squadron, and to convoy the Trade bound to *Virginia* and *New-England*, as far as his and their Way ſhould lie together. He was required to uſe his utmoſt Endeavours to get an Account of the Strength of the Enemy and Forts at *Newfoundland*, and not only to annoy them there in their Fiſhing-Harbours, and at Sea; but to aſſiſt the Admirals, Vice-Admirals, and Rear-Admirals, at our Ports and Harbours in thoſe Parts; for by theſe Titles the Maſters of the Merchant Ships, who firſt arrive, diſtinguiſh themſelves, and have Command over others at the reſpective Places, when there are not any Ships of War preſent.

He had alſo particular Inſtructions for convoying the Trade from thence, when they ſhould have made their Voyages, and to inform himſelf as to the ſeveral Heads of Enquiry, tranſmitted to the Lord-High-Admiral by the Lords of the Council for Trade and Plantations (a Thing uſual when any Ships are ſent thither) in Relation to the Circumſtances of our Affairs in that Country, and particularly the Fiſhery. Theſe Orders were accompanied with a Warrant impowering him to hold Courts-Martial, and an Order to wear a diſtinguiſhing Pendant on this Service.

He had likewiſe a Commiſſion appointing him Governor of the Iſland, and Commander in Chief of the Land-Forces, during the Time he ſhould be at *Newfoundland*; for the Commander in Chief of the King's Ships at that Place, is always Governor of the Iſland whilſt he is there.

In purſuance of his Orders for convoying the Trade, he immediately ſent Letters to the ſeveral Poſt-Maſters, as far as *Falmouth*, to give Notice to all Merchant Ships bound that Way, and diſpatched Orders to the Captains of the *Exeter*, *Aſſiſtance*, *Reſerve*, and *Shark* Sloop, which were to make a Part of his Squadron, to uſe their utmoſt Diligence to get their Ships ready to ſail, that he might not loſe the firſt Opportunity of the Wind. The 28th he receiv'd the Lord-High-Admiral's Orders to ſend a Ship to *Poole*, to fetch from thence a Store-ſhip; and accordingly he detached the *Reſerve*, upon that Service. The 1st of *July*, he had his Highneſs's Orders to call at *Plymouth*, for the *Montague* and *Litchfield*, and likewiſe to take the *Medway* and *Firebrand* Fireſhips at *Spithead* to proceed with him. Two Days after the *Reſerve* returned, having performed the Service ſhe was ſent upon, and alſo brought with her three Veſſels, bound for *Newfoundland*; and the next Day he diſpatched the ſame Ship to the ſeveral Ports, to get out the reſt of the Merchant Ships that were to proceed with him.

Whilſt he lay at *Spithead* he aſſiſted at ſeveral Courts-Martial, one of which was upon the Trial of Sir *John Munden*, who was acquitted. In the mean Time having run out to *St. Helens*, and delivered to the Maſters of the Merchant Ships ſailing Inſtructions, the 16th of *July*, he weighed and ply'd out, but was obliged to anchor off of *Duncze*; but he weighed again at Midnight, the next Day was off of *Portland*, and the 20th anchor'd near *Torbay*. At Eleven at Night he ſailed again, and the next Morning anchor'd in *Plymouth* Sound, where he found the *Montague* and *Litchfield*. The following Morning he endeavour'd to ſail, but was obliged to anchor again about Noon, the Merchant Ships not being got out of *Cat-water*, though he had taken all proper Meaſures to have them ready: But in the Evening he got under Sail with the Trade

and

and the Squadron under his Command, conſiſting of the *Exeter*, a Fourth Rate of ſixty Guns, wherein he was himſelf, the *Litchfield*, *Medway*, *Reſerve*, *Montague*, and *Aſſiſtance*, Fourth Rates of fifty Guns each, the *Looe* and the *Charles* Galley of thirty-two Guns each, the *Firebrand* Fireſhip, and the *Shark* Sloop.

The 25th Commadore *Leake* hoiſted his deſtinguiſhing Pendant, being clear of the Land, and three Days after parted with the Merchant Ships, about 106 Leagues W. S. W. from the *Lizard*, leaving them under Convoy of the *Looe*, *Reſerve*, and *Firebrand* Fireſhip; whilſt himſelf with the reſt of the Squadron made the beſt of their Way for *Newfoundland*, in order to ſurprize the Enemy, if poſſible, before they could have any Apprehenſions of his Coming.

On the 14th of *Auguſt*, then being in the Latitude of 45 Degrees, 15 Minutes, he diſpatched the *Shark* Sloop with the Queen's Packets for *New-England*. The 22d they had hard Gales, that the *Charles* Galley loſt her Main-Maſt, and the Commadore and the reſt of the Squadron ſplit their Sails. The next Day they had Soundings upon the Banks, and the 26th in the Morning they diſcovered the Land, and the next Day, in the Morning, were off of the Bay of *Bulls*. Soon after Captain *Studley*, the Admiral of that Harbour, came on board the Commadore, by whom he was informed, that there were two Ships loading at *Trepaſſi*, and two other *French* Ships of War at *Placentia*, and that moſt of their fiſhing Veſſels, which had made their Voyages, were gone thither for Convoy: That the *French* kept Men upon the Hills, over the Bay of *Bulls*, who, upon the Arrival of any Ships, immediately retired to give Notice to them at *Placentia*, to which Place it was about three Days Journey.

Upon this Intelligence, without ſtaying to anchor, Commadore *Leake* proceeded that very Evening to the Southward of *Placentia* Bay. The 28th he took a ſmall Ship from *Martinico* bound to *Placentia*, and ſoon after, ſeeing four Sail off Cape *Pine*, he ordered the *Montague* and *Litchfield* to chaſe them, whilſt himſelf ply'd in for *Trepaſſi*, where he ſaw two *French* Ships, which about Noon he took. In the Afternoon he ſtood out of *Trepaſſi*, and was joined at Night by the *Litchfield* with two of the four *French* Ships he had chaſed. The 29th in the Morning, off of *St. Mary's*, he chaſed a *French* Fly-boat, which in about two Hours he came up with and took. About ten o'Clock he bore away for *St. Mary's*, and at Noon was joined by the *Montague* with three *French* Prizes; and having ordered the *Medway*, *Litchfield*, and *Charles* Galley for *Collonet* Bay, three Leagues from *St. Mary's*, himſelf with the reſt of the Squadron ſtood away for *St. Mary's*, where he anchored in the Afternoon, and found a

French Fly-Boat, which, upon his Approach, the Enemy run a-ſhoar: Hereupon the Commadore ordered all the Boats, mann'd and arm'd, to attempt to get her off, which with ſome Difficulty they performed. Soon after landing their Men, they drove the *French* from the Place, burning and deſtroying all the Houſes, together with all their Stages for building Ships, all their Shallops and Boats, ſome Veſſels that were already built, and others near finiſhed, with every Thing belonging to them: And having intirely deſtroyed that Settlement, he left the Place at Night, leaving the *Aſſiſtance* and *Charles* Galley, to proceed with the Prizes to *St. John*'s.

The next Day he took a *French* Fly-Boat in *Collonet* Bay; and having landed his Men at *Collonet*, he intirely deſtroyed it, as he had done to that of *Trepaſſi*. His Prize he diſpatched under the ſame Convoy as the former Prizes at *St. Mary*'s, with Orders to thoſe two Commanders, when they had ſeen the Prizes into *St. John*'s, to cruize off Cape *Raze* and the Banks for fourteen Days: With the reſt of the Squadron he proceeded towards *St. Laurence*, and the Iſland of *St. Peter*'s, both of them very conſiderable Settlements of the *French*, at the Entrance of *Fortune* Bay. Being off of *St. Laurence*, he diſcovered three Sail, whereupon he left the *Montague* and *Medway*, to endeavour to get them out, and then to follow him to *St. Peter*'s.

The 1ſt. of *September*, in the Morning, he was fair in with *St. Peter*'s, with an Intention of going into that Harbour, but it blowing hard, and likely to be bad Weather, that it would be difficult to ride with a Spring upon their Cable, if they ſhould meet with any Oppoſition, as alſo a narrow Harbour, and the Ground without it very broken, that the leaſt Miſcarriage in anchoring might endanger them, the Commadore thought it adviſeable, not to attempt going in till fairer Weather. Accordingly, he ſtood off from the Shoar, but by good Fortune, next Morning, there being a fine Breeze, they made in for the Harbour, as they thought, and ſaw eight Ships and ſmall Veſſels off of the Eaſtermoſt Point of the Iſland, to which giving Chace, they found the Pilot had been under a Miſtake, for the Commadore diſcovered the Harbour was on that Side, and in it ſeven or eight Ships at Anchor; ſo that had the Weather been proper, and he had borne away the Morning before, for the Place, the Pilots had always taken for the Entrance of the Harbour, he would not only have run the Hazard of being driven to Leeward of the Iſland, but alſo of falling on a Ledge of Rocks, which lay off the Weſtermoſt End of the Iſland. At Noon he took one of the Ships, loaden with Fiſh, and leaving the *Litchfield* in Chace of another, himſelf tacked and plied in for the Harbour, to ſecure the reſt. But when he was within a Quarter of a Mile of the

the Entrance, he diſcovered four Sail, endeavouring to make their Eſcape from the South-Channel, which the Pilots had affirmed to him was not navigable for any Veſſel that drew above five or ſix Feet Water: And obſerving, that the reſt looſed their Top-ſails to go out the ſame Way, he concluded they were very ſmall Ships, and thought it to no Purpoſe to chaſe them, for it was then above ſeven at Night, and the Wind right out of the Harbour, which was not above Half a Mile over, and a dangerous Rock in the Middle of it, which appeared a very little above water; ſo that there was no attempting to turn in. Whereupon he drove under his Top-ſails, till it was dark, the better to amuſe the Enemy, but his real Deſign was to ſtand for the South-Channel, to intercept them, had not the Hazineſs of the Weather prevented him, by which Means they eſcaped, except one laden with Salt, taken by the *Litchfield*. In the Morning he plied in for the Shoar, to look into the Harbour, and by four in the Afternoon was within a League and Half of it, but only ſaw two ſmall Veſſels there. It continuing to blow hard, and all the Enemy's Ships being got out of the Harbour, he bore up to join the *Litchfield*, which he did in the Evening.

He kept plying to windward with an eaſy Sail all Night, and in the Morning, being the 4th of *September*, he bore away for *St. Laurence*, to join the *Montague* and *Medway*, of whoſe Safety he was in ſome Doubt, not having heard from them in all this Time: At eleven o'Clock he joined the former, who acquainted him, that he parted from the *Medway* the Night before, who was gone with four Prizes to *St. John's*, two of which were Part of them that eſcaped from *St. Peter's*, and the other two were taken at *Great St. Laurence*; that they had likewiſe burnt two Sail at *Little St. Laurence*, and deſtroyed all the Houſes, Boats, Stages, &c. at both thoſe Places, where they had been detained by contrary Winds; which was the Reaſon they had not joined him before. It was then agreed to bear away for *St. John's*, in order to go to *Chapeau Rouge*, on the North-Part of *Newfoundland*.

They arrived at *St. John's* the 7th of *September*, where they found the *Medway*, *Aſſiſtance*, *Charles* Galley, *Looe* and *Firebrand* Fireſhip; the two latter having ſeen their Convoys to the ſeveral Places to which they were bound, and the *Reſerve* was gone, purſuant to the Commadore's Orders, to ſurvey the Harbours of *Trinity* and *Carbonier*. Next Day the Commadore ſailed from *St. John's*, with the *Montague*, *Litchfield*, *Aſſiſtance*, and *Looe*, in order to viſit *Bonaviſta*, the moſt Northern Plantation we had in thoſe Parts, where he judged he might moſt probably be furniſhed with Pilots for *Chapeau Rouge*; the reſt of the Squadron, *viz.* the *Medway*, *Charles* Galley, and the Fireſhip, he left with Orders to go to *St. Peter's*,

and deſtroy what they could meet with in that Harbour, and then to cruize off of Cape *Raze* and the Banks of *Newfoundland*, until the 25th of the aforeſaid Month of *September*.

He arrived at *Bonaviſta* the 12th, and ſent aſhoar for Pilots, whilſt in the mean Time he kept plying in for the Bay, and lay by all Night, in which Time ſeveral Iſlands of Ice paſſed by them, and it blew ſo hard, that he ſplit his Main-Top Sail, and Fore-Sail, and ſprung his Main-Maſt. In the Morning the Boat came off with a Pilot, and upon Examination of his Knowledge of the Northern Coaſt, it was found he had been ſeveral Voyages in Boats, but was not acquainted with any of the Harbours, only by having paſſed in and out, without ſounding the Depth of Water; nor did he pretend to know the Land at a Diſtance, or any Danger lying off the Shoar: So it was concluded to return to *St. John's*, it being of dangerous Conſequence to proceed any farther northerly, ſo late in the Year, dark Nights, and without the Aſſiſtance of experienced Pilots; all the Ships being in great want of Water and Wood: Accordingly he made the beſt of his Way for *St. John's*, where he arrived the 14th of *September*. At *St. John's*, he was informed by a Pilot of the Country, that although he did not well know *Chapeau Rouge*, he was acquainted with ſeveral good Harbours the *French* had Northward, but nevertheleſs refuſed to carry the Ships thither, becauſe the Winter Seaſon was ſo far advanced. They had, as he ſaid, no Forts there, nor other Defence, than what the Merchant Ships made with their Guns, to ſecure them from the *Indians*, while they were fiſhing; who treat the Chriſtians barbarouſly when they fall into their Hands: Nor were there to the Northward, as he ſaid, any other Fortifications than that of *St. Peter's*, and even that but a ſmall Fort, of no more than ſix Guns: So that indeed, had there been the beſt Pilots they could have deſired, it would only have been loſt Time, and running a very great Hazard to have gone thither.

The 19th of *September* the *Reſerve* came in from ſurveying the Harbours of *Trinity* and *Carbonier*, and the 2d of *October* the *Medway* and *Charles* Galley (with a ſmall Banker the latter had taken) came in from *St. Peter's*, the Fort whereof they had demoliſhed, and burnt and ſpoiled the Enemy's Habitations, Boats and Stages, and entirely deſtroyed that Settlement. There now only remained to convoy the Trade to *Europe*: Whereupon the *Montague* and *Looe* were appointed to convoy the Ships bound to *Portugal*; the *Reſerve*, *Charles* Galley, and *Firebrand* Fireſhip, thoſe for *England*; and with the reſt of the Squadron, when the Trade was ready to ſail, the Commadore determined to proceed to Cape *Raze*, and thence into the Latitude of 45 Degrees, and there cruize ten Days, to intercept the Ships from *Placentia*, knowing they muſt make their Voyage homewards

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in a few Days: And one of the *French* Prizes he appointed the Priſoners to carry them to *France*, which he did, as well to lengthen out the Proviſions, as to keep the Ships Companies from Diſtempers.

In Conſequence of theſe Reſolutions, Commadore *Leake* ſailed from *St. John*'s the 11th of *October*, with the *Exeter*, *Medway*, *Aſſiſtance*, and *Litchfield*, leaving the reſt of the Squadron to convoy the Trade, as beforementioned; and two Days after he got to the Rendezvous, which was South by Eaſt from Cape *Raze*, between the Latitude of 44 and 45 Degrees. From the 17th to the 20th it blew a violent Storm, that having ſplit their Sails, they were forced to lay a-try under their Mizen, in which Time a *French* Banker was taken. On the 20th, one of the *Placentia* Ships was taken, the Maſter of which acquainted the Commadore, that he was ſeparated in a Storm from the reſt of the Fleet, which were about 40 Sail, under Convoy of one Man of War of 50 Guns; and the Commadore, by what he gathered from the ſaid Maſter, believing that Part of the Fleet was Eaſtward from him, he made the beſt of his Way in queſt of them. Accordingly, on the 21ſt, he came up with and took four *French* Bankers, and ſoon after another of the *Placentia* Fleet. The 26th and 31ſt two more of the *Placentia* Fleet were taken, whoſe Maſters confirming what the other had reported, the Commadore intended to have kept his Courſe Southward, in order to intercept the reſt of them; but meeting with ſtrong Winds at South-Eaſt and South South-Eaſt, he was forced as far Northward as the Latitude of 48 Degrees, and then his Proviſions growing ſhort, he was forced to make the beſt of his Way for *England*, and in his Paſſage thither, the 6th of *November*, in the *Soundings*, he took another *French* Banker; and the 10th following arrived at *Spithead*, having loſt Company with the *Medway* two Days before.

In this Expedition 51 Ships were taken and deſtroyed, whereof 29 were taken, amounting to 3235 Tons, and 207 Guns, and of them 16 were brought to *England*, 6 were ſent to *Liſbon*, 5 ſold at *St. John*'s, 1 of 120 Tons and 12 Guns, was left there for the Security of the Harbour, and the other ſent to *France* with the Priſoners; the Remainder, to the Number of 22, were burnt with their Cargoes, as well as a great Part of the Cargoes of thoſe that eſcaped, who were glad to get away half loaded, or any how, to avoid the Fate of the reſt: Beſides the burning and deſtroying *Trepaſſi*, *St. Mary*'s, *Collonet*, *Great* and *Little St. Laurence*, and *St. Peter*'s, all very conſiderable Settlements of the *French* at *Newfoundland*, and of the greateſt Importance for carrying on their Fiſhery in thoſe Parts, and breeding of Seamen. The Advantage would however have been greater, by deſtroying and taking more of their

Ships, if the Commadore could have got thither ſooner; but he did not receive his Commiſſion till the 24th of *June*, and being obliged to convoy the Trade from *England* to *Virginia*, *New-England*, and the *Weſt Indies*, he was forced to wait their Time; notwithſtanding which, he left *England* the 22d of *July*, and arrived at *Newfoundland* the 26th of *Auguſt*: So that no greater Diſpatch could have been uſed on his Part; and conſidering theſe Circumſtances, it was extraordinary he could take and deſtroy ſo many. The News of this Succeſs in *America*, added to that in *Europe*, ſerved to compleat that Joy the Nation was in at this Time, upon Account of our Naval Succeſſes; and Commadore *Leake*, upon his Arrival at *London*, had the Satisfaction to meet with a very gracious Reception, both from the Queen, and his Royal Highneſs the Lord-High-Admiral.

CHAP. II.

He is made Rear-Admiral and Vice-Admiral of the Blue, and Commander in Chief at Portſmouth; *his Proceedings there, and in the* Channel, *and afterwards with the grand Fleet, till their Return into Harbour.*

COmmadore *Leake* arrived at *Spithead* from his late ſucceſsfull Expedition to *Newfoundland* the 10th of *November*, and the 9th of *December* he was appointed Rear-Admiral of the Blue Squadron of her Majeſty's Fleet, to which would have been added the Honour of Knighthood, but he induſtriouſly avoided it. He had no ſooner received his Commiſſion, than he repaired to *Portſmouth*, as well to hoiſt his Flag, as to relieve Sir *Stafford Fairbone*, who had Leave to come to *London*. He arrived at *Portſmouth* the 23d of *December*, and hoiſted his Flag the ſame Day on board the *Sterling-Caſtle* in that Harbour. The 28th he iſſued his Orders to the Lord *Durſley*, to haſten the Equipment of his Ship, and to cruize between the *Land's End* and the *Start* and *Lizard*, purſuant to his Royal Highneſs's Orders; and the 4th of *January*, the like Orders to Captain *Allen* of the *Flamborough*, to cruize between *Chicheſter* and the *Neſſe*, to protect the Trade, and particularly to prevent the Running of Wool, and bringing over *French* Silks. The *Swan* and *Fly* Brigantine he ordered to cruize between *Folkſtone* and *Haſtings*, to do the ſame: And having, (as uſual, upon being made a Flag-Officer) conſidered upon the Choice of a Ship, and a Captain to command the Ship at all Times where he ſhould hoiſt his Flag, by his Letter the 8th of *January* 1702-3, to the Lord-High-Admiral's Secretary, he ſignified,

ſignified, that he had made Choice of Captain *Stephen Martin*, then Commander of the *Loweſtoffe*, a-cruizing upon the *Guernſey* Station, his Brother-in-Law, to be his Captain, and the *Royal William*, a Firſt Rate Ship, in that Harbour, to go to Sea in, deſiring that Captain *Martin* might therefore be diſcharged from the one, and have a Commiſſion for the other; which was complied with the latter End of that Month. This Gentleman he made Choice of for his Captain, not ſo much on Account of his Alliance to him, as for his Qualifications, and the Friendſhip he bore him: For Captain *Martin* had been bred up under him, had been ſeveral Years his Lieutenant, and he had been a Witneſs of his Behaviour: So that he knew him to be a brave experienced Officer, though but a young Captain, and one who would always have his Honour at Heart: A Circumſtance few Admirals have been happy in, and upon which the Succeſs of every Enterprize very much depends, the beſt concerted Deſigns having been frequently rendered abortive, by the Infidelity or Careleſſneſs of thoſe who were to carry them into Execution. The Change was indeed diſadvantageous to Captain *Martin*, a cruiſing Ship being the only Means to get a Fortune at Sea in Time of War; but he gave up that Conſideration out of Regard to his Brother-in-Law and Friend; and from this Time, wholly attached himſelf to his Fortune.

The 12th of *January* 1702-3, Rear-Admiral *Leake* was appointed Commander in Chief of all her Majeſty's Ships at *Spithead* and *Portſmouth*, to be in Force for 20 Days, from the Date: The ſame Day he run out to *Spithead*: The 20th he removed his Flag from the *Sterling-Caſtle* to the *Reſolution*, where he continued to give the neceſſary Orders from Time to Time, as Occaſion required, till the 28th, when he ſtruck his Flag at *Spithead*, and hoiſted it on board the *Royal William* in the Harbour.

The 4th of *February* he received her Majeſty's Order in Council, of the 1st Inſtant, for laying a general Embargo on all Shipping, for the more effectual and ſpeedy manning the Fleet: No Ships that cleared outwards, were to proceed till they had furniſhed her Majeſty's Ships with one Fourth of the Number of Men belonging to them, and thoſe that had not cleared out, were to furniſh half their Complements, which imply'd a great Scarcity of Seamen at that Time. The 8th of *February* he received another Commiſſion from the Lord-High-Admiral, dated that Day, appointing him Commander in Chief at *Spithead* and *Portſmouth* for 20 Days, accompanied with a Warrant impowering him to hold Courts-Martial; and having before mentioned another Commiſſion of the like Nature, it will be proper to obſerve, that all Commanders in Chief, as Admirals, Vice-Admirals, Rear-Admirals, Com-

madores of Squadrons, and even private Commanders for particular Purpoſes, are impowered by Warrant from the Admiralty to hold Courts-Martial, but with this Difference; that an Admiral, or Vice-Admiral, have only a Warrant, authoriſing them to hold ſuch Courts: Whereas, if a Rear-Admiral is to be ſo authoriſed, he muſt have a Commiſſion, appointing him Commander in Chief, as well as a Warrant for ſo doing, becauſe none but Commanders in Chief can hold Courts-Martial: But why a Rear-Admiral, being the Commanding Officer, and acting in all other Reſpects, as fully as a Vice-Admiral, ſhould not be eſteemed a Commander in Chief for this Purpoſe, as well as the other, does not occur. Perhaps, the Reaſon may be this; that a Vice-Admiral, as the Name imports, is in the Stead or Place of the Admiral, as his Deputy in his Abſence: Whereas, a Rear-Admiral, being of an inferior Rank, and no other than Commander of the Reſerve or Rear of the Squadron, as his Name implies, he cannot repreſent the Admiral: And as a Deputy cannot have a Deputy, ſo neither can he repreſent the Vice-Admiral, and therefore muſt firſt be conſtituted a Commander in Chief, becauſe none but Commanders in Chief can exerciſe that Authority. Of this Kind were the two foregoing Commiſſions, in order to enable him to enquire into the Miſdemeanors committed on board the Ships in that Harbour, and to puniſh the Delinquents.

By Virtue of this Authority, the 12th, he held a Court-Martial, upon the Purſer of the *Chatham*, on board the *Royal William*, in *Portſmouth* Harbour, and diſmiſſed him his Employ: And as he was pleaſed to caſt ſome Reflections upon the Court, after the Sentence was read, the Admiral ordered him to be confined on board the *Chatham*, during his Royal Highneſs's Pleaſure. The next Day he hoiſted his Flag on board the *St. George*, and the following held a Court-Martial upon two Deſerters, one of whom was ſentenced to die, and the other to be whipt. The 19th he removed his Flag on board the *Naſſau*, and the 24th held another Court-Martial on board the *Royal William*, and diſmiſſed the Boatſwain of the *Dreadnought*; beſides theſe, which were the moſt remarkable Proceedings at the Courts-Martial, there were many other ſmaller Offenders, that merited a Whipping, but not to be particularly mentioned in this Place.

Soon after this there being a Promotion of Flag-Officers, Rear-Admiral *Leake* was advanced to Vice-Admiral of the Blue Squadron. By this Promotion he was advanced three Steps at once, for by regular Gradation, he ſhould have been firſt Rear-Admiral of the White, and then Rear-Admiral of the Red, before he had been made a Vice-Admiral: But this did not proceed from any Partiality or Favour to him, but was intirely owing to the Vacancies that happened to be at that Time;

Time; and was equally fortunate to Mr. *Byng*, who by the ſame Means, from a private Captain, at once became Rear-Admiral of the Red. The 4th of *March* he received his Commiſſion, dated the firſt of that Month, accompanied by a Warrant of the ſame Date for holding Courts-Martial. The ſame Day he received his Commiſſion, he hoiſted the Blue Flag at the Fore-Top-Maſt-Head, on board the *Naſſau* at *Spithead*, upon that Occaſion only, preſently removing it again on board the *Royal William* in the Harbour; but two Days after he ſhifted it from thence to the *St. George*. Theſe frequent Removals of the Flag, from one Ship to another, were occaſioned by the Neceſſity of being ſometimes at *Spithead*, and ſometimes in the Harbour, and by Reaſon of the refitting and docking of the Ships, which obliged the Admiral to ſhift his Flag, as often as that and other Circumſtances of Convenience required. The 13th he detached the *Monmouth* to *Falmouth*, to convoy to the *Downs* the Tin-Ships, and the other Trade from the Weſtern Ports; and having Information that ſeven Sail of ſmall *French* Veſſels had been ſeen cruizing between *Arundel* and *Beachy*, he ordered the *Rocheſter* to go in queſt of them.

Mr. *Leake*, as I obſerved, had removed his Flag from the *Royal William*, which he had firſt choſen, to the *St. George*, a ſecond Rate, intending to go to Sea in her, and for that Purpoſe, his Captain, Captain *Martin*, had been diſcharged from the firſt, and appointed to command the latter; but thinking this Ship ſtill too large, if he ſhould be ſuddenly order'd to Sea, becauſe of the Scarcity of Seamen at that Time, and the larger the Ship the more difficult to be manned; he therefore, by his Letter to the *Admiralty* of the 19th Inſtant, deſired his Captain might be removed into the *Somerſet*, a Third Rate, in that Harbour, he having choſen that Ship to go to Sea in. By the ſame Occaſion he repreſented ſome Things in Relation to the Scarcity of Seamen, and particularly complained of a Practice by Privateers and Merchant Ships, which he had obſerved ſince he had been at that Port, which was, to offer large Wages, and two Months Pay Advance, to enter Men from her Majeſty's Service; ſo that unleſs ſome Courſe was taken, there would be no End of ſuch Abuſes. The 26th he ordered the *Suffolk* and *Rocheſter* Prize, to cruize between the *Iſle of Wight* and the *Berry*, in queſt of ſome *French* Privateers that were hovering thereabout. The 6th of *April*, purſuant to the Lord-High-Admiral's Orders, he directed the ſearching of all *Genoeſe* Ships that were ſuſpected of carrying Effects to the *French* and *Spaniards*, and upon juſt Cauſe of Suſpicion, to bring them into Port, to be further examined and proceeded againſt according to Juſtice.

The

The 12th he received his Royal Highneſs's Orders of the 10th Inſtant, acquainting him, that ſix of the Enemies Ships of 60 and 70 Guns each, he had Advice, were at Sea coming from *Breſt* to *Dunkirk*, and requiring him, ſo ſoon as the *Grafton*, *Naſſau*, *Kent*, and *Eſſex* ſhould be ready, to proceed with them, and cruize for eight Days off of *La Hogue*, to endeavour to intercept them; and to ſtrengthen the aforeſaid Ships, the *Suffolk*, *Rocheſter* Prize, and *Medway*, were ordered to join him at *Spithead*; but if they did not arrive before he was ready to ſail, he was to leave Orders for them to follow him to his Station. And if any of the Ships mentioned, ſhould not be manned to proceed with him, he was to take any Ships of the Third Rate, that ſhould be ready, ſo as he did not exceed the Number by the Order directed; and he was likewiſe to take one or two Fire-ſhips, if ready. In order to this, he ſhifted his Flag the ſame Day to the *Grafton*, a Third Rate of 70 Guns, and a prime Sailer, his own Ship, the *Somerſet*, not being ready upon this Emergency: And he appointed Captain *Cole*, the ſenior Officer, Commander of the Ships at *Spithead* and *Portſmouth*, during his Cruize, with the uſual Inſtructions in ſuch Caſes; and in particular, if the *Briſtol* Man of War ſhould arrive at that Port, from the *Weſt-Indies*, with Captain *Kirby* and Captain *Wade* on board, who were under Sentence of Death for Treachery and Cowardice, he was to put in Execution his Royal Highneſs's Order of the 19th of *March*, by cauſing them to be ſhot to Death immediately, without ſuffering them to go on Shoar: The ſame Order had been ſent to other Ports, to be executed at the firſt Port they ſhould arrive, and ſhortly after they arrived at *Plymouth*, where the Orders were executed.

The 15th Vice-Admiral *Leake* weighed, and came to *Spithead* with Part of his Squadron, where he gave out the Rendevouz, which with the Wind Weſterly, was North-Weſt from Cape *Barfleur*, five Leagues; if Eaſterly, North-Eaſt by Eaſt from the ſaid Cape five Leagues, and after the 25th Inſtant at *St. Helens*. The Next Day at Noon, being joined by the reſt of the Squadron, he ſailed from *Spithead*, with ſix Third Rates of 70 Guns, the *Rocheſter* Prize, and the *Vulture* and *Firebrand* Fireſhips, but finding the latter to be a heavy Sailor, he ordered her back to *Spithead*. The following Day it blew hard, and the Fireſhip loſing her Top-Maſt, was taken in Tow. The 18th they came to an Anchor off the *Scyne-Head*, but weighed again at ten o'Clock at Night, plying to the Weſtward; and early in the Morning they diſcovered ſeveral Fiſhing-Boats, one of which, with eight Men, from *Burrier*, the Admiral's Boat took. The 20th they ſaw a Sail to Windward, which the *Hampton-Court* and *Suffolk* were ordered to chaſe, but could not come up with. The next Day

Day they anchored off Cape *de la Hague*, but ſoon weighed again, and kept plying to Windward till the 24th, when the eight Days being expired, and not having ſeen any Appearance of the Enemy, he reſolved to make Sail for the *Engliſh* Coaſt. In his Paſſage he was joined by the *Wincheſter* and two more, with ſome Orders from Sir *George Rooke*, in purſuance whereof, he detached Captain *Wager* in the *Hampton-Court* with five Sail more, to cruize on the Coaſt of *France*, between Cape *Barfluer* and the Iſle of *Baſs*, for intercepting the Trade of *Weſt France*. The ſame Day, in the Afternoon, he arrived with the reſt of the Squadron at *Spithead*, where he found Sir *George Rooke*. He continued his Flag on board the *Grafton* till the 1st of *May*, and then removed again to the *Somerſet*: The ſame Day he aſſiſted at a Court-Martial, upon the Trial of Captain *Wylde*, who was acquitted; and two Days after, according to Directions he had received from the Lord-High-Admiral, he iſſued Orders for bringing into ſome Port in *England*, all foreign Ships having Naval Stores, ſuſpected to be bound to *France*.

The 5th in the Morning, Sir *George Rooke* ſailed from *Spithead*, with his Squadron, to the Weſtward, and in the Afternoon Vice-Admiral *Leake* received Orders, by Expreſs from the Lord-High-Admiral, to proceed immediately after him with ſome Packets: Accordingly he endeavoured to weigh directly, but there was ſo little Wind he could hardly get out to *St. Helens*. Early next Morning for greater Expedition, he ſhifted his Flag on board the *Northumberland*, and went privately to join Admiral *Rooke*, ſending the *Somerſet* back to *Spithead*. He weighed and plied out immediately, but with very little Wind at South. And the eighth at Night joined the Fleet, hoiſting his Flag on board the *Prince George*, a Second Rate, which Ship he continued in for ſeveral Years after, though ſhe was a very indifferent Man of War, and carried her Guns ill; and I do not apprehend why he continued ſo long in her, unleſs it was for her Name's Sake.

On the 9th of *May*, about 15 Leagues from *Uſhant*, a Council of War was called of Flag Officers, who peruſing the Inſtructions from her Majeſty, and the Intelligence received from *Breſt* of the Enemy's Preparations, together with a Project for a Deſcent in the Bay of *Vernon*, at the Mouth of the River *Bourdeaux*, it was determined to ſend ſome Frigates through the *Race*, to gain further Intelligence from *Breſt*, and to proceed with the Groſs of the Fleet to *Belle Iſle* (it being judged unſafe to go farther ſo early in the Year) and that from thence ſome Frigates ſhould be detached as far as *St. Martin*'s, to diſcover what the Enemy were doing in thoſe Parts: Accordingly a Detachment was made the next Day for that Service, who ſteering along Shoar, paſſed within a Mile of *Conquet* Road, where

where there was not any Ship to be ſeen, only ſome ſmall Craft, but obſerved the Coaſt was fortified with near 30 Guns between *Conquet* and *St. Matthew's Point:* They ſtood into the *Sound* without *Breſt*, and to the Eaſtward of *Camaret*, but ſaw not any Thing there, nor could they diſcover in the Harbour more than ſix Sail ready for the Sea, three of them from 60 to 70 Guns, and the other from 30 to 40. A Fiſherman that was taken, affirmed, that there ſailed from *Breſt* the *Sunday* before, four Ships of three Decks, under the Command of Monſieur *Cotlogon*; that there were between 20 and 30 more in the Harbour diſarmed, and in the Road four Ships of War, and two Privateers, ready to ſail. Upon this a Council of War was held of Flag Officers and Captains the 12th of *May*, to conſider of the Queen's Inſtructions, and the Intelligence they had; and they concluded to ſail as far as *Belle Iſle*, and that a Detachment ſhould be ſent to *St. Martin's*, or elſewhere, for further Advice, *Belle Iſle* being appointed the Rendezvous from the 16th to the 20th of *May*, and afterwards in the Latitude of 46 and 47 Degrees S. S. W. from *Uſhant*.

The 15th, the *Medway* took a Prize; two Days after the *Wincheſter*, *Dover*, and *Litchfield*, joined the Fleet, which was prevented getting into the Bay by ſoutherly Winds, Fogs, and Calms: Nevertheleſs, the 19th they got as far in as the *Seames*, but the Wind flying out freſh at S. S. W. and S. W. obliged them to ſtand out again. The next Day the Wind coming *Northerly*, the Admiral ſtood into the Bay with the Fleet, and a *Dutch* Galliot informed them, that they ſaw the *Tueſday* before, 26 *French* Men of War ſtanding Weſtward, the Land about *Bourdeaux* then bearing E. by S. near 15 Leagues off. Upon this, at a Council of War the 23d, it was judged convenient to proceed to *Belle Iſle*, according to the Reſolution of the 12th, and that the Detachment deſigned for *St. Martin's* ſhould not be ſent thither, until it could be certainly known, whether the Enemy's Ships were in thoſe Parts, or gone to Sea.

The 24th the Fleet arrived at *Belle Iſle*, where there was not any Thing to be ſeen but ſome Fiſhing-Boats. Upon their going in, a Detachment was made to the South-Eaſt End of the Iſland, to intercept any Veſſels that might attempt coming out that Way, and another Detachment to the Iſle of *Groï* or *Grouais*, lying off Port *Louis*, to ſurprize any Shipping which ſhould be found riding off that Port; which laſt Detachment brought into the Fleet two ſmall Barks, taken from amongſt twenty, that were bound Southward from *Breſt*, but the Remainder (except ſome which were ſtranded) with their Convoy of 14 Guns, got into Port *Louis*. Hereupon, and upon what the Priſoners related, a Council of War of Flags and Captains was held in *Belle Iſle* Road the 27th of *May*, and they reſolved, it was not adviſeable to divide the Fleet; and alſo reſolved to

put in Execution the Orders which the Admiral had received, by repairing to the Station S. S. W. from *Uſhant*, in the Latitude of 46 and 47 Degrees, the better to meet with any of the Enemy's Ships, bound in or out of the Bay. The 27th the *Dragon* took a Privateer of 16 Guns; at the ſame Time a Sail with *French* Colours coming into the Fleet, a Signal was made for the Boats to chaſe, and ſhe ſtood in for the Iſland, and run on Shoar.

From the Time the Fleet came to an Anchor in *Belle Iſle* Road, until the 1st of *June*, it blew very hard; but two Days after the Fleet ſailed, and ſtood towards the appointed Station: The 4th, the *Litchfield* brought in a *French* Prize from *Martinico*; and the next Day the *Lyme* joined the Fleet with another Prize; and the 19th of *June*, the *Medway* brought in another Prize. And it having been reſolved to ſtay no longer than the 10th of *June* on that Station, they ſhaped their Courſe homewards accordingly, and the Fleet arrived at *St. Helens*, after a tedious Paſſage, the 21st of the aforeſaid Month. Two Days after they came to *Spithead*, and ſoon after Sir *George Rooke* left the Fleet, having, by his Order of the 26th of *June*, put the Ships at *Spithead* and *Portſmouth* Harbour under the Command of Vice-Admiral *Leake*.

CHAP. III.

The Campaign of 1703 *continued. He goes with a Reinforcement to* Liſbon: *Proceedings of the Fleet in the* Mediterranean: *Their Return to* England: *The great Storm, and Mr.* Leake's *wonderful Preſervation therein*, &c.

THE King of *Portugal* at length having acceded to the grand Alliance, a Treaty between the Emperor, the Queen of *Great Britain*, the King of *Portugal*, and the States-General, was ſigned at *Liſbon*, and being brought to *London* on the 24th of *May*, the Ratification of it paſſed the Great Seal of *Great Britain* the 14th of *July* following. Sir *Cloudeſly Shovell* was thereupon ordered with a Fleet to the *Mediterranean* in great Haſte, as well to hinder the Enemy's Fleet from paſſing the *Streights*, as to prevent any Attempts they might make to inſult the *Portugueſe*, for deſerting their Engagements with the Crown of *France*.

Sir *Cloudeſly* ſailed from *Spithead* the 1st of *July*; but as ſeveral of the Ships appointed for that Expedition could not be got ready Time enough to proceed with him, he deſired, that the ſtricteſt Orders might be given for their proceeding after him

him to the Rock of *Liſbon*, that ſo the Service might not be delayed by his ſtaying there in Expectation of them. This Sir *Cloudeſly* particularly recommended to the Care of Vice-Admiral *Leake*, well knowing his Zeal and Diligence for the publick Service; and ſoon after he received Orders from the Lord-High-Admiral to the ſame Effect: Accordingly he uſed his beſt Endeavours to forward thoſe Ships for the Service they were intended, being eight Sail, *viz.* Two Second, and ſix Third Rates: But he found this Service much more difficult than was expected; for upon Examination, thoſe eight Ships had above a thouſand Men ſick on Shoar, beſides a conſiderable Number on board that could not be received into ſick Quarters for want of Room; ſo that it was impoſſible they ſhould be ready in a ſhort Time, if he was to wait for their Recovery. This he repreſented to the Lord-High-Admiral, with the Neceſſity therefore there was of turning Men over from other Ships upon this Emergency, a Practice he was otherwiſe much averſe to; and his Highneſs having ſignified his Conſent, he ordered Men to be turned from other Ships, ſo as with their Marines, to make up the Complements of five of the eight, in order to leave the other three to follow after him as ſoon as poſſible, judging it to be more for the Service to proceed with five Ships, than to ſtay till the whole eight were compleated, which would take up a conſiderable Time to do, there being ſuch a Scarcity of Seamen. The 9th he gave out the Rendezvous to the Ships, which was off of the Rock of *Liſbon*, or at *Caſcais*; but if they did not find the Fleet there, then to enquire of her Majeſty's Envoy at *Liſbon*, or the Agent at *Caſcais*, for further Directions: And having now by his unwearied Application, got the Ships in a Readineſs to proceed, on the 10th Inſtant he ſailed from *St. Helens*, with the *Prince George* and *Aſſociation*, Second Rates, and the *Shrewſbury*, *Ruſſell*, and *Lancaſter*, Third Rates; and uſed ſuch Diſpatch, that in 11 Days he joined the grand Fleet at Sea, in their Paſſage to *Liſbon*: And two Days after the whole Fleet arrived at *Caſcais*, the Entrance into *Liſbon* River. The ſame Evening the King of *Portugal* was acquainted by Sir *Stafford Fairbone* of their Arrival, whereat the *Portugueſe* much rejoiced, being now out of Fear of being inſulted by the *French* Fleet, which was reported to be deſigned againſt them. Two Days after the King of *Portugal* took a View of the Fleet, and was wonderfully pleaſed at the Sight of it, conſiſting, in the Whole, of above 69 Ships, *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, of which 47 were of the Line.

The 25th a Council of War was held, conſiſting of Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel*, Vice-Admiral *Leake*, Vice-Admiral *Byng*, and three *Dutch* Admirals, *viz.* *Allemonde*, *Vandergoes*, and *Waſſenaer*; and it was reſolved to remain at *Caſcais* till the 29th, to take in Water, and then to proceed into the *Streights*: The Place

of

of Rendezvous being *Altea* Bay, but in caſe of a hard eaſterly Wind, that of *Almeria* in *Granada*.

The 31ſt of *July* the Fleet ſailed from *Caſcais* with the Trade, and came off Cape *Spartel* the 4th of *Auguſt*, where they met with a freſh *Levant* Wind. Here they were joined by Captain *Norris*, who had been detached with four Ships, to look into *Cadiz*. He brought an Account, that there were 12 *French* Gallies in *Cadiz*, but none of their Men of War on the *Spaniſh* Coaſt: And they had alſo Intelligence by Sir *Thomas Hardy*, who had likewiſe been detached with four Sail to *Lagos* for Intelligence, that 22 great Ships had paſſed by *Faro* from *Weſt France* into the *Streights*, and that the Conſul there was informed, they had above 40 Ships of War at *Toulon*. The 9th of *Auguſt* they were obliged to anchor between the Cape and *Tangier*, the Tide driving them upon the Shoar, and not Wind enough to work their Ships; but ſoon after they towed, and warped off the Shoar, and at Noon anchored in *Tangier* Road, where they freely bought freſh Proviſions. They ſailed the 12th, and with a weſterly Wind got through the *Streights* that Night, but the *Levant* blowing afterwards pretty freſh, they made but little Way, and the Fleet wanting Water, ſtretched from Cape *de Gatt* to Cape *Hony* in *Barbary*, to get ſome Water there. Upon their Arrival, a Boat was ſent with a Flag of Truce, to acquaint the *Moors* with their Deſign; but theſe *Barbarians* anſwered their Civility with Muſket-Shot, not ſuffering them to land, killed one of the Boat's Crew, and mortally wounded the Lieutenant who commanded the Boat, of which he died two Days afterwards.

The Want of Water increaſing daily, and Abundance of Men dying through exceſſive Heat, which the Calms they had from Time to Time rendered more intolerable, a Council of War was held the 29th of *Auguſt* on board the *Triumph*. At this Council her Majeſty's Inſtructions of the 4th of *May* 1703, to Sir *Cloudeſly Shovell*, being read, and the firſt Part of them being conſidered relating to the Fleet's going into the Bay of *Narbon*, to aſſiſt the *Cevennois*, it was reſolved, with regard to the Shoalneſs of that Coaſt, and the Danger of navigating a Fleet in that Bay, and the Seaſon of the Year ſo far ſpent, with reſpect to the Time when the Fleet were to return Home, that it was neither ſafe nor practicable for a Fleet or Squadron to go into that Bay. But it was reſolved to ſend two Ships thither, with ſome Arms and Ammunition, to attempt the putting them on Shoar in the Hands of the *Cevennois*: And in Conſideration that the whole Fleet was to return Home ſome Time in *September*, it was reſolved, the Fleet ſhould go into *Altea* Bay and water; but if it ſhould blow hard Southerly, or Weſterly, or any other Accident happen to hinder them watering there, then to proceed to *Cagliari* on

the Iſland of *Sardinia*, and there water; which was the Place of their next Rendezvous; but if they watered at *Altea*, then *Leghorn* was the Rendezvous.

In purſuance of this Reſolution, they made uſe of the little Wind they had to get into *Altea* Bay, ſending the *Eagle* and *Hampton-Court* before; but the Governor fired upon them with two Guns he had planted on a Tower, which were ſoon ſilenced and diſmounted. The 30th, about Two in the Afternoon, the whole Fleet came in Sight of the Place, and the *Flamborough* was ſent cloſe into the Shore to cover the Deſcent of the Marines, who, to the Number of 2500, landed without Confuſion or Oppoſition, and preſently formed a Camp: A Meſſage was ſent to the Governor, that they did not come as Enemies, but Friends: To which he returned Anſwer, that he had a great Eſteem for the *Engliſh*; however, he was ſorry it was not in his Power to oppoſe them. At the ſame Time a Manifeſto was publiſhed, which had a good Effect, ſo that the *Spaniards* brought Plenty of Refreſhments; for which they were paid ready Money: They profeſſed a great Hatred to the *French*, and drank Proſperity to the Archduke.

The Ships being provided with Water and Proviſions, the Marines returned on board the 3d of *September* in the Afternoon, and the ſame Evening the whole Fleet ſailed for *Leghorn*. Two Days afterwards there was a Meeting of the Flag Officers, both *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, when Admiral *Allemonde* declared, he was obliged by his Inſtructions to be in *Holland* by the 20th of *November*, and as his Ships were victualled for no longer, it was Time for him to look Homewards. Upon this a Conſultation of *Engliſh* Flags was held the 17th of *September*, by whom it was agreed, (in regard of Admiral *Allemonde*'s Inſtructions, which inclined him to ſeparate, to return Home:) That in order to prevent the Misfortune of a Separation, if they could not reach *Leghorn* by the laſt of *September*, a Convoy ſhould be ſent thither with the Trade, and the whole Fleet return to *England*. The ſame Day they had a ſudden Storm of Wind that held above three Quarters of an Hour, with Thunder, Lightning, and Rain, that ſplit their Sails before they could hand them: However, it ſoon after proved good Weather, and the Wind coming Weſterly, they arrived at *Leghorn* Road the 19th at Night.

The next Day in the Afternoon, the Town fired five Guns, and ſoon after the Governor ſent to welcome the Admirals, and to acquaint them the five Guns were intended as a Salute to the Queen of *England*'s Flag: But a Conſultation of Flag Officers being had thereupon, they reſolved it was not a proper Salute, and that the Admiral could not receive any Compliments till that was done: To this it was replied, that they gave no more Guns to Sir *John Narborough*, the Duke of *Grafton*, and Admiral *Aylmer*, who all wore the ſame Flag: But

they

they were told the Caſe was now different, that Flag was now accompanied with ſeveral other Flags, both *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, whereas theirs was ſingle. Several Couriers paſſed upon this Occaſion, to the grand Duke at *Florence*, and gave great Uneaſineſs, but the Admirals being reſolved to maintain her Majeſty's Honour in this Point, after three Days Pro and Con, it was agreed the Citadel ſhould fire eleven Guns, if the Admiral would return the like, which he aſſuring them ſhould be done, the Salute was preſently made, and anſwered ſoon after; and the Admiral received the extraordinary Preſents of Refreſhments, which had been prepared for the *French* Fleet, commanded by Count *Thouloufe*, who had been expected there before them, but durſt not ſtir out of the Harbour of *Toulon*, ſo long as the confederate Fleet remained in the *Mediterranean*.

The 23d of *September*, a Council of War was held, and it was reſolved to ſail, if poſſible, the 26th, to return Home, but if a weſterly Wind ſhould hinder them getting out of the *Streights*, then Cape *Malaga* was the Place of Rendezvous, if they could reach it; but if not, then *Altea* Bay: And when the Fleet was without the *Streights*, then the Place of Rendezvous was ten Leagues to the Weſtward of Cape *St. Vincent*, there to remain 48 Hours, in order to meet again, and no longer.

Whilſt the Fleet lay at *Leghorn*, they had very ſtormy Weather, and the 27th it blew ſo hard, that the *Dorſetſhire* drove directly in the Hawſe of the *Prince George*, and four others parted their Cables and drove, receiving conſiderable Damage. The Day after this the Count de *Lamberg*, Ambaſſador from his Imperial Majeſty at *Rome*, came on board the Fleet, bringing the News that the Archduke was proclaimed King of *Spain*, upon which all the Flag-Officers fired 21 Guns, and every other Ship 15.

The Wind continuing Weſterly and Southerly, with hard Gales, kept the Fleet at *Leghorn* till the 2d of *October*, when a *Levant* ſpringing up, they ſailed, but failing ſoon after, they met with great Difficulty in getting to the Weſtward of *Corſica*, which they did not reach before the 10th of *October*. On the 12th, between Nine and Ten at Night, aroſe a ſudden and violent Storm of Wind, with Lightning, Rain, and prodigious Claps of Thunder, which did conſiderable Damage to the Ships, in their Maſts, Sails and Rigging, and obliged them to lay by all Night. In this Time, a Storeſhip having loſt her Main-Maſt in the Storm, coming cloſe to the Leeward of the *Prince George*, Vice-Admiral *Leake*'s Ship, he took her in Tow, and two Days after fitted a Maſt for her, with Yards, Sails and Rigging, and ſtopping her Leaks,

ordered one of his Diviſion to keep her Company, by which Means ſhe was ſaved, otherwiſe ſhe had been loſt.

The 22d they were off of *Altea*, and landed 3 or 400 Marines to protect their Watering. After this, ſteering homewards, the 15th of *November* they made the Land, upon which Sir *Cloudeſly Shovell* ſtruck the Union-Flag, and hoiſted his proper Flag, as Admiral of the White: And the next Day the Fleet arrived off of the *Iſle of Wight*, the *Dutch* crowding directly for their own Ports, and the Day after the *Engliſh* Fleet anchor'd in the *Downs*; the Ships in a good Condition, but the Ships Companys in a very bad one, for upwards of 1500 had died in the Voyage, and three Quarters of the reſt were ſo ill and weak, that there were ſcarce ſufficient to manage the Ships; and to compleat their Misfortunes, a few Days after, the moſt violent Storm came upon them that ever was known in *England*, and therefore ever ſince, by Way of Eminence, called the *Great Storm*, which being ſo well known, it will be ſufficient to give an Account only of Vice-Admiral *Leake*'s wonderful Preſervation in this diſmal Cataſtrophe.

It was one of the long and dark Nights of *November*, between the 26th and 27th, that brought forth this dreadful Storm: The Violence of it began about one o'Clock, the Wind blowing from the W. S. W. to the S. S. W. and in a ſhort Time ſpread Deſtruction over the Face of the whole Kingdom: But as it ſeems to have been engendred in the *Downs*, ſo it ſpent its utmoſt Fury there. That Place, which the Evening before appeared like a goodly Foreſt, in two Hours was reduced to a Deſart, hardly an Object being left to chear the Sight, had the Darkneſs of the Night permitted, Vice-Admiral *Leake*, in the *Prince George*, alone riding faſt, in deſpite of the two contending Elements, but with the Expectation only of being the laſt to be ſwallowed up. About three o'Clock, believing the Storm to be at the worſt, they were encouraged to hope they might ride it out, but juſt then, they diſcovered the *Reſtoration*, a Third Rate Ship driving upon them, and preſently came ſo near, they were forced to brace their Yards to prevent her driving on board them; however, they hoped ſhe might go clear of them; but whilſt they flattered themſelves with this Hope, her Anchor came up to the Hawſe of the *Prince George*, and ſhe ſtopt, riding faſt by them. Now their Fate ſeemed inevitable, for if no Ships but theirs had been able to ride out the Storm ſingle, how was it poſſible their Ground-Tackle ſhould hold two great Ships? There was no Means left, but to cut her away: They endeavoured it, but they could not do it. There was now no Hopes; they waited their approaching Fate, which every Minute threatned their Deſtruction. By the prodigious Strain, their beſt Bower was ſoon brought Home, and their ſmall Bower brought a-Head,

and

and in this Manner they rode for Half an Hour, the longeſt Half Hour that ever they knew, for every Minute ſeemed to be the laſt; but when all human Aids failed, and all Expectations were vain, the inviſible Hand of Providence relieved them; for whether the Cable of the *Reſtoration* parted, or the Anchor ſlipped, they knew not, but ſhe drove away, and ſoon after was loſt, with every living Creature on board; by which Means, Vice-Admiral *Leake* happily ſurvived the general Devaſtation. This wonderful Deliverance, under Providence, was owing to a prudent Foreſight, in the Admiral and his Captain, Captain *Martin*, by providing againſt the worſt, the Day before, when it blew very hard, when conſidering the Time of Year, the Place they were in, and what might happen, they made a ſnug Ship, veering out their long Service to two Cables and two Thirds, and doing every Thing that might enable them to ride out a hard Storm; by which Precaution, they not only ſaved themſelves, but the Lives of 700 Men under their Care, with her Majeſty's Ship; and all this, without cutting away a Maſt, or uſing any extraordinary Means, or receiving any Damage more than uſual in a hard Gale of Wind; which was a Happineſs and an Honour no other could pretend to.

When it was Day, they ſaw 12 Sail a-ſhoar upon the *Goodwin*, *Bunt-Head*, and *Brake-Sands*, amongſt whom was Admiral *Beaumont* in the *Mary*, the *Sterling-Caſtle*, *Northumberland*, and *Reſtoration*, who were all to Pieces by 10 o'Clock, and all the Men periſhed, except one from the *Mary*, and about 80 from the *Sterling-Caſtle*. It was a melancholy Proſpect, to ſee between 2 and 3000 periſh in this Manner, without a Poſſibility of helping them. The *Naſſau* cut away her Maſts, the *Garland* and *Dunwich* loſt all their Maſts, the *Litchfield* her Fore-Maſt, the *Poſtillion* her Main-Maſt, and ſeveral Merchant Ships theirs; the reſt drove out of the *Downs*, or foundered at an Anchor.

Next Day, as ſoon as the Storm was ſomething abated, Vice-Admiral *Leake* ordered the *Anne*, and all the Boats of the Ships that were left, to the *Sterling-Caſtles* Wreck, to endeavour to ſave the Men upon the Poop, which was the only Part left, and ſaved the Lieutenant, Captain, Cook and 70 Men almoſt dead with cold, together with the Coxſwain of the Yawl of the *Mary*, who ſwam from the Wreck of his own Ship to the other, and reported that Admiral *Beaumont*, his Lieutenant and Clerk, laſh'd themſelves to a Piece of the Ship, which no Doubt drove to Sea.

Of theſe unhappy Circumſtances of the Fleet, lately in the *Downs*, Vice-Admiral *Leake* acquainted the Lord-High-Admiral, by his Letter to his Highneſs of the 28th Inſtant, and alſo of the immediate Neceſſity thoſe few that remained were under, of all Sorts of Stores, but eſpecially of Anchors,

Cables, Cordage, and Jury-Maſts; and that his own Sheet Anchor was all he had now to depend upon, his beſt and ſmall Bower being damaged by the *Reſtoration*'s Anchor.

Having now given all poſſible Aſſiſtance to thoſe in Diſtreſs, and taken a proper Care of thoſe that remained, his next Concern was for thoſe that had been driven out of the *Downs*. For this Purpoſe, the 1ſt of *December*, he ordered the *Aſſiſtance*, *Chatham* and *Mary* Galley, to cruize to and fro for three or four Days, about the *North Sand-Head* and on the Back of the *South Sand* to look out for ſuch Merchant Ships as might be in thoſe Parts, and in want of Help, and to aſſiſt and bring them into Port: And having performed this Service, the fifth Inſtant, he ordered the two former Ships to proceed to the *North Sea*, and look out between *England* and *Holland*, and ſailing along the Eaſt Side of the *Galloper*, and ſo over near the Coaſt of *Holland*, to look for her Majeſty's Ships, the *Aſſociation*, *Dorſetſhire*, *Revenge* and *Ruſſel*, which were drove from their Anchors at the *Gun-Fleet* in the late Storm, and had not been heard of ſince. Having now compleated what was neceſſary to be done by him, upon this Occaſion, and received his Royal Highneſs's Leave to go to *London*, he ſtruck his Flag the 10th of *December*, and went thither, having appointed Captain *Martin* to proceed with the *Prince George* to *Spithead*, the firſt Opportunity.

This was the End of the Campaign of 1703, a very fatal one to our Men and to our Shipping; and though there had been no Fighting, yet as dangerous and fatiguing as any that happened during the War. As to the Sickneſs of the Fleet, Biſhop *Burnet* intimates, as if it had been much owing to the Unwholeſomeneſs of the Proviſions; and if ſo, juſtly blames the Commiſſioners of the Victualling for it; and, I think, there may be ſome Truth in it, becauſe the Sickneſs was amongſt our Men at *Portſmouth*, before they left *England*. They carried it with them to Sea, and the greater Part died in a few Weeks after they left *England*; for of 60 that died in the *Prince George*, above one Half was in the Paſſage to *Liſbon*, and ſoon afterwards the Ships Companies grew more healthy. As to the Loſſes ſuſtained in our Shipping, it was our Misfortune, but not our Fault: But if nothing was done in this Expedition to the *Mediterranean*, it was the Fault of thoſe that ſent the Fleet thither ſo late in the Year, when the Admirals had repreſented that nothing could be expected from the Voyage. Sir *Cloudeſly Shovell* did not leave *England* till the 8th of *July*, and his Orders were to return in *September*; ſo that (as the Biſhop obſerves) every Thing was ſo ill laid, as if it had been intended nothing ſhould be done.

During the ſhort Receſs between this and the enſuing Campaign, Mr. *Leake* was not wholly diſengaged from Naval Affairs;

fairs; for by the Lord-High-Admiral's Order, he was appointed, with ſome other Flag Officers, to have a Conſultation upon the great Scarcity of Seamen that had hitherto been during the War, and which had very much obſtructed all our Deſigns by Sea; and to conſider of Means to remedy this Inconvenience. Accordingly they met together the laſt of *December*, and having maturely conſidered the Matter, they made their Report thereupon to his Royal Highneſs, who ſo well approved of it, that the Means propoſed were afterwards carried into Execution, and contributed very much to the publick Service. His Highneſs ſo well approved what had been done, that ſoon after he appointed the ſame Flag-Officers, at a Council of War, to conſider how the Marines might be made more uſeful, there being frequent Diſputes and Miſunderſtandings between the Marines and Sea-Officers. Accordingly a Council of War was held the 17th of *January*, on board the *Triumph*, and the Reſolutions of the ſaid Council of War were afterwards eſtabliſhed, as Rules to be obſerved on board her Majeſty's Ships of War. Immediately after this, Vice-Admiral *Leake* received his Highneſs's Orders to proceed to *Portſmouth*, and take upon him the Command of the Ships in that Harbour, at *Spithead*, and *St. Helens*, cauſing all poſſible Diſpatch to be made in doing what might be neceſſary towards putting the Ships there in a Condition for the Sea. In purſuance of which Orders, he hoiſted his Flag on board the *Prince George* in that Harbour the 20th of *January*, at which Place we ſhall leave him till the Opening of the next Campaign.

CHAP. IV.

The Campaign of 1704. *Vice-Admiral* Leake *is knighted: Convoys the Tranſports to* Liſbon: *Is left with a Squadron at that Place: Joins the grand Fleet: They attempt* Barcelona, *purſue the* French *Fleet, and take* Gibraltar.

ONE of the Motives upon which the King of *Portugal* entered into the grand Alliance, was, that the Archduke, *Charles* of *Auſtria*, ſhould be declared King of *Spain*, and come in Perſon into *Portugal*. For this End he embarked from *Holland*, under the Convoy of a Squadron commanded by Sir *George Rooke*, who was appointed to command the Fleet that was to proceed with his Majeſty and the Forces to *Portugal*. The 26th of *December* they arrived at *Spithead*, and the King of *Spain* having made his Compliments in Perſon to her

Majeſty at *Windſor*, returned to *Portſmouth* the 1ſt of *January*: Four Days after, Sir *George Rooke* ſailed with the Fleet, but was forced back again the 20th. That ſame Day Vice-Admiral *Leake* arrived at *Portſmouth*, and hoiſted his Flag on board the *Prince George*, to take upon him the Command of the Ships at that Place, *Spithead*, and *St. Helens*; and to cauſe all poſſible Diſpatch to be made towards putting the Ships there in a Condition for Sea, purſuant to his Royal Highneſs's Orders. The 1ſt of *February*, Admiral *Rooke* having received ſome further Orders in relation to the Tranſportation of the Forces to *Portugal*, and to haſten his Proceeding thither, he called a Council of War of Flag-Officers, which conſiſted only of Vice-Admiral *Leake* of the *Engliſh*, and two *Dutch* Admirals; and they determined, that ſince all the Tranſports might be ready, whenever the Wind ſhould permit them to ſail, it was neceſſary to proceed with as many Ships of War for their Security, as could poſſibly be ſpared from other Services; and that ſince there would be left behind no other Tranſports than thoſe which were in *Holland*, it was judged, that eight Men of War, and ſuch other Ships of the *Engliſh* Quota, for Service on the Coaſt of *Portugal*, as could be timely put into a Condition, would be ſufficient Convoy for them: They alſo repreſented it to be abſolutely neceſſary, that all poſſible Diligence ſhould be uſed, in ſending to *Liſbon*, the Remainder of the 38 Ships, which were to join the 19 *Dutch*, then at, and going to *Portugal*; for there was Reaſon to apprehend, the Enemy would get a ſtrong Squadron together early in the Spring, and endeavour to block our Ships up in the *Tajo*, whereby they would have it in their Power to intercept all ſuch as ſhould be bound from *England*, and diſappoint the whole Summer's Service: Whereas, if the Fleet rendevouzed early at *Liſbon*, it was judged they might be able to prevent the Enemy's joining their Fleets of the *Mediterranean* and Ocean, and to perform other Services on the Coaſt of *Spain*.

Purſuant to theſe Reſolutions, the 5th following Sir *George Rooke* ſailed with the King of *Spain*, and the Fleet and Tranſports, leaving Vice-Admiral *Leake* with Inſtructions, according to the Reſult of the Council of War, that as ſoon as the *Dutch* Tranſports with Forces ſhould arrive from *Holland*, he was with them, and the Ships that ſhould be then ready in that Harbour for their Convoy, to take them under his Command, and proceed after Sir *George Rooke* to the River of *Liſbon*: Accordingly Vice-Admiral *Leake* having giving the proper Directions for haſtening the Ships of War againſt the *Dutch* Tranſports ſhould arrive, on the 8th he ſet out for *London*, in order to receive his Royal Highneſs's Sentiments and laſt Inſtructions, in relation to the Expedition, and met with a very favourable Reception. His Highneſs was alſo pleaſed to preſent him to

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her Majeſty, who upon that Occaſion confer'd on him the Honour of Knighthood, an Honour he had hitherto avoided, but could not at this Time with Decency refuſe. With this additional Honour he returned to his Command, the 19th of *February*, and was immediately followed by Orders from his Royal Highneſs, which he received the next Day, That whereas her Majeſty had ſignified her Pleaſure, that all poſſible Diligence ſhould be uſed in the getting to *Liſbon* the Tranſports with Troops bound thither, lately arrived at *Spithead* from *Holland*, and that he ſhould go along with them; he was directed, if he could get the three *Dutch* Men of War then at *Spithead* to ſail with him, with the *Newark*, *Tyger* and *Garland*, and the Tranſports (as ſoon as they were ready) with the firſt Opportunity of Wind and Weather, to proceed to *Liſbon*, taking with him, as far as their Way ſhould lie together, the *Nonſuch*, *Deal-Caſtle*, and *Mermaid*, which were bound to *Jamaica*; in caſe they were ready to ſail with him, otherwiſe, not to ſtay for them: But if he could not get the three *Dutch* Men of War to go with him, he was then, as ſoon as the *Newark*, *Tyger*, and *Garland*, and the Ships bound to *Jamaica* ſhould be ready, to proceed with the Tranſports without the *Dutch*: And whereas the *Burlington* was deſigned on a Voyage to the Cape, which Ship it was intended ſhould ſail with him, if the Orders from the *Eaſt-India* Company about their Ships, could be timely diſpatched; he was therefore to haſten her to *Spithead*, and man her to her middle Complement, out of the *Humber* and *Cornwall*: And by another Order, he was directed, that in Caſe the *Garland* was not arrived at *Spithead*, before he was ready to ſail, to proceed without her; taking the *Burlington* with him, as far as their Way ſhould lie together; and to deliver to her Commander an Order incloſed, directed for him, before he ſailed; together with the ſealed Inſtructions from the *Eaſt-India* Company which accompanied it. With theſe Orders he likewiſe received a Letter from Mr. *Clarke*, his Royal Highneſs's Secretary; acquainting him how impatient the Queen was, that the King of *Spain* might have the reſt of the Forces with him: That her Majeſty had been informed, that no Convoy could be got ready to go within 12 or 14 Days, and therefore in Cabinet-Council, was pleaſed to give Directions for his ſailing as ſoon as poſſible, that he was to uſe all Arguments to perſuade the *Dutch* to go with him; for if their Ships ſhould come from the *Texel*, with the 17 Companies of Foot, they might be convoy'd by the Ships that were to follow him to *Liſbon*; and there was no Likelihood of their Arrival at *Spithead*, before that Convoy would be ready to ſail.

It was the 19th at Night, when Sir *John Leake* arrived at *Portſmouth*, and early the next Morning he received the Packet with

with the aforeſaid Orders, which being ſo preſſing for him to be gone, he immediately ſtruck his Flag on board the *Prince George*, which was not yet ready for the Sea (having ſuffered very much in the late Storm) and leaving her to follow him, he hoiſted it on board the *Newark*, a Third Rate of 80 Guns, at *Spithead*; preſently unmoor'd, and gave out the proper Orders to the Ships there, that were to proceed with him; and having ſent for the Commadore of the *Dutch*, and uſed ſome Arguments with him, at length prevailed upon him to ſail with him; only at his Requeſt, in order to juſtify his Proceedings to Admiral *Callemberg*, Sir *John* gave him from under his Hand, that it was his Royal Highneſs's Deſire he ſhould do ſo. This Point being ſettled, Sir *John* immediately diſpatched an Account thereof to the Lord-High-Admiral, and to acquaint him, that he was uſing his utmoſt Diligence to put his Orders in Execution, and hoped to ſail from *St. Helens* the next Day. For this Purpoſe he ſailed that Afternoon from *Spithead* to *St. Helens*, with the *Newark*, *Tyger*, *Garland*, and three Sail of *Dutch* Men of War, together with the Tranſports, having on board the Remainder of the Troops for the King of *Spain*, and ſome Storeſhips; and the next Day being the 21ſt, early in the Morning, they ſailed from *St. Helens*, in order to proceed without the *Dutch* Tranſports expected from *Holland*; but at Noon, ſeeing ſome Ships in the *Offing*, Sir *John* thought proper to lie by, to know what they were, and they proved to be the *Dutch* Tranſports from the *Texel*. Having thus luckily joined them, he proceeded on his Voyage. The following Morning, being near *Plymouth*, he diſpatched a Frigate to get the Merchant Ships out of that Port, to go under his Convoy: They joined him in the Afternoon, as did the *Mermaid*, *Newcaſtle* and *Garland*. The 1ſt of *March* being got the Length of the *Burlings*, he detached the *Burlington*, *Mermaid*, *Nonſuch*, and *Deal-Caſtle*, with their Convoy, and the Day following he arrived with the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Auxiliaries before *Liſbon*, not one Ship having met with any Accident. Soon after his Arrival, he was preſented to the King of *Portugal*, and was graciouſly received.

The 5th of *March* a Council of War was called, at which were preſent, beſides the Admiral, Sir *John Leake*, and Rear-Admiral *Dilks* and *Wiſhart*, and of the *Dutch*, Admiral *Callemberg*, and Vice-Admiral *Waſſenaer*. At this Council they read ſeveral Advices of the Preparations of the Enemy, and adhered to what had been determined at the former Council of War, of the 29th of the laſt Mouth (which was to detach 16 or 18 Sail to cruize between Cape *St. Vincent*, Cape *Spartel*, Cape *St. Mary*, and for 30 Days, unleſs it was neceſſary for them to return ſooner) for they were of Opinion, that a Squadron of Ships appearing in the Sea, would give great

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Countenance and Protection to our Commerce; and that ſeveral of our Ships being clean, might probably intercept ſmall Squadrons of *French* Ships ſo early in the Year; and it was hoped at their Return, they might be enabled, by the Arrival of Ships from *England*, to form a Squadron of ſufficient Strength to meet and oppoſe the Enemy's Fleets.

According to this Reſolution, the Admiral ſailed the 7th with the Groſs of the Fleet; leaving Sir *John Leake* with the Remainder at *Liſbon*, conſiſting of ſix Sail, two Fireſhips, and one Hoſpital, and theſe Inſtructions, *viz.* He was to cauſe the *Content* Hulk (lately arrived with him from *England*, laden with Stores), to be pulled down, and made uſeful, and to cauſe the Stores to be removed on Shoar. As ſoon as the *Woolwich* arrived, he was to order her to convoy the *Newfoundland* Ships thither, and to remain there to protect the Fiſhing, till the *Coventry* and *Kingſale* arrived from *England* to relieve him. He was to ſend two Sail Home with the Trade and Tranſport Ships; and in caſe any clean Ships ſhould arrive from *England*, before the 20th Inſtant, he was to order them to join the Admiral in the Station between Cape *St. Vincent*, Cape *Spartel*, and Cape *St. Mary*.

The 13th of *March*, Sir *John* executed that Part of his Orders relating to the Trade and Tranſports, by appointing a Convoy to ſee them ſafe to *England*, in Expectation that they might ſoon be ready to ſail: But from the Time the Admiral ſailed to the 25th, it proved ſuch extream bad Weather, that the Tranſports were not able to put out their Stores and Proviſions, particularly the 23d they had ſuch a violent Storm, that put many of the Ships in great Danger; and a *Dutch* Man of War driving athwart Admiral *Leake*'s Hawſe, forced them from their Anchors, breaking their ſmall Bower, Cable, and the beſt Bower of one of the Hulks. As ſoon as the Weather was ſomething better, Sir *John* gave Orders for unlading the Tranſports, in order for their Return to *England*; and likewiſe for careening the Ships of War: But he was very much ſurprized, to find there was neither a Houſe appointed to receive the Stores, nor a Hulk to careen the Ships; though there had been a Perſon ſome Time before appointed by the Admiral to ſolicit that Affair. This was a great Diſappointment to the Service; and being ignorant of the true Cauſe, he immediately apply'd himſelf to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador (Mr. *Methuen*) to know the Meaning of it. His Excellency preſently anſwered his Letter with ſome Surprize; that ſo far from knowing the Reaſon of this Delay, he had not heard one Word from the Gentleman employ'd in it, that he wanted either; which if he had, would not have been now to ſtruggle for, but that he thought there had not been that Care taken that ought to have been, in a Matter of that Importance to her Majeſty's Service.

I cannot but admire (ſays he) that I never could hear, either from the Officers of the Admiralty, or Navy, of their Deſires, or of their Intentions; to the End that I might have provided, and ſecured Places proper for the Stores and other Services, which might have been in all Reſpects better done, when there was not that vaſt Occaſion of Store-Houſes as there is now. His Excellency, however, undertook the Affair, and procured an Order from the King of *Portugal* to one of his principal Miniſters, to be ſupply'd both with the one and the other; but ſo far was this from being comply'd with, that eight Days afterwards Sir *John* acquainted the Ambaſſador, that, notwithſtanding the Trouble he had given himſelf, in this Affair, the Hulk, which he expected, had, on the contrary, been employed in the Service of the *Dutch*; ſo that he muſt wait till they had done with her, there being but two, and both attending that Service, that they could not poſſibly make uſe of their own, for want of a Store-Houſe to put out her Loading; which Store-Houſe, he though, might certainly have been obtained, if proper Application had been made by Mr. *Cheney*, who had been appointed for that Purpoſe.

Affairs being thus at a Stand, and no Aſſiſtance to be expected from the *Portugueſe*, Sir *John* wrote to Sir *George Rooke*, (21 *March*) acquainting him with the Endeavours he had uſed to comply with the Orders he left him. Every Thing (ſays he) at *Liſbon*, is almoſt in the ſame Poſture you left them in, the extream bad Weather having been a great Hindrance; the Tranſport Ships not clear of their Proviſions, nor the *Tyger* careened for want of a Hulk, or the Stores a-ſhoar for want of a Storehouſe; though there has not wanted my Application to the Ambaſſador for one, and to forward the other Services, but to little Purpoſe; nor can any greater Diſpatch be expected, whilſt we have any Dependance upon the *Portugueſe*; for notwithſtanding the King's Order, eight Days ago, to provide a Storehouſe, and accommodate us with a Hulk, and every Thing elſe we might want out of their own Stores, yet there is nothing complied with: This is one Inſtance how ill we were treated by the *Portugueſe*, and how much better the *Dutch* Affairs were conducted at that Court, than the *Engliſh*.

But notwithſtanding theſe Difficulties, that the Reparation of the Ships might be carried on in the beſt Manner the preſent Circumſtances would admit, ſeveral of the Squadron were made to ſupply the Place of Hulks upon this Occaſion; ſo that the Buſineſs was diſpatched much ſooner than could have been expected under the Want of all Neceſſaries. The 25th Rear-Admiral *Dilks* arrived in the *Kent*, with the *Bedford* and *Suffolk*, and two Days after a *Dutch* Rear-Admiral with three Sail, and a Letter from the Admiral to Sir *John Leake*, acquainting him, that he intended to be at *Liſbon* the latter End

of

of the Month; and on the 6th of *April* he came to *Liſbon* accordingly.

Sir *George Rooke* being arrived at *Liſbon*, a Council of War was called the 12th of *April*, to conſider of her Majeſty's Orders of the 1ſt of *January*, relating to the Security of the *Turky* Fleet; and upon Intelligence of ſeven *French* Ships of War ſeen near *Alicant*, and for relieving of *Niza*, or *Villa Frank*, upon the Duke of *Savoy* or Mr. *Hill*'s Notice of the *French* attempting thoſe Places: And it was reſolved the Fleet ſhould be in a conſtant Readineſs to go to their Relief, upon Advice of their being inſulted; but it was thought, before they could receive Advice of it, and could arrive there, it would be too late to prevent any Misfortune to them, unleſs the Fleet rendevouzed at *Altea*, the better to gain Intelligence, and be nearer their Aſſiſtance: And in Conſideration of the beforementioned ſeven *French* Men of War, and the Security of the *Turky* Ships, it was not thought ſafe to make any Detachments from the Fleet at this Seaſon of the Year, ſince they might meet with ſtronger Squadrons, and it might prove a Diſappointment to the aſſiſting of *Nice*, or *Villa Frank*, according to their Inſtructions.

On the 18th of *April* another Council of War was held, to conſider of her Majeſty's Orders of the 24th and 28th of *March*, and Mr. Secretary *Hedges*'s Letters; and it was reſolved to execute the Council of War of the 12th Inſtant, to proceed in the *Streights*; but if the *Portugueſe* Troops, under the Command of the Prince of *Heſſe*, intended for *Catalonia*, could be imbarked in eight or ten Days, that they would remain there ſo long for them, leaving Orders for the Ships that were to come from *England*, to join the Fleet in *Altea* Bay; and if they found no Orders there to the contrary, to repair to *Algiers* for their better Security: And it was reſolved, upon their Arrival in the *Streights*, to ſend away a Frigate to *Niza*, to Mr. *Hill* our Reſident at the Court of *Savoy*, for Intelligence of the *French* Fleet at *Toulon*; and upon his adviſing them, that there was a Proſpect of their inſulting *Villa Frank*, or *Niza*, then to conſider how to execute her Majeſty's Orders for their Relief: That it was their Opinion, by the Want of the major Part of the *Engliſh* Quota of Ships, the reſt might poſſibly be extreamly expoſed, even in this Service; and they thought, debilitated, till they joined them, from executing what her Majeſty expected from them.

They 21ſt of *April* they were joined by the *Prince George*, a Second Rate, four Third Rates, and two Fireſhips; and Sir *John Leake* the next Morning removed his Flag on board the *Prince George*. The 24th, the Tranſports and Merchant Ships were detached for *England*, under Convoy of three Sail; the next Day, at the Deſire of the King of *Spain*, a Council of War was called of Flag-Officers, upon a Paper of Propoſals delivered

delivered his Catholick Majeſty by the *Amirante* of *Caſtile*, propoſing, that in their Way to the *Mediterranean*, their chief Deſign ſhould be to go to *Barcelona*, to execute there what had been reſolved on of ſo great Benefit to the common Cauſe; and if when they were at *Barcelona*, they ſhould receive Advice from the Duke of *Savoy*, that *Nice* was beſieged, then the Admiral to proceed to the Relief of it; but if no ſuch Advice ſhould come, then to put in Execution the Enterprize upon *Barcelona*: But if the Duke of *Savoy* ſhould preſs going up thither, and it be found neceſſary to appoint a Place of Rendezvous, all his Catholick Majeſty deſired, was, it might be at *Barcelona*, ſince even that would be of great Advantage to the Enterprize upon *Spain*. Theſe Propoſals, all her Majeſty's Orders, former Councils of War, *&c.* being peruſed, and alſo the Lord *Nottingham*'s Letter of the 10th Inſtant, adviſing, the Enemy were preparing to attack thoſe two Places by Sea, it was reſolved to proceed directly to their Relief, and to ſail to the Northward of the Iſlands of *Majorca* and *Minorca*, and in caſe the Wind permitted, to go as near the Coaſt of *Catalonia*, as might be convenient for their gaining Intelligence; and upon certain Advice that *Villa Frank* and *Niza* were not attacked, to ſtop at *Barcelona*, to give his Catholick Majeſty's Affairs what Countenance and Aſſiſtance they could: If they ſhould have no certain Advice till they arrived at *Nice* and *Villa Frank*, and found they were not beſieged, then they would return to *Barcelona*: And the Flag-Officers were of Opinion, that four of the Ships coming from *England*, was a ſufficient Convoy to remain at *Liſbon*, to convoy the Victuallers and Tranſports to the Fleet. Purſuant to theſe Reſolutions, the Fleet turned down into the Bay of *Waros* that Evening; and the 27th they ſailed, leaving the *Portugueſe* in great Conſternation, it being given out, that the Admiral of *France* would ſoon be amongſt them; and theſe Apprehenſions were increaſed, when on the 22d, Count *Thouloufe* appeared off of the Rock of *Liſbon*, but he proceeded on his Way to *Cadiz*, in order to join the *Toulon* Squadron.

The 29th, the Fleet was off Cape *St. Vincent*, conſiſting of 35 Sail of the Line of Battle. The 2d of *May*, the Admirals ſtruck their Flags, in order to paſs the *Streights Mouth* undiſcovered, but the 4th in the Morning hoiſted them again. The 8th in the Afternoon, it being hazy Weather, ſix *French* Ships of War fell in with the Fleet, to chaſe which ſeven Sail of ours were detached, but in two Hours Time they gained ſo much, that their Hulls diſappeared; and this is one Inſtance, of many, of the vaſt Advantage the *French* had over us by the Sailing of their Ships, equally ſerviceable to purſue or to eſcape. The 10th the Fleet anchor'd in *Altea* Bay, where the Squadron that had been detached in Purſuit of the ſix Sail of *French* rejoined

joined them, not having been able to come up with the Enemy.

As ſoon as the Fleet were anchored, a Council of War was called, to reconſider her Majeſty's Orders of the 24th and 28th of *March*, and the Councils of War of the 18th and 25th ult. whereupon, and their ſeeing a Squadron of ſix of the Enemy's Ships off Cape *Palos*, which their Cruiſers chaſed about 36 Leagues to the E. S. E. by which it was very uncertain, whether they were bound to the Weſtward, or back to *Toulon*; it was agreed and reſolved, to proſecute their former Reſolutions of the 18th and 25th ult. without any Alteration: But upon reading a Propoſal made by his Highneſs the Prince of *Heſſe*, affirming how great an Advantage it would be to the Service of his Catholick Majeſty, for the Fleet to touch and ſtay before *Barcelona* for 24 Hours; it was reſolved ſo to do, provided the Wind hung Weſterly, ſo that they might fetch that Port without any other Hindrance in their gaining a Paſſage to *Niza*.

All the Night the Boats were employed in getting of Water, and the next Morning the Fleet ſailed, and arrived at *Barcelona* the 17th. A Flag of Truce was preſently ſent to the Governor Don *Franciſco Velaſco*, to ſummons him to ſurrender the Town; but he would neither comply with the Summons, nor admit the Meſſenger that brought it. Hereupon, at his Highneſs's Requeſt, a Council of War of Flag-Officers was called the next Day, and it was determined, that as there were no Forces on board the Fleet, that could do any Service on Shoar, by Reaſon of the Want of Officers; And in Regard of Rear-Admiral *Wiſhart*'s Advice (who joined the Fleet that Day) of ſix large *French* Ships of War he fell in with on *Saturday* laſt, 7 Leagues to the Eaſtward of Cape *Palos*, which it was probable were bound to the Weſtward, That the chief Thing they were to proſecute, was to watch narrowly the *French* Squadron at *Toulon*, for which Purpoſe, it was reſolved to proſecute the Reſolution of the Council of War of the 10th Inſtant: However, upon the Intelligence the Prince of *Heſſe* received the next Morning from *Barcelona*, that all Matters were diſpoſed there to ſeize the City for the King of *Spain*, ſo ſoon as a Shew ſhould be made of a Bombardment, and ſome Forces landed, another Council of War was held the 19th, and it was agreed to land the *Engliſh* Marines, and 400 *Dutch*, and to give the Appearance of a Bombardment; but that the Men ſhould not be permitted to march beyond a ſecure Retreat to their Boats. Accordingly the Diſpoſition was made, and three *Engliſh* and two *Dutch* Ships of War went in to cover their Landing, which was performed about eleven o'Clock, to the Number of 1400 *Engliſh* and 400 *Dutch*: At the ſame Time the Bomb-Veſſels approached the Town to bombard it, which they did next Morning,

ing, and hove in about 60 Shells. This was not ſufficient to make the Governor change his Reſolution: But it was believ'd, he would have deliver'd up the City, if a Soldier had not deſerted, and informed him of the Circumſtances of the Fleet, and that by their Orders they could not ſtay above a Day or two: Encouraged by this, and the ſmall Number of our Land-Forces, they ſallied out with a Party of Horſe to attack our Camp; which one of the Frigates obſerving, made ſome Shot ſo ſucceſsfully amongſt them, that obliged them to retire, leaving eight or ten of their Company behind. However, it being apprehended the Land-Forces might be attack'd by a ſuperior Number, the Prince of *Heſſe* ſent to acquaint the Admirals, that as he had no Proſpect of gaining the City, he deſired the Forces might be continued a-ſhoar, only till next Morning, and be embarked by break of Day; and that the Bomb-Veſſels, in the mean Time, might continue to bombard the Place, to amuſe them from interrupting the Imbarkation, which the Flag-Officers agreed to. Accordingly, about ten at Night, the Bomb-Veſſels began to play, and continued to do ſo till Day-Light, in which Time they hove in about 136 Shells.

At Four in the Morning (being the 21ſt) the Forces were imbarked, and preſently the Fleet weighed, ſteering away for the Iſles *Hyeres*; but had ſuch hard Gales of Wind, at N.N.W. and N. W. that it ſcatter'd and very much impaired their Maſts, Rigging and Sails. The 25th the diſperſed Fleet joined again, and by the *Charles* Galley from *Liſbon*, they had Advice that they fell in with the *French* Fleet, conſiſting of 36 Sail of great Ships from *Weſt-France*, and that they were gone into *Cadiz*; they had likewiſe Advice by ſome *French* Priſoners, taken at the Iſles of *Hyeres* in a Boat, that a great Fleet was expected from *Weſt-France* to *Toulon*, in which Harbour were five Three-Deck Ships, and four others ready to ſail; beſides eight more Three-Deck Ships, which might ſoon be fitted out. Upon theſe Advices, a Council of War of Flag-Officers was held the 25th of *May*, and it was reſolved to make the beſt of their Way for the *Streights Mouth*; and in caſe they met the Enemy before they got thither, to uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to engage them, and if not, to repair before *Cadiz* and offer them Battle, which if they did not accept of, then to make the beſt of their Way to *Liſbon*, to join the reſt of the Ships, and to be ſupply'd with Stores and Proviſions, which were wanting to follow the Enemy into the *Mediterranean*, or to meet them, if they ſhould inſult any Part of the Coaſt of *Portugal*; it being to be concluded, their Intentions were to join the *Toulon* Squadron, with the Fleet then at *Cadiz*.

The

The 27th at Night, the Scouts made the Signal of seeing the *French*, whereupon the Fleet tacked and followed them, ſtanding to the Eaſtward all Night, concluding they would make the beſt of their Way to *Toulon*; and at Four the next Morning, could diſcover from their Top-Maſt-Heads between 30 and 40 Sail. At Six they tack'd to the Southward, drawing in a Line of Battle; but the Enemy were then ſo far off, they could only ſee their Top-Sails out of the Water from the Deck. About Ten the Admiral called a Council of War, of Flag-Officers, when, conſidering that the Enemy ſeemed to avoid engaging them, by their making all the Sail they could poſſibly from them, it was reſolved to continue the Chaſe, as long as they could keep Sight of them, or till they were in Sight of *Toulon*, and afterwards to proceed to *Liſbon*, according to their former Reſolution. Accordingly they continued the Chaſe[a], but finding there was no Probability of coming up with them, before they reached *Toulon*, where, by the Intelligence they had, there was a conſiderable Number of Ships, beſides Gallies, ready to come out and join them; and the *Dutch* Flag-Officers being of Opinion, that it was not fit or reaſonable, for the aforeſaid Conſiderations, to continue the Chaſe further; it was therefore agreed at a Council of the *Engliſh* Flag-Officers, the 29th, to concur with them therein, and to purſue the Reſolution of the Council of War of the 25th Inſtant. Signed *G. Rooke*, *J. Leake*, *T. Dilks*, *J. Wiſhart*.

In conſequence of the Reſolutions abovementioned, the Fleet ſteered away for *Liſbon*, and the 7th of *June* watered in *Altea* Bay. The 14th they paſſed the *Streights Mouth*, and two Days after were joined by Sir *Cloudeſly Shovell*, with 23 Sail of Men of War from *England*. Upon this Re-inforcement, it was thought proper at a Council of War, the 17th, to be the moſt effectual Service the Fleet could now go upon, to follow the Enemy; but being by her Majeſty's Inſtructions, to have their Majeſties of *Spain* and *Portugal*'s Conſent to what ſhould be undertaken, it was their Opinion they might cooperate in the Siege of *Cadiz*, or the Attempt on *Barcelona* again, in caſe a ſufficient Number of Land-Forces were ſent with the Fleet, but that till they could have their Majeſties Anſwers, they would lie in ſuch a Station, within the *Streights*,

[a] Biſhop *Burnet*, who (as *Ledyard* obſerves) is forward in ſpeaking to the Diſadvantage of *Rooke*, upon this Occaſion ſays; the Advantage he had was ſo viſible, that it was expected he would have made towards them: he did not. What Orders he had was not known, for the Matter never came under Examination. They got to *Toulon*, and he ſteered another Way. The Falſity of this Rt. Rev. Suggeſtion, muſt be obvious to the Reader; but it is the Biſhop's Way, never to ſpeak well of thoſe whom he diſliked.

as might prevent the Enemy's Fleet from going to *Cadiz*, and be near *Niza* and *Villa-Frank*, in caſe the Enemy ſhould attempt thoſe Places; but in caſe there ſhould not be Forces for the aforeſaid Services, and that the Anſwers from their Majeſties ſhould come in any reaſonable Time, they were of Opinion to proceed up the *Streights*, in queſt of the Enemy, it being apparent from their Succeſs at *Barcelona*, that the Fleet's Attempt upon any Town or Country without Troops, would be ineffectual; and at the King of *Portugal*'s Deſire, it was reſolved to ſend ſome Ships to the *Tercera* Iſlands, for the Protection of the *Brazil* Fleet.

The 21ſt of *June*, another Council of War was held off *Lagos* Bay; wherein, conſidering, that if their Majeſties of *Spain* and *Portugal* came to any Reſolution for beſieging *Cadiz*, or any other Attempt, they might make this Trip into the *Streights*, water their Ships, and poſſibly alarm and deter the Ships at *Toulon* from going to Sea, and be back Time enough for the Performance of the aforeſaid Services; it was reſolved to execute the Reſolution of the 17th Inſtant, by going into the *Streights*, and while the Wind continued Eaſterly, to ſtand into the Shoar, and endeavour to get Water and other Refreſhments for their Men: And at another Council, the 28th, having conſidered a Letter from Mr. *Methuen*, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador at the Court of *Portugal*, propoſing the attempting *Cadiz* (in which they could come to no Reſolution, till they knew the Propoſition and Reſolution of the Kings of *Spain* and *Portugal*, to which in his Letter he referred) they were of Opinion it might be practicable, if there was an Army, and proper Utenſils of War for carrying on a Siege, and that they were ready, and deſirous to co-operate in ſo great a Deſign; and reſolved, if Rear-Admiral *Byng* did not join them by the next Day at Noon, to go through the *Streights*, and leave Orders at *Tangier* for his following them to the Rendezvous, to the Eaſtward of *Tetuan*; and notwithſtanding any former Reſolutions, for watering on the *Barbary* Shoar, that they would water on the *Spaniſh* Coaſt. The 22d of *June*, they anchor'd in *Lagos* Bay, but weighed again the 24th.

July the 5th, Admiral *Waſſenaer* brought an Account, that he ſaw the Day before, 14 Sail of great Ships coming out of the *Streights* Mouth; and that he met the *Monk*, who was coming to give Notice, that there were 40 Sail of great Ships ſeen off *Malaga*. Upon this Intelligence, a Council of War was called, off *Cadiz*; and it was reſolved to make the beſt of their Way before *Cadiz*, and endeavour to intercept them from getting into that Port; but if they ſhould be got in there already, then to come to an Anchor off the Town, and conſider whether it were adviſeable to force the Place, and inſult them in the Bay; but if they were not there, it was agreed to keep to the Northward

Northward and Weſtward, with an eaſy Sail all Night, to keep the Wind of them, and range away to the Southward in a long Line all Day, till they ſhould ſee or hear of them, or till they got as far Southerly as Cape *Spartel*.

The 7th they came to Cape *Malaga*, being very little Wind and Calm: Here they ſent the Marines a-ſhoar to cover their Watering; the Inhabitants fired on our Men at their firſt Landing, but receiving a proper Return they ſoon deſiſted, and the Fleet having watered, ſailed the 11th. The 16th, the Admiral having received the King of *Spain*'s Propoſals for attempting *Cadiz*, a Council of War was called thereupon the next Day, the Fleet being then about ſeven Leagues to the Eaſtward of *Tetuan*, and the Attempt upon *Cadiz* was determined impracticable, without an Army to co-operate with the Fleet. This Deſign being laid aſide, they then took into Conſideration what other Service might be practicable; and they came to a Reſolution, to Land the Marines both *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, under the Command of the Prince of *Heſſe*, in the Bay of *Gibraltar*, to cut off that Town from any Communication with the Main; and at the ſame Time to bombard and cannonade the Place, and endeavour to reduce it to the Obedience of the King of *Spain*.

This Enterprize upon *Gibraltar*, had been thought on ſome Time before, by Vice-Admiral *Leake*, as the moſt advantageous Conqueſt that could be made for the Benefit of the Trade, as well as the Fleet, during the War with *France* and *Spain*; and therefore it had been propoſed by him, to the Admiral and the Prince of *Heſſe*, who both approved of it; but being reſtrained by their Orders to act no otherwiſe, than with the Approbation of the Kings of *Spain* and *Portugal*, who were bent upon the Attempt of *Barcelona* and *Cadiz*, though they would contribute no Land-Forces to the effecting of either, the Admirals could not act as they thought moſt beneficial to the common Cauſe; but no ſooner was the Expedition to *Cadiz* judged impracticable, and they were at Liberty, than the Attempt againſt *Gibraltar* immediately took Place, as the moſt agreeable and beneficial Service they could go upon.

The Fortreſs of *Gibraltar*, is a ſmall, but very ſtrong City and Caſtle, in the Province of *Andaluſia*, ſeated at the Foot of a Rocky Mountain, which makes a Peninſula, and is joined to the reſt of *Spain*, only by a ſmall Iſthmus of Land: By its Situation it commands the Trade, and is the Key of the *Mediterranean* Sea, being at the Opening of the *Streights Mouth* oppoſite to *Apes-Hill*, in *Barbary*, at about ſeven Leagues Diſtance; which two Hills were the famous *Herculean* Pillars, of which there have been ſo many uncertain Traditions. The Bay wherein the Town lies, is alſo a very commodious Harbour for the largeſt Ships, there being likewiſe two Moles, projecting

into the Bay from the Walls of the Town, making a ſecure Retreat for ſmaller Veſſels: Thus happily ſituated for the Protection of Trade, and Annoyance of an Enemy; but more eſpecially uſeful in this War with *France* and *Spain*, when we had no Port in the *Mediterranean*.

According to the Reſolutions of the Flag-Officers, the Fleet on the 20th puſhed over from the *Barbary* Shoar; and the next Day, at Three in the Afternoon, the Marines, to the Number of 1800, were landed by the Prince of *Heſſe d'Armſtadt*'s Direction, on the Neck of Land to the Northward of the Town, to cut off all Communication with the Country; and a Summons was ſent to the Governor to ſurrender the Place for the Service of his Catholick Majeſty: To which he retured Anſwer, That the Gariſon had taken an Oath of Fidelity to their natural Lord King *Philip* V. and that as faithful and loyal Subjects, they would ſacrifice their Lives in the Defence of the City. Hereupon the 22d in the Morning, 12 Third Rates, four Fourth, with ſix of the *Dutch*, and three Bombs, were ordered into bombard and cannonade the Place; but the Wind blowing contrary, they could not take their Poſts till the Day was ſpent; however, the Bombs made a Beginning, and hove in 17 Shells; in the mean Time, to amuſe the Enemy, ſome Boats were ſent in, who burnt a *French* Privateer of 12 Guns at the *Old Mole*. The next Day by Five in the Morning, the Signal was given to begin the Cannonade, and likewiſe for the Bombs to play, which was done with great Fury till Eleven, when they fired more leiſurely, plying only their lower Tier. By this Time, the Enemy being beaten from their Guns, eſpecially at the *South Mole* Head, all the Boats manned and armed, were ſent under the Command of Captain *Whitaker*, to endeavour to poſſeſs themſelves of that Poſt. Accordingly they landed, but were no ſooner on Shoar, than the Enemy ſprung a Mine, which blew up the Fortifications upon the *Mole*, with the Loſs of two Lieutenants, and 40 Seamen blown to Pieces, and 60 others wounded, notwithſtanding which they kept Poſſeſſion of the Platform, and advancing, took a Redoubt, or detached ſmall Baſtion, half Way between the *Mole* and the Town, and poſſeſſed themſelves of many of the Enemy's Cannon. It being *Sunday*, the Women were at their Devotions, at a little Chapel out of the Town, and by this Means were cut off from the City; and this made their Huſbands in the Place the more importunate with the Governor to capitulate.

Upon this Succeſs, the Prince of *Heſſe* ſent a Meſſage to the Governor, peremptorily to ſurrender the Town at the North Gate, where the Marines were; and conſidering he had but a ſmall Gariſon, not able to ſtand an Aſſault, he deſired to capitulate, and had honourable Articles granted him. The

Prince

Prince immediately marched in and took Poſſeſſion of the Town, where he found about 100 Guns mounted, but the Gariſon no more than 150 Men. It was certainly a moſt groſs Neglect in *Spain*, to have no better Gariſon there, unleſs it be that depending upon the natural Strength of the Place, they thought it ſufficient; for Father *Daniel*, a *French* Hiſtorian, ſpeaking of this Enterprize, ſays, Nevertheleſs 50 Men might have defended the Works againſt Thouſands, and that the Attack made by the Seamen, was brave almoſt beyond Example. But though this Action was certainly very brave, yet the *Frenchman* ſeems to exaggerate the Matter, to leſſen ſo palpable a Miſtake in their own Politicks, and excuſe the Governor for giving up the Place ſo eaſily [a]. This important Conqueſt was made with the Loſs only of two Lieutenants, one Maſter, and 60 common Seamen killed: And one Captain, ſeven Lieutenants, one Boatſwain, and about 216 common Seamen wounded.

CHAP. V.

Proceedings of the Fleet after the Reduction of Gibraltar, *till their Return to* England. *A particular Account of the* Malaga *Engagement; wherein Sir* John Leake *forces the Van of the* French; *and is left Abroad with a Squadron for a Winter Guard.*

AFTER the Reduction of *Gibraltar*, a Council of War was called the 25th of *July*, to conſider how to diſpoſe of the Fleet the remaining Part of the Campaign; and it was agreed, that before the Forces (that were neceſſary to accompany the Fleet in any Deſcent upon the Coaſt of *Spain*) could come to the Fleet, it would be too late in the Year to proceed ſo far up the *Streights* as *Barcelona*, to make any Attempt upon that Place; beſides, the *Dutch* had no Proviſions to ſupply them for ſo remote and long an Expedition: But that if their *Catholick* and *Portugueſe* Majeſties could procure an Army and

[a] If the Town was ſo ſtrong, as he ſays, then was the Governor inexcuſable to yield it up ſo eaſily, Sir *George*, and the reſt of the Admirals, were very inconſiderate to attempt it, and the Folly of the *French* and *Spaniards* afterwards much greater to attempt it, when defended by a brave *Engliſh* Gariſon: But if it was not ſo ſtrong as he makes it (as it certainly was not) then though the Taking of it will not appear altogether ſo glorious, as being ſo much eaſier effected, yet it ſhews the Enterprize to have been well concerted by the *Engliſh* Admirals, juſtifies the Conduct of the Governor, and makes the Succeſs of this Undertaking owing to the wretched Politicks of the *French*, to leave this Frontier ſo unguarded.

Materials for the Siege of *Cadiz*, they might be able to co-operate with them till the 15th of *September*, N. S. but no longer, provided that the Forces that were in *Gibraltar* were relieved, for they could ſpare no Men from the Fleet; and it was determined for the Security of *Gibraltar*, to remain there with the Fleet till an Anſwer ſhould come from *Portugal*, and, while the Wind continued Weſterly, to ſend Squadrons over to the *Barbary* Coaſt, and water, to enable them to go upon any Service propoſed.

The 26th, Sir *John Leake*, with his Diviſion, ſailed for the Coaſt of *Barbary* to water, as did Sir *Cloudeſly Shovell* with his Diviſion, and ſome of the *Dutch*, but were forced back to *Gibraltar* two Days after. The 1ſt of *Auguſt* the whole Fleet ſailed for the *Barbary* Shoar, and the 9th following, having compleated their Watering, they ſtood over for the *Spaniſh* Shoar, within Sight of the high Land of *Gibraltar*; when, about Eight in the Morning, the *Centurion*, one of our Scouts, made the Signal of ſeeing the Enemy's Fleet, as their Scouts alſo did of ſeeing ours; *Ceuta* Point then bearing W. by S. about ſix Leagues Diſtance. Immediately the Fleet formed themſelves into a Line of Battle, and a Council of War was called, conſiſting of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Admirals, viz. Sir *George Rooke*, Admiral, Sir *Cloudeſly Shovell*, Sir *John Leake*, Rear-Admirals *Byng*, *Dilks*, and *Wiſhart*; and of the *Dutch*, Lieutenant-Admiral *Calemberg*, and Vice-Admiral Baron *Waſſenaer*. The Commander of the *Centurion* coming on board, acquainted the Council of War, That that Morning he ſaw the Enemy's Fleet about ten Leagues to Windward of them, conſiſting of 66 Sail. Upon this Advice, it was reſolved to endeavour to get half the Marines on board from *Gibraltar*, and lay to the Eaſtward of that Port, while the Wind ſhould be Eaſterly, to receive and engage the Enemy; and, in caſe the Wind ſhould ſhift Weſterly, and the Enemy declined the Engagement, then to follow them as far to the Eaſtward as *Cape Malaga*, concluding that if they retired ſo far, they would not probably ſtop till they got near *Toulon*, whither they had not Proviſions to follow them, in caſe the Seaſon of the Year would admit of it. At Noon *Ceuta* Point bore S. W. by W. five Leagues Diſtance, and *Gibraltar* N. W. the Wind being Eaſt.

The Enemy not bearing down upon the Confederates, gave them an Opportunity to ſend for Half of the 1800 Marines which had been left at *Gibraltar*, leaving the other Half, under the Command of the Prince of *Heſſe d'Armſtadt*, to keep the Place. The two following Days were ſpent in plying to windward in purſuit of the Enemy, having had no further Account of of them, but following them by the Report of their Signal-Guns: But the laſt Day, one of the Enemy's

Ships

Ships (that probably was directed to obſerve the Motions of our Fleet) was chaſed aſhore by the Cruizers, and burnt. Thus having followed them with a preſt Sail, at leaſt for 48 Hours, without being able to get Sight of them, and conſidering the Circumſtances and Condition they had left *Gibraltar* in, with a weak Gariſon, their Carriages and Guns not fully repaired, mounted, and in a Condition for Service, neither Gunners to manage thoſe that were; beſides, the Victuallers and Bombs lay expoſed, in caſe the Enemy ſhould ſlip by them, and put away to the Weſtward in the Night, and inſult them; and they had no Proſpect of coming up with the Enemy, if they intended (as they ſeemed) to avoid them; it was determined at a Council of War, by the aforementioned Flag-Officers, for the above-ſaid Reaſons, that in caſe they could not diſcover the Enemy's Fleet before Night, they would make the beſt of their Way to the *Streights Mouth*, and lay there 48 Hours, in Expectation of them; but in caſe they ſhould not appear in that Time, then to go into the Bay of *Gibraltar*, land the Marines, Gunners and Carpenters, and endeavour to put the Place into a Condition, not to fear any Inſults by Sea or Land. But ſoon after this, ſtanding in towards the Shoar, they diſcovered the Enemy's Fleet and Gallies to the Weſtward, near *Cape Malaga*, and bore after them in a Line of Battle all that Night. The next Morning, being *Sunday* the 13th of *Auguſt*, there being a moderate Gale of Wind, and hazy Weather, about Five o'Clock in the Morning, they ſaw the *French* Fleet about three Leagues to Leeward, forming themſelves into a Line of Battle, by the Help of their Gallies; and brought to with their Heads to the Southward, the Wind being Eaſterly, lying ready to receive the Confederates: They were 50 Ships in the Line, with 24 Gallies; beſides Frigates and Fireſhips, *&c.* Our Line conſiſting of 51 Ships, beſides Frigates, *&c.* both pretty equal as to Strength; but the Confederates very indifferently manned, and ſhort of their Complements.

The Van of the *French* was commanded by the Marquis *de Vilette*, Lieutenant-General, with the White and Blue Squadrons, having in his Second Line, the Duke of *Turſis*, with ſeven *French* and five *Spaniſh* Gallies, two Frigates, and four Fireſhips. The Count *Thouloufe* commanded the Center, with the White Squadron, having in his Second Line, the Marquis *de Roye*, with four Gallies, four Frigates, two Fireſhips and two Flutes. The Rear was commanded by the Marquis *Langeron*, having in his Second Line, eight *French* Gallies, three Frigates, and 3 Fireſhips. The Confederate Fleet was commanded in the Van, by Sir *Cloudeſly Shovell*, Admiral of the White, and Sir *John Leake*, Vice-Admiral of the Blue; the latter, with his Squadron, or Diviſion, leading the Van; hav-

ing in their Second Line, two Frigates, three Fireſhips, and one Hoſpital-Ship. The Center of the Confederates was commanded by Sir *George Rooke*, Admiral, with Rear-Admiral *Byng*, and Rear-Admiral *Dilks*; having in the Second Line, two Frigates, four Fireſhips, two Bombs, one Yacht and one Hoſpital-Ship; and two Ships of 50 Guns each, two Frigates, and two Fireſhips, formed a third Line in the Center, with Orders to lie to Windward, that in caſe the Enemy's Van ſhould puſh through the Confederate Line, with their Gallies and Fireſhips, they might give them ſome Diverſion. The Rear was compoſed of the *Dutch* Squadron: But the Diſpoſition of the two Fleets will much better appear by the annexed Line of Battle, which contains an exact Liſt of the Ships on both Sides, as they were drawn up immediately before the Engagement begun; which I have been the more particular in, to clear up ſome Miſtakes that have generally prevailed, both as to the Strength of the Whole, and the different Parts.

In this Poſture the Fleets lay, when the Van of the Confederates, led by Sir *John Leake*, bore down upon the Enemy, they ſtanding with their Heads to the Southward. About Nine o'Clock, Sir *John* got within Gun-Shot of the *French* Vice-Admiral of the White and Blue, that led their Van in a Second-Rate; and he endeavoured, all that poſſibly he could, to get cloſe to him before he engaged; for knowing the Want of Shot to continue a long Engagement, he was willing to make the beſt Uſe of thoſe he had, and force the Enemy before they diſcovered our Weakneſs: But the *French* Vice-Admiral, perhaps for the ſame Reaſon, avoided it, making Sail ſometimes, and then ſhortning Sail again, ſo that he could not get nearer than half Gun-Shot.

A little after Ten o'Clock, the Confederate Line being about half Gun-Shot from the Enemy's, they ſet all their Sails at once, and ſeemed to intend to ſtretch a-head and weather our Fleet; ſo that Sir *George Rooke* thought it neceſſary to ſtop them, by putting out the Signal of Battle; accordingly, about Half an Hour paſt Ten, the Engagement was begun, by ſome Ships in the Center, as Sir *John Leake* did in the Van, by firing a Broadſide upon the *French* Vice-Admiral, and continued to engage him ſharply, within half Gun-Shot, for an Hour and a Half: But the *St. Phillipe* ſailing better than the *Prince George*, he galed a-head, and engaged the *Berwick*, the Ships a-ſtern of him following: By this Means Vice-Admiral *Leake*, with his Squadron, which conſiſted but of ſix Sail (three being wanting) was engaged with 13 of the Enemy's Ships for ſome Time, till at length, about Half an Hour paſt Two, the *French* Vice-Admiral, and his Squadron, bore out of the Line, very much diſabled, and continued

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English Line.					*French* Line.		
Ships.		Men.	Guns		Guns	Men.	Ships.
Yarmouth		440	70		96	730	Eclatant
Norfolk		500	80		62	380	Iſle
Berwick		440	70		90	700	*St. Phillipe*
Prince George	*Garland* 40 Guns, 1 Fireſhip.	700	90	7 *French* and 5 *Spaniſh* Gallies. 2 Frigates of 30 and 20 Guns, and 4 Fireſhips.	70	450	Heureux
Boyne		500	80		56	330	Rubin
Newark	Sir *John Leake*, Vice-Adm. of the Blue.	500	80		62	350	Arrogant
Lenox		440	70		60	350	Marquis
Tilbury		280	50		70	450	Content
Swiftſure		440	70		88	800	*Fier*
Barfleur	*Rebuck* 40 Guns, 2 Fireſhips, 1 Hoſpital.	710	90	*Monſieur d'Infreville*, Vice-Admiral of the White and Blue.	84	600	Intrepide
Namure		680	90		62	350	Excellent
Orford	Sir *Cloudeſly Shovell*, Admiral of the White.	440	70		54	330	Sage
Aſſurance		440	66	*Monſ. de Valette*, Admiral of the Wh. and Blue.	62	380	Ecueil
Nottingham		365	60		86	600	Magnifique
Warrſpight		440	70		84	600	*Monarque*
Burford		440	70		54	300	Perle
Monk		365	60	*Mo. de Relle Iſle*, Rear of the Wh. and B.	60	350	Furieux
Cambridge		500	80		63	350	Vermandois
Kent		460	70		88	600	Lis
Royal Oak		500	80		90	700	*Etonnant*
Suffolk		440	70		88	600	Orguilleux
Bedford		440	70		50	350	Eſperance
Shrewſbury		500	80	4 Gallies and 2 Flutes, of 6 Guns each. 4 Frigates of 36, 28, 12, and 10 Guns, and 2 Fireſhips.	58	380	Serieux
Monmouth		440	70		70	450	Fleuron
Eagle		440	70		104	900	Terrible
Royal Catherine		730	90		104	950	*Foudroyant*
St. George		680	90		60	350	Entreprenant
Montague		365	60		58	350	Fortune
Naſſau		440	70		74	470	Parfait
Grafton		440	70		84	600	Magnanime
Le Firme		440	70		88	600	*Sceptre*
Kingſton		365	60		58	350	Fendant
Centurion		280	50		60	350	Zeland
Torbay		500	80		60	380	St. Louis
Ranelagh		535	80		88	500	Couronne
Dorſetſhire		500	80		92	675	*Admirable*
Tryton		230	50		44	260	Cheval Marine
Eſſex		440	70		88	600	Vanqueur
Somerſet		500	80		58	350	Diamant
Dort		375	72		54	330	Gaillard
Ann of Frieſland		325	64		70	450	Invincible
Lion		325	64		102	850	*Soleil Royal*
Bavaria		325	64		66	400	Ardent
Albemarle		375	64		56	350	Trident
Ann of Utrecht		375	64		60	380	Coureur
Fluſhing		238	50		52	330	More
Nimmeghen		440	74		60	380	Thouloufe
Gelderland		320	60		92	750	*Triomphante*
Union		500	90		72	490	St. Eſprit
Damiata		220	50		66	400	Henri
Catwyk		440	72				
		22543	3614		3577	24275	

The *Swallow* and *Panther*, of 50 Guns each, the *Lark* of 40, *Newport* 24, and 2 Fireſhips.

Mars of 30 Guns, 2 Bombs, 1 Fireſhip. *Charles* Galley 32 Guns, 1 Fireſhip. 2 Bombs, 2 Fireſhips, 1 Yacht, 1 Hoſpital.

Bar. *Waſſenaer*, Vice-Admiral. *Callemberg*, Admiral. *George Byng*, Eſq; Rear-Admiral of the Red. Sir *George Rooke*, Admiral.

Eight Gallies. 3 Frigates of 30, 24, and 11 Guns, and 3 Fireſhips.

Monſ. de Coetlogon, Vice-Adm. of the White. Count *Thoulouſe*, Admiral.

M. de Pointi, R. A. of the Wh. *Monſ. de Ceperville*, Rear-Admiral of the Blue. *M. de Langeron*, Admiral of the Blue. *Monſ. de Hautelet*, Vice-Admiral of the Blue.

tinued to bear away, till they got about a Mile to Leeward, and ſoon after the reſt of the Enemy's Van did the like, and returned no more to the Battle. Upon this Defeat of the *French* Van, Sir *John Leake* diſpatch'd his Captain (Capt. *Martin*) to Sir *Cloudeſly Shovell*, propoſing to puſh the Enemy's Van, till he broke their Line, or obliged their Center to draw off; but Sir *Cloudeſly* did not approve of the Propoſal, whereby the greateſt Part of our Van remain'd Spectators only, during the reſt of the Engagement. The *Dutch*, in the Rear, maintain'd the Fight with great Bravery the whole Day, and ſpent ſo great a Quantity of Gunpowder, that during the Action they were obliged to have Cartridges filled. The Admiral in the Center fought with great Intrepidity, and maintain'd the Fight by downright *Engliſh* Valour, againſt the main Force of the *French* Fleet, and ſeveral Ships were obliged to leave the Line for Want of Shot; but after our Van had beaten that of the Enemy, the Line being cloſed, that Deficiency was effectually ſupply'd, and the Admiral was thereby enabled to continue the Battle till Night put an End to it; and then the Enemy went away to Leeward by the Help of their Gallies. In the mean Time the Admirals, conſidering what was to be done, agreed, in caſe of further Action, to come as cloſe to the Enemy as poſſible, and having diſcharged the few great Shot they had left, to board each his Ship, and fight it out with ſmall Arms.

In the Night the Wind ſhifted to the Northward, and in the Morning to the Weſt, whereby the *French* had the Weather-Gage, and might have renewed the Battle, which it was not in the Power of the Confederates to do. But the Enemy not inclining to fight, the two Fleets lay at about two Leagues Diſtance, looking upon one another, and repairing the Damages they had received; at length the *French* ply'd to Windward. Whilſt this was doing, the Confederates were rummaging for Shot, and preparing to receive the Enemy in the beſt Manner they could, in which Interim a Council of Flag-Officers was called; and taking into Conſideration the preſent Circumſtances of the Fleet, which being diſabled from attacking the Enemy with that Vigour which was intended, by reaſon of the Want of Ammunition, particularly Shot; and that notwithſtanding they had lain by all that Day to receive them in the beſt Manner they could; after making a Diſtribution of the ſmall Quantity of Ammunition they had left, in Expectation they would have come down upon them; it was reſolved they ſhould make the beſt of their Way to *Gibraltar*, as well for the Security of that Gariſon, as to repair, as well as poſſible, the diſabled Ships; moſt of them being ſo in their Maſts and Yards: The *Prince George*, in particular, was ſo diſabled, that they could by no Means trim their Sails

Sails to work the Ship. Upon this Reſolution to receive the Enemy, each Admiral enquired into the Quantity of Ammunition that was left in their reſpective Diviſions: Sir *John Leake* found very few Shot amongſt the Ships of his Squadron, ſeveral of them having been without for above two Hours before the Engagement ended, they having continued to fire with Powder only, to deceive the Enemy: The *Prince George* had but three Rounds for the upper and Quarter-Deck Guns, and none left of the middle and lower Tier, nor were the reſt of the Fleet better provided; ſo that it was a great Happineſs the Enemy were ignorant of their Weakneſs.

The *French* Fleet kept at a Diſtance all the Day, not caring to renew the Fight, which the Confederates could not; and having filled their Sails, and ſtood Northward all Night, together with the Help of their Gallies, by the next Morning they were got four or five Leagues to Windward; but a little before Noon, there ſpringing up a ſmall Breeze at Eaſt, the confederate Fleet edged down towards the Enemy, till paſt Four in the Afternoon, and it being then too late to engage, they brought too and lay by with their Heads to the Northward all Night. Thus they braved the *French*, and concealed their own Weakneſs; for, to ſpeak the Truth, as they were not in a Condition, ſo neither were they deſirous to come to a ſecond Engagement.

The 16th, the Wind continued Eaſterly, with hazy Weather, and the Enemy not being ſeen, nor any of their Scouts, the Confederates bore away for the Weſtward, ſuppoſing they were gone for *Cadiz*; but being adviſed from *Gibraltar*, and the Coaſt of *Barbary*, that they had not paſſed the *Streights*, it was concluded they were retired to *Toulon*, and a Council of War being called, it was determined to proceed to *Gibraltar*, according to their former Reſolution. The Marquis *de Villadarias* was then marching with an Army to beſiege *Gibraltar*, and to intimidate the Gariſon, ſent a Letter to the Prince of *Heſſe*, acquainting him, that the *French* had burnt eight of our Ships, taken 16, and ſunk ſeven; allowing the *French* had loſt four Men of War and one Galley: But his Highneſs returned Anſwer, That he had the Misfortune to be quite miſtaken, for he had juſt then received Advice of the Contrary. In this Action, the Damage on both Sides was thought to be pretty equal, there was not one Ship deſtroyed or taken on either Side during the Action, but two of the Enemy's Gallies were ſeen to ſink, and many of their Ships were ſo diſabled, they were towed off by the Gallies. As to the Loſs of Men on the Enemy's Part, it could not be leſs than that of the Confederates, notwithſtanding the Want of Shot: Their Manner of firing chiefly wounding the Maſts and Rigging (as if to ſecure a Retreat, rather than a Victory) whereas our Shot being

being levell'd at the Hulls, muſt conſequently kill many more than they did of the Confederates. The *Paris Gazette*, indeed, makes their Loſs but 1500 Men, killed and wounded, which could hardly be the Moiety of them; but by another Relation of their own, from on board the *French* Fleet, after having given an Account of the Battle, it follows, All that troubles us, is the great Number of brave Men we have loſt on this Occaſion; but a Battle like this can never happen, without the Loſs of Abundance of gallant Men: This intimates their Loſs to have been very conſiderable; and amongſt theſe, was Monſ. *de Belle Iſle* a Flag-Officer, Rear-Admiral of the White and Blue, the Bailly *de Lorraine*, the Chevaliers *de Lannion* and *Philippeaux*, and 31 others of Diſtinction; and amongſt the Wounded, the Count *de Thoulouſe* himſelf, the Count *de Relinque*, Lieutenant-General, Monſieur *du Caſſe*, a Flag-Officer, the Count *de Septville*, Monſieur *d'Arbault* Intendant-General, the Marquis *de Chateaureaude*, the Chevaliers of *Montgon* and *Rocheallard*, *Comigne*, *Bodinas*, *d'Agencon*; and 102 others of Diſtinction. On the Part of the Confederates were ſlain, only three Captains, *viz.* Sir *Andrew Lake*, and Captain *Cow*, of the *Engliſh*, and one Captain of the *Dutch*; four Lieutenants, and about 900 common Seamen; and four Captains, 14 Lieutenants, 13 inferior Officers, and about 1900 common Sailors wounded; whereof on board the *Prince George* were 15 killed, and 75 wounded; of which 24 died of their Wounds: Sir *John Leake* and his Captain, Captain *Martin*, were likewiſe both wounded by Splinters; and this was the firſt Blood Admiral *Leake* ever loſt in Battle, though he had ſo often, and ſo freely expoſed himſelf. By this Account it appears, what Reaſon the *French* had to boaſt, when, ſuppoſing the Number of common Seamen to be near equal, yet what a Deſtruction they had in Officers and Perſons of Diſtinction, more than the Confederates, is manifeſt from their own Accounts.

Sir *George Rooke*, in his Account of this Battle, ſays, he never obſerved the true *Engliſh* Spirit ſo apparent and prevalent in our Seamen, as on this Occaſion; and Sir *Cloudeſly*, in his Account, obſerves the Engagement was very ſharp; and he thought the like between two Fleets never had been in his Time: That there was hardly a Ship but was obliged to ſhift one Maſt, and ſome muſt ſhift all, inſomuch that there were not three ſpare Top-Maſts in the Fleet.

The *French*, to give them their Due, though forced in the Van to give Way, yet behaved themſelves remarkably well; for this was the moſt equal, and conſequently the hardeſt Struggle for Maſtery, that had happened between an *Engliſh* and a *French* Fleet; I ſay, the moſt equal, becauſe till this Time, the *French* never ventured a Battle (when they could avoid it) but with great Odds on their Side; even in this they had

had many Advantages: They were all clean, full mann'd, and in caſe of a Defeat, had their own Ports at Hand to retire to: Whereas the Confederates, beſides the great Deficiency of Stores, Ammunition and Proviſions, both naval and military (the one the Effect of a long Voyage, and the other the Conſequence of attempting *Barcelona*, and taking *Gibraltar*) were weakly mann'd and foul, of infinite Prejudice in the Day of Battle; ſince it hinders from purſuing an Advantage, or avoiding a Misfortune; all which nevertheleſs they overcame, by downright *Engliſh* Valour; and if many of the Ships had not wanted Shot, 'tis highly probable, the Confederates would have gained an unconteſted Victory; even as it was, they carried their Point, which was to diſable the *French* Fleet from aſſiſting the *Spaniards* in the retaking *Gibraltar*; and whether they will allow the Victory to the Confederates or not, the *French* were ſo well-beaten, that they never ventured their Fleet to hazard a ſecond Battle during the War; and went ſo diſabled into *Toulon*, that they could not be repaired in many Months.

Whatever Advantages may be allowed the Confederates in this Engagement, the greateſt Applauſe was certainly due to Vice-Admiral *Leake:* He gained the only apparent Advantage of the Enemy, who elſe might have laid equal Claim to the Honour of the Day; and propoſed the only Means whereby to have made it a compleat Victory. The *French* indeed gave themſelves Airs, as if Fortune had been on their Side, and even in *England*, ſome were ſo ungenerous as to call it, at beſt, but a drawn Battle; and ſome even inſinuated our Fleet declined the Battle and retired; than which nothing could be more ſcandalous and falſe: For if purſuing the Enemy four Days, and forcing them to engage, beating one Third of their Fleet out of the Line, and purſuing them afterwards, whilſt they avoided a further Engagement: If this, and fruſtrating the Expedition they were deſigned for, maintaining the Conqueſt we had made, obliging the Enemy to retire into Harbour, whilſt the Confederates remained Maſters of the Sea; ſo well ſecured by this Battle, that the *French* never durſt face us with a Fleet afterwards: If all theſe Circumſtances be not the evident Marks of a Victory, there never can be one.

But I cannot conclude this Account quite ſo much to the Honour of the Confederates as Mr. *Burchet*, and others from him have done; for not ſatisfied to have worſted the *French* under great Diſadvantages, and in a Manner unarmed, he adds, This Battle was ſo much the more glorious to her Majeſty's Arms, becauſe the Enemy had the Advantage of 600 great Guns.—This Miſtake proceeded, no doubt, from Sir *George Rooke*'s own Account to the *Admiralty*, wherein he ſays as much, and certainly believed ſo at the Time he wrote it: Sir *Cloudeſly Shovell* too in his Account, though he does not mention

mention the exact Number of Guns they exceeded us in, ſays, the-Enemy had 17 three-deck'd Ships, and we but 7, which implies a great Superiority. It is pretty extraordinary the Accounts of both theſe Admirals, ſhould agree to exaggerate the Strength of the Enemy; which to thoſe who knew not the Honour and Integrity of the Men, might ſeem purpoſely intended to raiſe the Reputation of the Action, or to excuſe themſelves to the Publick, for not making the Victory more compleat; but from theſe Men it could only be through a haſty Error, tranſmitted Home by the firſt Occaſion, upon the beſt Information they had then received, and this Account having once had the Credit and Sanction of the Publick, it was not neceſſary to undeceive them, in a Point which was ſo much to the Honour of the Nation in general, and this Action in particular. This, however, is the only Inſtance of the Kind that I know off; all the Relations in general, of our Succeſſes, as well as Loſſes by Sea and Land, during both the Wars with *France*, having been ſo impartial, that the like is not to be met with in the Accounts of any other Nation: Nevertheleſs this Error has paſſed hitherto, ſo as never to have been contradicted that I know off. And here I muſt obſerve, that the *Dutch* Accounts of the Battle, are quite ſilent in the Matter, not pretending any Superiority, which might make this Affair queſtionable, becauſe it tended as much to their Honour as ours: But the Liſt of both Fleets being publiſhed ſoon after theſe Relations, any one that would have taken the Trouble to examine them, muſt have obſerved the Miſtake. Mr. *Ledyard*, who is glad of every Opportunity to correct Mr. *Burchet*; and is ſo wonderful exact, has nevertheleſs copied this Error; and in order to clear the Matter, has given the Reader Liſts of both Fleets; but in his Calculations upon thoſe Liſts, he has the Misfortune to be miſtaken in almoſt every Inſtance. In the *Engliſh* Line, he has reckoned up the Total of the Men and Guns of the whole Liſt, though he tells you four were upon Convoy, and two in the third Line as a Reſerve; yet omits 12 Sail of *Dutch*, whereof he makes no Account for Men and Guns, though the Deſign of his Liſts was to compare the Strength of the two Fleets, and even the Total of the Confederate Liſt is caſt up wrong, both Men and Guns: So in the *French* Liſt, his firſt Article is a Ship of 66 Guns, which ſhould be 96; the Number of Men, which is 730, might eaſily have corrected that Miſtake: Likewiſe the Total of Men in the white Diviſion is made 8300, inſtead of 8830; the Total of the whole Number of Men is indeed right, but the Guns are wrong in Total, though right as to Particulars: Having therefore no Satisfaction in this Point from Mr. *Burchet*, or the exact Mr. *Ledyard*, I ſhall examine the State of this Matter by the foregoing Liſt, which I think to be a true one.

By

By this it appears, the Total of the *Engliſh* amounted to 18285, of the *Dutch* 4258, making together 22543. The Total of the *Engliſh* Guns 2826, of the *Dutch* 788, Total of the Confederate Guns 3614. The Total of Men in the *French* Fleet 24275, Total of the *French* Guns 3577; whereby it appears, the Confederates had the Superiority of 37 Guns, and the *French* had the Superiority of 1732 Men; but deducting from the Confederates 900 Marines, Part of their Complements in Gariſon at *Gibraltar*, and at leaſt 1000 more they were ſhort of Complement, the Difference will be 3632.

But how comes it then, that the Enemy could have 17 three-deck'd Ships, that is, 10 more than the Confederates. This Account is indeed very fallacious, for though it is true, the Confederates had but ſeven three-deck'd Ships; they had 9 other two-deck'd Ships of 80 Guns each, equal to the ſame Number upon three Decks, carrying the ſame Weight of Metal, and being therefore of equal Force, and equally ſerviceable; for moſt of our 80 Gun Ships at that Time were of two Decks, and comparing the Strength of the great Ships on both Sides together, the Odds will be but ſmall; for the *French* had 18 Ships of 80 Guns and upwards, and the Confederates had 16; it is true ſome of the Enemy's Ships were Firſt Rates: But then of Ships from 60 to 80 Guns, the *French* had but 20, and the Confederates had 30, and under 60 Guns we had but 5 in the Line, and they had 12, which upon the Whole, I conceive, makes ample Amends.

I ſhould now have done with this memorable Battle, but it being the only general Engagement that happened during the War, to give Occaſion to examine the Conduct of both Parties; I ſhall therefore make ſome few Obſervations upon it. It is certain the *French*, who put to Sea to fight the Confederates and retake *Gibraltar*, though they had all the Advantages they could deſire, yet declined coming to an Engagement: And it is no leſs certain, that the Confederates under very great Diſadvantages, ſought them out, purſued them four Days with a preſt Sail, and at length obliged them to fight. The *French* had all the Advantages of being clean, and in good Condition, well manned, freſh out of Harbour; and could not be ignorant that the Confederates had been above ſix Months from Home; were conſequently foul and in Want of Stores: That in ſo long Time, with the Service they had performed at *Barcelona* and *Gibraltar*, they muſt have expended much of their Ammunition, as likewiſe loſt ſome Men, as well killed as by Sickneſs; beſides leaving a Gariſon in the latter: They had ſo good Intelligence, they could not but be ſenſible of all this; and what did they put to Sea for, but to fight the Confederates? Yet, no ſooner did the two Fleets diſcover each other, but the *French*, inſtead of attacking them, like Men full

of

of Spirits, and freſh for the Fight, made uſe of the Cleanneſs of their Ships to their own Diſgrace, loſing the Opportunity of attacking the Confederates to Advantage, which certainly would have been more ſo at the firſt View, than after they had fled before them. The Confederates wiſely improved this Opportunity, to get one Half of the Gariſon of *Gibraltar* to ſtrengthen the Ships Companies, which were very deficient, and then bravely purſuing the flying Enemy, may be ſaid to have won the Laurel before the Battle. And, however, one purſued and forced to fight, may at laſt behave well; it is not then Courage but Deſperation, by ruſhing upon Danger which cannot be avoided, and is the laſt Reſort of every Coward. This was the Caſe of the *French* Fleet, they came out to fight, they ſaw, and they fled. If it can be ſuppoſed by this Flight, they intended to do as the Confederates ſuggeſted they might, and therefore wiſely provided againſt; that is, to ſlip by in the Night, and ſurprize *Gibraltar:* I grant it poſſible, but not for them to have done it; they run too faſt to ſtop preſently, and too far for that Deſign: And if they durſt not to do it when ſwell'd with Vanity and Conqueſt, how was it more practicable after ſuch a Panick? It is moſt likely, that having run ſo far, and being purſued ſo cloſe, they began to reflect, with Reſentment, upon the Diſhonour they had brought upon themſelves, and the Neceſſity of a Battle to wipe off the Diſgrace: Whereas the Confederates might have avoided the Battle, and come off with Honour.

The *French* having reſolved to fight, drew up their Line of Battle in the beſt Manner; making themſelves ſtrongeſt in the Center. Contrariwiſe, the Confederates were, in Proportion, ſtrongeſt in the Van, and weaker in the Center; whereby though we beat their Van, our Center maintain'd the Fight with Difficulty; and this was doubtleſs a great Error in the *Engliſh* Admiral (unleſs he had made a better Uſe of our Advantage in the Van) for it is well known, and ſufficiently proved by this Battle, that the whole Succeſs, in a Manner, depends upon the Strength of the Center; for had the Enemy's Center, inſtead of their Van, been beaten, their whole Line would have been broken, and they muſt have ſuffered a total Defeat; whereas their Center remaining firm, though their Van was broken, they did not in the leaſt ſuffer by it. For this Reaſon, the *French* always make a ſtrong Center, and therefore Sir *George Rooke* ſhould have done the like; whereas he himſelf was in the ſmalleſt, and worſt Second Rate in the *Engliſh* Navy, in Fact, no better than an 80 Gun Third Rate; for though ſhe had 90 Guns, they were no larger than thoſe of a Third Rate: Notwithſtanding he might be certain, in caſe of Action, to engage with the beſt Firſt Rate of *France*; this may be an Inſtance indeed of Courage, but of great Imprudence,

dence, from the ill Effects which might follow to himſelf and the publick Service.

The *French*, to recover their loſt Honour, fought bravely, like Men that were angry they had run from us; but the Van were ſoon beaten into a calmer Temper, by the Diſcipline of Vice-Admiral *Leake*, and forced to fly the 2d Time; whereas, had they ſtood firm as the Center, the Confederates would have been under great Difficulties; and though they would not have been beaten, yet muſt have ſuffered extremely: Their Van being beaten, gave Opportunity to Admiral *Shovell* to cloſe the Line, and by that Means ſupply the Places of a few Ships, that had retired out of the Line for Want of Shot: However, this Reinforcement ſerved only to enable the Center to continue the Battle, but did not contribute to render them victorious: Night only put an End to it, when the Enemy having enough of fighting, thought fit to diſcontinue the Battle and tow off: But certainly ſome better Advantages might have been made of our Succeſs upon the Enemy's Van, than cloſing the Line, to ſupply the Place of ſome few Ships, which diſcovered their Weakneſs too ſoon; for afterwards rummaging for Shot, many were found.

Vice-Admiral *Leake* certainly ſhewed very commendable Bravery and Conduct upon this Occaſion; for after having forced the Enemy's Van, and drawn away the Battle from Sir *Cloudeſly Shovell*, he propoſed the only Means to relieve our Center, and make the Confederates victorious; he was under a Neceſſity in this Caſe to conſult Sir *Cloudeſly*, and have his Conſent, as the ſuperior Admiral who commanded the whole Van: But Sir *Cloudeſly* did not comprehend it, and therefore did not approve of it; ſo that inſtead of puſhing the Enemy's Van till he broke their Line, or obliged their Center to draw off, which was the ſhorteſt Way to Victory, the Battle was linger'd out, till Night put an End to it. There is ſurely ſome Skill in Sea as well as Land Actions; and in ſome Inſtances they reſemble each other; but if to beat one Third of the Enemy's Line offered no Opportunity of Advantage, I think there is no ſuch Thing. What could the *French* deſire more, than to retire where they were weakeſt, and continue the Battle where they were ſtrongeſt; to retreat from a Diſadvantage, and preſs where they had the Advantage; whilſt we acted directly contrary? Whatever Praiſe has therefore been attributed to Admiral *Shovell*, for his Seamanſhip (as 'tis called) in cloſing the Line, it is obvious his Incapacity was the Loſs of a Victory. As to the *Dutch* who formed the whole Rear of the Line, they merited neither Cenſure nor Applauſe; for as their Strength was pretty near equal to that of the *French*, ſo they did not lie under the ſame Diſadvantage as the *Engliſh*, by the Want of Shot; and

and if the Enemy did retire from them, it was very late, and not long before Night parted thoſe in the Center.

Though the Confederates committed ſome Miſtakes during the Engagement, yet after, as well as before it, their Conduct was unexceptionable, and equally brave. The *French* under Favour of the Night, and by the Help of their Gallies, got as far from the Confederates as poſſible, by their Retreat confeſſing themſelves vanquiſhed; and this was poſitively confirmed the next Day, when unluckily the Wind favouring them to renew the Fight, they refuſed it, fairly running away as ſoon as the Wind ſerved. On the contrary, the Confederates naked and unarmed, I may ſay (for ſuch is a Man of War without Shot) politickly as well as bravely purſued them, having no Reſort left, but that brave Reſolution to board each his Ship, and die or conquer, ſooner than decline the Fight (for to fly they had it not in their Thoughts): This was as brave a Reſolution as could be made by Men, and rendered their Victory compleat, ſerving to convince the Enemy we were not to be conquered; and the *French*, conſcious of this Truth, left the Confederates Maſters of the Sea, determined (as it proved by Events) never to riſk the Hazard of another General Engagement.

In fine, the *French* loſt their Honour before the Battle, but ſhewed good Conduct in it. The *Engliſh* ſhewed moſt Conduct before and after the Battle, and the moſt Bravery, but the worſt Conduct, in it; whereby the Confederates loſt the Reputation they merited, and might have had of a compleat Victory; and the *French* the Diſhonour they deſerved of a total Defeat: Nevertheleſs, upon the Whole, this General Engagement was as brave as any that had ever been fought between the two Nations, and the moſt glorious to the Confederates, from whence we may date the Downfall of the mighty Naval Power of *France*.

It is now Time to return to the Confederate Fleet, which we left the 16th Inſtant in purſuit of the Enemy; but having been adviſed they had not paſs'd the *Streights*, they judg'd, very rightly, that they were gone to *Toulon*; and thereupon it was determin'd to proceed to *Gibraltar*, as well to ſecure that Gariſon, as the diſabled Ships. The ſame Afternoon they had the Misfortune to loſe the *Dutch* Admiral's Ship, the *Albemarle*, of 64 Guns, which was blown up, and the Men on board her, except eight, periſhed; the Admiral had but that Morning removed out of her, leaving Direction to fill the Powder into Cartridges, in doing whereof it is ſuppoſed this Accident happen'd. The next Morning the Confederate Fleet proceeded for *Gibraltar*, where they arrived the 20th Inſtant; and a Council of War was called, to conſider of the preſent Circumſtances of the Fleet and Gariſon of *Gibraltar*, and it

was reſolved, that all the Marines then in the Fleet, (except ſome few on board the *Burford* and *Firme*, who were very weakly manned) ſhould be left at *Gibraltar*, for the Defence of that Place; and likewiſe 60 great Guns, as many Gunners, and 12 Carpenters; and that the Seamen employed in getting the Guns on Shoar, or repairing or refitting the Damages of any Ships to which they did not belong, ſhould be paid for their extra Labour two Royals *per* Man a Day, and that they would likewiſe leave the *Star* and *Terror* Bombs, with their Tenders, at *Gibraltar*, with Orders to diſpoſe of their Mortars as the Prince of *Heſſe* ſhould direct; and three Months Proviſions for 2000 Men: And in Reſpect to the Fleet, it was reſolved, that all ſuch Ships as were in a Condition for the Winter Service, ſhould be left abroad under the Command of Sir *John Leake*; thoſe that were not in a Condition to proceed for *England*, to go to *Liſbon* to be refitted, but thoſe that were in a Condition, to proceed to *England* directly; and that the whole Fleet ſhould ſail from *Gibraltar* the firſt Opportunity of Wind. This Diſpoſition being made of the Fleet, Sir *John Leake* left the *Prince George*, as not being in a Condition to remain abroad, with Directions to Captain *Martin* her Commander, as ſoon as refitted, to return to him by the firſt Opportunity, and hoiſted his Flag on board the *Nottingham*, a Fourth Rate of 60 Guns, in order to proceed to *Liſbon*, according to Inſtructions he received from Sir *George Rooke*, purſuant to the Reſolution of the Council of War.

By theſe Inſtructions, he was required to take under his Command the Squadron left in the *Mediterranean*, conſiſting of two 3d Rates, [a] ten 4th Rates, three 5th, one 6th and a Fireſhip; together with ſuch Ships of the *States General* as ſhould be ordered to join him for the Winter Service, and to make the beſt of his Way to *Liſbon*; from whence he was to detach the Merchant-Ships to *England*, under a Convoy of four Sail, *viz.* the *Yarmouth*, *Swiftſure*, *Aſſurance*, and *Monk*, as ſoon as they were refitted. He was to uſe his utmoſt Endeavour to annoy the Enemy, and guard the Coaſt of *Portugal* and *Spain*, giving all due Protection to the Ships of her Majeſty's Subjects and her Allies; particularly, he was to take care of *Gibraltar*, keeping always ſome clean Frigates to cruize off that Place, to diſcover the Enemy's Ships; and to order them to aſſiſt the Prince of *Heſſe*; and if the Gariſon of *Gibraltar* ſhould not be relieved by the King of *Portugal* (to

[a] *Swiftſure*, *Yarmouth*, *Aſſurance*, 3d Rates, of 70 Guns each; *Nottingham* and *Monk*, of 60 each; *Centurion*, *Swallow*, *Antilope*, *Leopard*, *Tyger* and *Panther*, of 50 each; the *Lark*, *Garland* and *Roebuck*, of 40 each; and the *Tartar*, of 32. One Sixth, the *Newport*, and the *Vulture* Fireſhip.

which

which he was to aſſiſt) before the three Months Proviſions that were left there ſhould be expended, he was to ſupply them as much as he could, out of the Proviſions of her Majeſty, that ſhould then be at *Liſbon:* He was likewiſe to ſend a Convoy of one or two Ships, with any Merchant Ships bound from *Liſbon* to *Ireland*; and as ſoon as the Gariſon of *Gibraltar* was relieved, he was to take as many of the Marines as would mann his Ships to their higheſt Complement, and to ſend the reſt with their Officers to *England*; he was likewiſe to deliver a Cheſt of Money, and 70 Barrels of Powder, to the Alcaid of *Alcaſſar*, for the Redemption of 30 *French* Proteſtants Captives.

The 25th, the whole Fleet ſailed from *Gibraltar*. The next Day a Council of War was held, in Relation to a *Leghorn* Ship, called *Noſtra Senora de Bona Hora*, which was laden with *French* Effects, and it was agreed by the Admirals, ſhe ſhould be carried to *England*, in order to be condemned as Prize: It was likewiſe agreed, that the Rendevouz of the Ships bound to *England* ſhould be at *Spithead*; and thoſe with Sir *John Leake*, at *Liſbon*. The laſt of *Auguſt* Sir *John Leake* parted from Sir *George Rooke*, proceeding for *Liſbon*, having with him the *Yarmouth*, *Swiftſure*, *Aſſurance*, *Monk*, *Panther*, *Tartar*, and *Firebrand* Fireſhip, and four Victuallers. The 4th of *September* the *Swallow* and *Centurion* joined him; and having ordered the former, with the Fireſhip, to come after him to *Liſbon*, with the Merchant-Ships, he left them ten Leagues on this Side the Southern Cape, making the beſt of his Way before with the reſt; and the 9th in the Afternoon arrived at *Liſbon*, where he found the *Leopard*, *Antilope* and *Roebuck*, unrigged and preparing to careen.

CHAP. VI.

Vice-Admiral Leake's *Proceedings at* Liſbon, *after the Departure of the Grand Fleet for* England; Gibraltar *is beſieged; he relieves it, and deſtroys ſome of the Enemy's Ships.*

THE Taking of *Gibraltar*, a Place of the greateſt Importance, both by reaſon of its natural and artificial Strength, but much more ſo, by its advantageous Situation for the Protection or Annoyance of Trade, was a great Encouragement to the Partizans of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. Beſides, the Confederate Gariſon in that Place was ſo dangerous

a Thorn in the Sides of the *Spaniards*, and ſuch a Proof of the Advantage the *Allies* had gained by Sea over the *French* Fleet, that the Courts of *Verſailles* and *Madrid*, reſolved to wreſt that Place out of our Hands; to which Purpoſe, the Marquis *de Villadarias* was detached with 8000 Men to retake it, and the Count *de Thoulouſe*, with the Fleet of *France*, was ſent by the *French* King to aſſiſt the Marquis in the Execution thereof by Sea: But the Count being happily prevented by the Battle of *Malaga*, and obliged to retire with Precipitation to *Toulon* to repair their ſhattered Fleet, it intirely put a Stop to the Marquis's Proceedings by Land: Nevertheleſs, the Confederate Fleet were no ſooner gone for *England*, and Sir *John Leake* with his Squadron, neceſſitated to repair to *Liſbon*, than they conceived they had an Opportunity to ſurprize the Place, before they could receive any Relief; well knowing the Weakneſs of the Fortifications to the Land Side, which made the Place hardly tenable againſt a regular Attack, any long Time, eſpecially if they ſhould be diſtreſſed at the ſame Time by a Squadron in the Bay: Nor indeed could they have wiſhed for a more favourable Opportunity; for what with the Want of Stores, Proviſions, and the Reparations of Admiral *Leake*'s Squadron, abſolutely neceſſary to make good the Damages received in the late Battle, it was impoſſible he could be able to get to Sea in a ſhort Time.

Vice-Admiral *Leake* (as I obſerved in the Concluſion of the laſt Chapter) having left four Sail and a Fireſhip with the Victuallers to come after him, made the beſt of his Way before them in the *Nottingham*, with four Sail more, and the 9th of *September* arrived at *Liſbon*, where he found the *Leopard*, *Antilope* and *Roebuck*, unrigged and preparing to careen. The *Nottingham* he found muſt have all her lower Maſts ſhifted, and the *Panther* and *Centurion* ſome of theirs, beſides other Damages received in the late Engagement; which would take up at leaſt a Month's Time to get ready for Service. To add to theſe Difficulties, he received a Letter the 9th Inſtant, from the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador (Mr. *Methuen*) at that Court, acquainting him, that there were at *Lagos* 1500 Men, which, by the King of *Portugal*'s Order, waited to be tranſported from that Place to *Gibraltar*, but he (it ſeems) was to provide every Thing for their Accommodation; though by his Inſtructions he had no particular Directions relating to this Matter; neither had any Care been taken for Tranſport Ships to carry them thither, nor Proviſion to ſubſiſt upon when they were there; ſo that they intirely depended upon his Ships for Tranſportation, and expected to be ſupply'd with Proviſions out of her Majeſty's Stores, of which there were of all Sorts ſo ſmall a Quantity, for his own Uſe, that he was under the Neceſſity of writing a very preſſing Letter to *England* for a

ſpeedy

ſpeedy Supply: In this Letter he repreſented, that all Sorts of Stores were likewiſe wanting, eſpecially Gunners Stores of all Kinds; that thoſe Ships with him, that had been in the late Engagement, had not 25 Rounds of Shot, and not 10 of Cartridges, that the latter (if poſſible) he would procure at *Liſbon*, but the reſt he deſired might be ſent with all Expedition. He likewiſe deſired they would ſend a Maſter-Attendant, and Maſter-Shipwright, of which he was in extream Want: But well knowing, how little the proper Officers to whom the Care of theſe Things belonged at home, conſidered the Exigency of Affairs abroad, he wrote to Sir *George Rooke*, as a Friend, and one fully ſenſible of the Neceſſity he was under of what he apply'd for, to uſe his Endeavours and Intereſt to procure them; for to fit out a Squadron (ſays he) and expect they ſhould perform as they ought to do, under theſe inſuperable Difficulties, is to make Brick without Straw; no Stores being to be had from the *Portugueſe*, but in ſmall Quantities, and with much Solicitation.

In the mean Time he applied himſelf to ſee the neceſſary Repairs of his Squadron carry'd on, in the beſt Manner the preſent Circumſtances would admit. For this End, the 11th of *September* he ſhifted his Flag from the *Nottingham* to the *Swallow*, that the former might begin to be refitted. Two Days after, in the Evening, the Duke of *Schonberg* paid him a Viſit on board, and at his going off was ſaluted with 11 Guns; and great Rejoicings were made at *Liſbon*, by Illuminations and Fireworks, as well as by the Ships in the Harbour, for the Succeſs of her Majeſty's Fleet, againſt the *French* and *Spaniards*. The 16th the *Tartar* ſailed, the Admiral having ordered her to cruize off of *Oporto*; and the ſame Day the *Yarmouth*, *Swiftſure*, *Monk*, *Aſſurance* and *Vulture* Fireſhip, arrived with the Victuallers, which Sir *John* in his Paſſage to *Liſbon* had left to follow him. The next Day he removed his Flag from the *Swallow* to the *Yarmouth*.

This was the Situation of Affairs at *Liſbon*; when, the 19th, the *Tyger* arrived there, bringing Sir *John* an Account that a Squadron of the Enemy's Ships were ſeen off of *Gibraltar*. He alſo received from the Ambaſſador two different Accounts that had been ſent him; one from *Algarva*, importing, that two *Dutch* Privateers came by *Gibraltar* two Days before the *Tyger* left that Place, and ſaw 13 Sail of Ships ſtanding over to *Ceuta*, but none at an Anchor in the Bay of *Gibraltar*; the other Account was from the Lord *Gallway*, that his Lordſhip had Advice from the Enemy's Camp, that Count *Thoulouſe*, with the whole *French* Fleet, was beſieging *Gibraltar*. Upon theſe confuſed and uncertain Accounts, Sir *John*, to gain more certain Intelligence, detached the *Tyger* and *Antilope* to *Tangier*, to obſerve the Ene-

my's Motions; and at the ſame Time put on board them three Months Proviſions for the Gariſon of *Gibraltar*, that if any Opportunity ſhould offer, they might throw them into that Place. He likewiſe order'd the afore-mentioned Ships, that upon any further Intelligence, the *Tyger* ſhould return with the Account to him at *Liſbon*, and the other remain cruizing off *Cape Spartel*, to watch the Enemy more narrowly. The 22d, the *Tartar* (which ſailed the 16th to cruize off of *Oporto*) returned, having ſprung the Head of her Main-Maſt; and the 29th the *Leopard* ſailed, being detached by the Admiral to cruize between *Oporto* and the *Burlings*. The next Day the *Garland* arrived from *Salley*.

All this Time Sir *John* was making his utmoſt Efforts to get his Squadron in a Condition for the Sea, engaging his own Credit to procure Stores to effect it: For all the Perſuaſions that the Ambaſſador and himſelf could uſe with the *Portugueſe*, had only obtained 100 Barrels of Powder; ſo much they eſteemed our Alliance: And this Sir *John* thought ſo great a Diſappointment, that he diſpatched a Packet on purpoſe to *England* with an Account of it; acquainting the Lords of his Royal Highneſs's Council, of the vigorous Proceedings of the Enemy, with the Difficulties and Fatigues he lay under, for Want of the neceſſary Stores of all Kinds, which he was obliged to procure at any Rate, upon his own Account; and all too little for the Reparation of his Squadron, preſſing them therefore to ſend a ſpeedy Supply. That he did not know what Credit might be given to the Accounts from *Gibraltar*; but apprehended, if they ſhould attempt the Reduction of it, and not ſucceed, before the Seaſon of the Year obliged them to retire, they would leave a ſuperior Strength to the Squadron with him, to endeavour the Intercepting any Supply from *Liſbon*. This Letter was dated the 26th of *September*. The next Day he ſhifted his Flag from the *Yarmouth* to the *Centurion*. In the mean Time Affairs grew worſe at *Gibraltar*; for the 1ſt of *October*, he received certain Advice of that Place's being inveſted, by a Letter from his Highneſs the Prince of *Heſſe d'Armſtadt*, Governor of *Gibraltar*, dated the 23d of *September*, being brought by the Prince's Felucca to *Lagos*, and thence diſpatched over Land to *Liſbon*; which Letter was as follows:

'SIR,

'I Diſpatch this Expreſs, to give his Catholick Majeſty, 'and you, Notice of a Squadron of *French* Ships which 'came this Evening into this Bay, the Number of which are '19 great and ſmall, and of the Line of Battle, as you will 'find by the Opinion of the Sea-Officers here incloſed; alſo 'by an Account we had this Morning of a *Genoeſe* Tartan,

'and

'and by the Proviſions which have been made by the Marquis 'de *Villadarias*, who commands the *Spaniſh* Camp, their De-'ſign is to beſiege us by Sea and Land; having on board 3000 'Men to put on Shore, and the reſt proportionable to that 'Attempt: Therefore I deſire the Favour of you to take it 'into your Conſideration, and to make all the Speed you can, 'and as you ſhall judge moſt proper for the Publick Service, 'and the Relief of the Place. I need not tell you how far 'our Proviſions may laſt us, the Account being eaſily made 'by the Liſt I gave Sir *George Rooke* at our Parting; and Mr. '*Abraham Knox*, who is appointed here to victual the Gariſon, 'being in Want of a Sum of Money, to pay the Soldiers 'their Short-Allowance of Butter and Cheeſe; I therefore 'hope you will make the more Haſte, that we may re-'ceive a Supply accordingly: And I ſhall rejoice to ſee you 'here, that it may redound to your Satisfaction and Glory, 'as well as the Publick Concern, to meet with ſuch a Squa-'dron of Ships, which they ſay are likewiſe deſigned for the '*Weſt-Indies*, after this Enterprize ſucceeds and is over, as 'they hope; ſo that by this happy Stroke, you will gain a 'great and double Advantage; in deſtroying the Enemy, and 'relieving the Gariſon. I refer all to your prudent Care and 'Directions, remaining with Sincerity, *&c.*

'GEORGE, *Prince of* Heſſe.'

Upon this Emergency, Sir *John* found it abſolutely neceſſary to detain the four Ships, which, by Sir *George Rooke*'s Orders, were to be diſpatch'd with the Trade to *England*, and therefore he reſolved to do it; but conſidering the Circumſtances he was under, he thought it prudential to make it the Act of the Court of *Portugal*; for that Purpoſe he repreſented it in ſuch a Light, that the 1ſt of *October* he received a Letter from *Roque Montero*, the principal Secretary of State, proteſting againſt the Departure of the four Ships: Upon which he ſummoned a Council of War the ſame Day, to conſider what might be done for the Relief of *Gibraltar*, and in relation to the Proteſt of the *Portugal* Miniſter. The Council of War having therefore conſidered the Condition of *Gibraltar*, and that the Squadron with Sir *John* would be too weak to attempt the Relief of that Place, it was reſolved to detain the four Ships, till they received further Advice of the Enemy's Proceedings, [a] and that the *Tartar* ſhould be diſpatched for *England* with an Expreſs, to haſten thither an additional Force, to enable them to relieve it. Theſe Reſo-

[a] Which was approved of in an Order from his Royal Highneſs, dated the 24th of *October:*

lutions Sir *John* immediately put in Execution, ſending to the *Portugal* Secretary of State in Anſwer to his Letter, the Reſolution they had taken in the Council of War; and likewiſe, that he was informed by an Expreſs from *Gibraltar*, that the Place might hold out two Months, but not longer. The 3d, he ſhifted his Flag from the *Centurion* to the *Yarmouth*: The ſame Day the Packet came in from *England*, bringing him his Royal Highneſs's Orders; that when the *Pembroke* and *Canterbury* ſhould arrive at *Liſbon*, he might detain them two, and in their Stead, return to *England* two of the Ships then with him that were in the worſt Condition, and directing him to convoy, or cauſe to be convoy'd, to *Gibraltar*, four Months Proviſions for 2000 Men, out of the Proviſions that were then coming under Convoy of the Ships before-mentioned. Accompanying theſe Orders, was a Letter from his Highneſs's Secretary, Mr. *Clarke*, acquainting him, that Sir *George Rooke* had ſpoke to the Prince about his Want of Naval Stores, upon which his Highneſs directed the Navy-Board to ſend him 100 Coil of Rope, if poſſible, *&c.* as many Sails for 4th and 5th Rates, as could be got ready to go with that Convoy; and that he hoped in a little Time he would have a Supply from the Ordnance. The next Day came in the *Antilope*, with a *Spaniſh* Prize from *Cadiz*, laden with Wine and Brandy, for the *Weſt-Indies*, and having a conſiderable Number of Packets of Letters on board, Sir *John* ſent them to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador: The *Antilope* loſt Company with the *Tyger* off of *Cape St. Vincent*, and afterwards met with an *Engliſh* Ship from *Legborn*, which gave an Account, that he ſaw a Squadron of the Enemy's Ships in *Gibraltar*; upon which he came directly for *Liſbon* with the Advice. Soon after the *Lark*, Captain *Fotherby*, arrived, who immediately ſent a Letter to the Admiral, to acquaint him of the Condition he left *Gibraltar* in, and his Eſcape from thence; by whom he likewiſe received a Letter from the Prince of *Heſſe*, acquainting him, that ſince his laſt the Enemy had landed ſome Regiments, and ſeemed to continue in their Deſigns of attacking that Place, and by what he could judge, the Number might amount in all, that lay there encamped, to near 7000, and that the Number of Ships were increaſed by four more, one of 94 Guns, and the other three of 50 and 60. The 7th the *Tyger* arrived, with two *French* Prizes from *Newfoundland*, which he took off of the Southward Cape; and Sir *John* having ordered the *Antilope* and *Roebuck*, to cruize off of *Cape Spartel* for 30 Days, to gain Intelligence, and obſerve the Enemy's Motions; by the former he ſent the following Letter to the Prince of *Heſſe*.

'*May it pleaſe your Highneſs*,

'I Am making all poſſible Diſpatch to get the Ships of 'my Squadron ready for Service, and have detained the

‘ four Ships which were under Orders for *England*, to ſtrengthen
‘ me, ſo that when the Convoy arrives from *England*, which
‘ is expected every Minute, I hope to be in a Condition to
‘ ſee your Highneſs at *Gibraltar*; but if I ſhould be ſo un-
‘ fortunate as not to be in a Condition, before the Gariſon
‘ is ſtreightned for Proviſions, I will find ſome Way to puſh
‘ in a Ship in the Night with Proviſions; and in order there-
‘ unto am loading one, which ſails very well, ſo that if the
‘ Guard upon the *New Mole* ſhould diſcover, in the Night,
‘ a Ship approaching that Place, with four Lights placed
‘ where they may be beſt ſeen, they may be ſure they are
‘ Friends. This I thought fit to adviſe your Highneſs of, if
‘ Things ſhould come to Extremity.

In the mean Time, the Priſoners brought in by the *Tyger* and *Antilope* growing very ſickly, and beginning to infect the Ships Companies, Sir *John* thought it by no Means adviſeable to continue them any longer on board, and therefore apply'd himſelf to our Ambaſſador, deſiring him to come to ſome ſpeedy Reſolution how to diſpoſe of them; for otherwiſe he muſt be obliged to ſet them at Liberty; but after ſome Time paſſed, and his Excellency not having taken any Meaſures therein, the Infection, which at firſt appeared, beginning to ſpread, he ſet a great Part of them at Liberty, and by that Means preſerved the Healths of many of his Ships Companies, amongſt whom they were diſperſed. The Ambaſſador, though apprized of the Circumſtances of this Affair, and the Conſequences that muſt follow, if himſelf took no care in it, was pleaſed, however, not only to find Fault with, but to be angry at it: But Admiral *Leake* returned him this Anſwer, That he ſhould never conſent to make her Majeſty's Ships Jails, to the Prejudice of the Healths of his own Men; that his Excellency had been miſinformed as to the Number releaſed; for all the Maſters were detained, and 40 of the healthieſt of them took by the *Tyger*, and all thoſe taken by the *Antilope*; ſo that if the *French* Merchants could propoſe any Way with Safety to exchange Priſoners from *Cadiz*, he preſumed they had enough for that Purpoſe. As this Affair of the Priſoners could not have been the Occaſion of any Difference betwixt his Excellency and Sir *John*, it is obvious, that there had been ſomething previous, which had diſguſted him, and I take it to have been this: At the Beginning of the Campaign we may remember, when Sir *George Rooke* ſailed from *Liſbon*, with the Bulk of the Fleet, upon a Cruize, Sir *John* was left there with the reſt, with Orders to unlade the Stores from the Hulk and Tranſport Ships, which he had lately brought from *England*, and to careen and refit the the Men of War as ſoon as that was done: But

before

before this could be done there was a Neceſſity to have a Store-Houſe on Shore, to put the Stores in out of the Tranſports, and Hulk; Sir *John* uſed his utmoſt Intereſt and Application to the Ambaſſador, but could not obtain one, whereby he could neither diſpatch the Tranſports to *England*, nor have the the Uſe of the Hulk to careen the Ships; neither could he procure a Hulk from the *Portugueſe*, till his own was unloaded, notwithſtanding they had two to ſpare; both which the *Dutch* procured, though we could get neither; ſo that whilſt they had every Thing they wanted from the *Portugueſe*, the *Engliſh* were obliged to make the beſt Shift they could. This Neglect was ſo obvious, that Sir *John* could not help, in his own Juſtification, to obſerve, both to his Excellency and Sir *George Rooke*, *That if our Affairs had been as well conducted as the* Dutch, *we ſhould have been as well ſerved.* It is likewiſe certain, his Excellency aſſumed too much to himſelf in the Affairs of the Fleet; as if the Admirals had been ſubordinate to him, expecting to be conſulted, even in Matters wherein he could not be a competent Judge, and where the neceſſary Diſpatch of Things would not admit of it; and this being not always done, he might conceive there was not that Deference paid to his Character there ought to have been; beſides, at this Time, by preſſing on the Refitting the Squadron with the Diſpatch the Exigency of Affairs required, it evidently appeared the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador was not, in any Degree, ſo active on our Part, for the *Engliſh* Fleet, or had that Influence with the Court of *Portugal*, as the *Dutch* Miniſter, on the Behalf of the *Dutch*; whereby they had every Thing preferable to us. It was not then to be wondered at, if the *Engliſh* Admiral, whoſe Conduct and Reputation depended upon it, was ſo urgent, and ſhould complain under ſuch Diſadvantages and Diſappointments; eſpecially as we were the principal Ally, and bore ſo much the greater Share of the Burthen and Expence of the War: And as Sir *John* acted openly and zealouſly for the Good of the Common Cauſe himſelf, he thought all others, in their reſpective Stations, ſhould do the like, as their Duty; and not require to be ſollicited to do it as a Favour; and when he obſerved any Neglect or Delays in any Perſon, he always took proper Notice of it, without Reſpect of Perſons. For however he might miſcarry, by means of others Neglects, the Diſreputation of not ſucceeding would fall upon him. From hence ſeems to have ſprung that Diſagreement which his Excellency at this Time, was forward to ſhew upon every Occaſion, caviling upon every trifling Matter. Another Inſtance of which happened likewiſe about this Time, when, by his Letter to Sir *John*, he acquainted him, that there was ſome Diſſatisfaction amongſt the *Dutch*, relating to our Ships; but leaving

him

him to find out what it was, this gave him ſome Uneaſineſs, not being ſenſible of any Occaſion he had given, from whence it might ariſe; neither could he diſcover it by conſulting the *Dutch* Captains; till at length they, by the *Dutch* Miniſter, learnt, that if there was any Diſſatisfaction, it was in relation to one of our Ships, which was abſent upon ſome Service, and which, it was ſuggeſted, he ſtay'd for to join him, before he proceeded to *Gibraltar*. As ſoon as Sir *John* was informed of this, he returned our Ambaſſador Anſwer, that he was ſomething ſurprized at their Proceedings, when not only one of ours, but one of their Ships was abſent, but that as ſoon as the *Dutch* were ready to join him, and the *Panther* was ready, he would, as well for his own Juſtification, as for the Intereſt of his Country, proceed, without a Moment's Loſs of Time, to the Relief of *Gibraltar*. By this it appears, the Matter was mere Pique and Reſentment, and the Occaſion only made uſe of to perplex. If there was really any Diſſatisfaction amongſt the *Dutch*, it was becauſe he was too expeditious for them; whereby, upon all Occaſions, the Delays appeared to be wholly theirs; for they never were ready to ſail ſo ſoon as the *Engliſh*. It was a very difficult and uneaſy Situation Admiral *Leake* was in, to act purſuant to his Inſtructions, and at the ſame Time agreeable to the *Dutch*, the Court of *Portugal*, and his Catholick Majeſty; when almoſt every Proceeding muſt claſh with one or other of them, but more eſpecially when our own Miniſter, who ſhould have ſtudied to make all Things eaſy, acted quite contrary: This Miſunderſtanding was, doubtleſs, of the laſt Conſequence, as tending to diſconcert all his Meaſures for the Publick Service: It was hardly to be guarded againſt, and the more vexatious, as he knew he had given no juſt Grounds for it. All that he could do in this Caſe, was to perſevere in well-doing; he did ſo, and his very Enemies were forced to acknowledge his Virtue and Merit.

The 19th of *October*, a *Dutch* Rear-Admiral with five Sail of Men of War, and 22 Sail of Merchant Ships and Tranſports arrived at *Liſbon*, and ſoon after another Fleet, which proved to be the *Pembroke*, *Glouceſter* and *Canterbury*, with the long-wiſhed-for Supplies.

By this Time the Ships intended to go with him being ready for the Sea, except the *Panther* and *Newport*, which would be finiſhed in five or ſix Days; Sir *John* preſſed the Agent-Victualler, to uſe the utmoſt Diſpatch in ſending the Proviſions on board the reſpective Ships, to compleat them to three Months. Whilſt this was doing, he received a Letter from his Highneſs the Prince of *Heſſe*, the 21ſt Inſtant, in the Evening, acquainting him with the Condition of *Gibraltar*: That the *French* Squadron were gone to the Weſtward, conſiſting

conſiſting of 16 Sail of Men of War; leaving ſix Frigates behind them; that the Army opened the Trenches the 10th from the farthermoſt Mills, and had advanced only a Line of Communication to cover the Sand-Hill, where he expected they would raiſe their firſt Battery; but that laſt Night they worked and advanced 100 Paces nearer, notwithſtanding which, they obliged them to go on but very ſlowly, by Means of their Mortars and Cannon; having brought upon the Top of the Hill three 12 Pounders, with ſome long three Pounders, all Braſs, which overlook'd them; that he was in no Manner of Concern, only that they had not Powder for a laſting Siege, and their Proviſions ſhort.

Upon the Receipt of this Letter, Sir *John* held a Council of War the next Morning; wherein it was reſolved, that if they ſhould not be provided with Powder for the Uſe of the Gariſon by *Tueſday* next, (that Day being *Sunday)* then they would proceed, notwithſtanding, without a Moment's Loſs of Time, with ſuch of her Majeſty's Ships and the States-General, as were ready to ſail to their Relief: And in the mean Time to encourage the Gariſon, Sir *John* ſent to his Highneſs, to acquaint him; that he had now got 23 Sail of *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, with ſix Months Proviſions for the Gariſon, and that he ſhould ſail in four or five Days at fartheſt; ſo that he hoped to kiſs his Highneſs's Hands very ſhortly, and remove his troubleſome Neighbours: And as the Powder for the Gariſon was the only Thing wanting; he likewiſe wrote to the Ambaſſador, deſiring him to make his utmoſt Application for it; *that being the only Thing they now ſtaid for, and which it was not in his Power to procure from the* Portugueſe: But that if it was not procured and brought on board by *Tueſday*, he muſt be obliged to go without it, according to the Reſult of the Council of War for ſailing on that Day; of which Council he encloſed him a Copy. Upon this Occaſion he had an Opportunity to ſhew his Excellency, that the Delays proceeded wholly from himſelf and the *Dutch*.

According to the Reſolution that had been taken for ſailing, Sir *John* gave out the Rendezvous to the Squadron; that in caſe of Separation, before they got the Length of *Cape Spartel*, to call in at *Tangier*; and if they did not find him there, nor any Order, the Place of Rendezvous to be *Gibraltar:* But when on *Tueſday* the 24th, the Day for ſailing, Sir *John* made the Signal in the Morning early to unmoor, in order to ſail in the Afternoon; the *Dutch* Admiral, though he had agreed in Council to be ready by that Time, ſent two of his Captains to acquaint him, that two *Dutch* Men of War were putting on Shoar their Extra-Proviſions, and that if he failed, they muſt be left behind. This ſtopt his Proceeding that Day; but the next Morning early he ſailed with the Fleet under his Command,

mand, conſiſting of 19 Sail, 13 whereof were *Engliſh*, and ſix *Dutch*; with four Sail of Victuallers; to whom he gave Orders, that in caſe he ſhould meet with, and engage the Enemy on this Side of *Gibraltar*, with the Wind Weſterly, they ſhould take the firſt Opportunity they could, whilſt the Fleet was engaged, to paſs by them, and make the beſt of their Way into the *New Mole* at *Gibraltar*; and if he ſhould engage in that Bay, to do the ſame: But if he engaged them on this Side of *Gibraltar*, with the Wind Eaſterly, ſo that there ſhould be no Poſſibility of getting thither, they were to lie to Leeward of the Fleet.

The 29th, in the Morning, as ſoon as Sir *John* made the Land of *Cape Spartel*, he cauſed the Colours to be ſtruck, that he might not be diſcovered, and at the ſame Time ordered all the light Frigates in the Squadron, and ſome of the cleaneſt Ships, to make the beſt of their Way before him into the Mouth of the Bay of *Gibraltar*; in order to prevent any of the Enemy's Ships that might be there, from getting out, and to intercept them if they were weaker; but if they ſhould appear to be too ſtrong, to lie by, till himſelf with the reſt of the Fleet ſhould join him. In the Afternoon the *Swallow* gave Chaſe to a *French* Man of War that ſtood out of the Bay, and ſoon after Sir *John* ſtood into it; where he found two *French* Men of War of 36 Guns each, a Frigate of 16 Guns, a Fire-Ship of 24 Guns, a Store-Ketch laden with Powder and Shells; two *Engliſh* Prizes and a Tartan; beſides many other ſmaller Veſſels; as Barcolongos, *&c.* All which above-mentioned, ſeeing Sir *John* coming into the Bay, the *French* immediately run a-ſhore and burnt. There was likewiſe the *Eſtola* or *Star*, a *French* Frigate of 30 Guns, which got out of the Bay; but being chaſed (as was ſaid before) by the *Swallow*, was taken and brought in ſoon after, ſo that not one of them eſcaped: And Sir *John* having Advice of two more Ships that were at *Tetuan*, detached the *Canterbury*, *Leopard*, *Garland* and *Lark* in Queſt of them.

The Beſieged expreſſed an extraordinary Joy upon Sir *John*'s Arrival; for beſides the Aſſiſtance, they might expect from him, by Supplies of Stores, Ammunition and Proviſions, they had now nothing to fear from the Sea-Side, and might turn all their Thoughts to defend themſelves to the Land: And indeed he arrived ſo opportunely, that two Days would in all Probability have ſunk them beyond Hope. For the Enemy by the Help of Rope-Ladders, found Means to climb up the Rocks, and get upon the Mountain, through a Way that was thought inacceſſible, to the Number of 500 *Spaniards*, where they had remained ſeveral Days. At the ſame Time they had got together a great Number of Boats from *Cadiz* and other Parts, to land 3000 Men at the *New Mole*; ſo that by making

a vigorous Aſſault on the Sea-Side, they muſt have drawn the whole Gariſon to defend that Attack; whilſt in the mean Time, the 500 concealed Men were to have ruſhed into the Town: And this could hardly have failed of Succeſs, there being at that Time (as was diſcovered ſome Days afterwards) a Plot for delivering up the Place: But this was happily prevented by Sir *John*'s ſeaſonable Arrival; for the Men upon the Hill, now deſpairing of Succeſs, had nothing but the frightful Idea of ſtarving, or falling into their Enemy's Hands; which they had bound themſelves by an Oath not to do, as long as any one was left: Nevertheleſs, Hunger drawing them out of their Ambuſcade, they were diſcovered the Day after Sir *John*'s Arrival, and a Conſultation being held thereupon, he detached out of the Fleet 500 Marines and Seamen to aſſiſt the Gariſon; whilſt Colonel *Burr*, with 500 Men, marched out of the Town, and attack'd them with ſuch Vigour, that, notwithſtanding their Oath, 190 common Soldiers, with a Colonel, Lieutenant Colonel, Major and 30 Captains, Lieutenants and Enſigns, were glad to take Quarter: The remaining Part more deſperate, to the Number of 200, were killed on the Spot; the reſt, who endeavoured to make their Retreat by the ſame Way they came, fell down headlong from the Rocks; ſo that it was believed few, if any, returned to the Camp. The next Day Sir *John* ſent a Flag of Truce to the Marquis *de Villadarias*, and the Baron *de Pointi*, to treat about the Exchange of Priſoners; and the Day following he received a Letter from his Highneſs the Prince of *Heſſe*. 'I cannot expreſs (ſays he) 'the Satisfaction of your Appearance ſo opportunely before 'this Place, with the Squadron of Ships under your Com. 'mand, having been the entire Reaſon of ſaving it from the 'the Attempt of the Enemy, who were to attack us that very 'Night of your Entrance, in many Places at once, with a 'great Number of Men; which with our ſmall Gariſon had 'not been able to have held out againſt ſuch a ſuperior Force.'

By this Letter, the Relief appears to have been ſo ſeaſonable and fortunate, that the Delay of one Day, or even a few Hours, might have put the Place into the Enemy's Hands: And therefore may well be eſteemed one of thoſe ſignal Inſtances of Providence, which, as Mr. *Boyer* [a] obſerves, was ever conſpicuous in Sir *John Leake*'s Expeditions. And if we conſider this Expedition from Beginning to End; the happy Meaſures whereby it was conducted, and the Difficulties almoſt inſuperable, it was attended with: It will appear much more glorious to him. For in the firſt Place, how inſufficient was the Squadron left Abroad with Sir *John*, for the Winter Guard, to perform the Services required of him? He was to annoy

[a] Life and Reign of Queen *Anne*, page 240.

the

the Enemy, guard the Coaſts of *Portugal* and *Spain*, protect the Trade, and take care of *Gibraltar*: To ſend four Sail with the Merchant Ships to *England*, and one or two with the Trade to *Ireland*; and to enable him to do all this, he was appointed two 3d Rates, and ten 4th Rates, with a Fire-Ship and ſome Frigates; but when he had joined all the Ships in thoſe Parts at *Liſbon*, he could make only three 3d Rates of 70 Guns each, two 4th Rates of 60 Guns each, and ſix others of 50 Guns each; whereof the three 3d Rates and one 4th of 60 Guns, were under expreſs Orders, to be the four Ships to convoy the Trade to *England*, as ſoon as they were ready; which being done, there remained only one Ship of 60 Guns to bear his Flag, and ſix others of 50 Guns, with four Frigates and a Fire-Ship; a notable Squadron to perform ſuch Services, had they been well mann'd and in good Condition: But on the contrary, all of them, (except two of 50 Guns) had been ſhatter'd in the late Engagement, and wanted great Reparation; beſides Stores, Ammunition and Men; and indeed every Thing that was neceſſary: No Supplies to be preſently expected from *England*, and little, or next to none from the *Portugueſe*, as an Ally; but only what Sir *John* could procure at any Rate, upon his own Credit; no Aſſiſtance from the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador; the Court of *Portugal* diſſatisfied; the King of *Spain*, and all *England* impatient for the Relief of *Gibraltar*, by his Conduct; though all the Means were wanting to perform it; and the Enemy's Fleet ſuperior, not only to the Strength he had with him, but beyond what he might expect to have from *England*, to give timely Aſſiſtance. In this Exigency, he uſed all the Means the beſt Conduct could apply. The Difficulty of refitting his Squadron, without Materials and without Aſſiſtance, he overcame by his unwearied Application, and by his own Credit. The Want of a Reinforcement and Supplies from *England*, to enable him to proceed, which was not in his own Power, he however, by detaining the four Ships, and by his repeated Applications to the Lord High Admiral's Council, and the Aſſiſtance of his particular Friends at Home, procured in Time, both for his Squadron and *Gibraltar*. In the mean Time he kept up the Spirits of the Gariſon, by a conſtant Expectation of him, and by a regular Correſpondence, notwithſtanding the utmoſt Precautions of the Enemy's Ships in the Bay to prevent it: By his Cruiſers he gained the beſt Intelligence, and narrowly watched the Enemy's Motions; took ſeveral of the Enemy's Ships, and protected the Trade of the Allies. All this he did, and all theſe Difficulties he overcame, by his Diligence and ſtedfaſt Perſeverance for the common Good; and no ſooner had he received the Supplies, with the Reinforcement of ſix *Dutch* and three *Engliſh*, but he was impatient to ſeek

the Enemy, though he might well expect they were ſuperior; the *French* Squadron, by the laſt Accounts, conſiſting of 22 Sail; and many of them larger Ships than thoſe with him: But here he was ſtopp'd ſome Days for Powder for the Gariſon; and after that, one Day by the heavy *Dutchman*; whom, nevertheleſs, by his Example he quickened; ſo that had he acted by himſelf, *Gibraltar* would have been relieved ſome Days before: But theſe Delays ſerved to make the Relief ſo much the more extraordinary and fortunate, by his Arrival to ſave them at ſo critical a Juncture. The Whole then of this Enterprize being conſidered; it will appear to have been one of the hardeſt and moſt difficult Services, as well as the beſt conducted and moſt fortunate, of any Naval Expedition that happened during the War. How (after this) *Gibraltar* ſuſtained a long and bloody Siege, under the Command of the Prince of *Heſſe*, Governor thereof, by the Aſſiſtance of the Fleet, will be the Subject of the following Chapter.

CHAP. VII.

The Siege of Gibraltar *continued*; *with the brave Defence of the Beſieged, by the Aſſiſtance of the Fleet under the Command of Sir* John Leake; *and Proceedings till his Return to* Liſbon.

THE Gariſon of *Gibraltar* having been ſo fortunately relieved, as has been related in the preceding Chapter; had their Wants ſupplied, and were at once freed from all Apprehenſions of the Enemy by Land; and inſtead of *French* Ships in the Bay, to moleſt them and ſhut them up, had now the Sea open; and not only the Countenance and Protection of the Confederate Squadron on that Side, but their Aſſiſtance by Land too to carry on the Siege. This Benefit they received from our Fleet immediately upon their Arrival, by a Detachment of 500 Seamen, to enable the Gariſon to attack the *Spaniards* upon the Hill; and all the Enemy's Deſigns to carry the Place by Aſſault and Treachery, were rendered abortive by the ſeaſonable Arrival of the Fleet. Nevertheleſs, they ſtill carried on the Siege with the utmoſt Vigour, and even with aſſured Hopes of Succeſs; the Fortifications being thought very inſufficient to ſuſtain a long Siege, againſt the regular Attacks of ſuch an Army as then inveſted it; and which, indeed, without the Aid of the Fleet had been altogether impoſſible. It was therefore to be conſidered what was now to be done, by the mutual Aſſiſtance of the Fleet and Gariſon to defend the Place. His Highneſs the Prince of *Heſſe*, their brave Governor,

vernor, obſerving how much the Gariſon were animated by the Preſence of the Fleet, and the Advantages they had already gained by their Aſſiſtance; propoſed to Sir *John*, that ſince the Gariſon had the good Succeſs of Yeſterday, [in defeating the 500 *Spaniards* upon the Hill] he was conſidering, whether it might not be proper, with the Conjunction of his Squadron, to attempt ſomething upon the Enemy's Batteries: Wherefore he took the Liberty to lay before him his Opinion in that Caſe, leaving it to his beſt Conſideration to make a Sally; which could not be with leſs than 800 Men; and their Gariſon being but 1300, in good Health; the Queſtion was, if they ſhould venture it, or ſtay till they had an Aſſurance of having a competent Number of Men from the Reinforcement coming from *England*; which Difficulties he judged, could not be eaſily decided, but muſt be regulated by the Time and the Enemy's Proceedings; ſo propoſed to him, to ſend with the firſt fair Wind, an Expreſs to *Faro*, to repreſent to the King and the Miniſters of the Allies, the Condition of the Place; and that without 2 or 3000 Men to reinforce the Gariſon, which were diminiſhing every Day, they ſhould be expoſed to ill Conſequences: For that all the Priſoners reported, *Spain* and *France* were reſolved either to loſe all, or to take that Place; and therefore the Forces which had ſerved againſt *Portugal*, ſhould be ordered before *Gibraltar:* The Anſwer of which Expreſs (continues the Prince) would tarry the utmoſt, but 10 or 12 Days, and then we can afterwards take the Meaſures accordingly; and if you could ſpare us the Marines on board the ſeveral Ships which came from *England*, it would be of great Aſſiſtance to our weak Gariſon. This Propoſal Sir *John* did not by any Means approve of, as to that Part which related to the Sally; becauſe the Gariſon being ſo weak, the leaſt Miſcarriage might be the Loſs of the Place: Beſides, he was not able to ſupply them with the Number of Seamen they deſired, to Reinforce the Gariſon upon that Occaſion; his Squadron being mann'd only to the loweſt Complement: But he readily concurred with the Prince in every other Particular propoſed.

In the Afternoon he new-birth'd his Squadron, placing them in a Line of Battle, and ordered the *Swallow* Prize to cannonade the Enemy's Battery that was neareſt the Town; but the Enemy having brought their Guns to bear upon her, ſhe was obliged to come away again. The next Morning, being the 2d of *November*, he received a Letter from the Prince; deſiring, that as the Gariſon was very much fatigued and weak, that he would take the *New Mole*, and all the Poſts from without the Walls of the Town, towards *Europa-Point*, and provide and guard them with Seamen; which would be an extraordinary Relief to them; and likewiſe, as he deſigned to

mount ſome more Guns upon the Top of the Hill, where they had performed ſo much Service; that he would order ſome Boatſwains, and a competent Number of Men and their Tackle, to pair-buckle them upon the Hill; and alſo ſome Men to work in the Night, to repair what ſhould be beaten down by the Enemy's Guns, when they began to play their great Battery. This Letter, with the former of the 1ſt Inſtant, he thought fit to be conſidered at a Council of War; and it was reſolved to detatch 250 Men out of the Fleet on Shoar, to the Gariſon of *Gibraltar*, to guard the *New Mole*, and perform ſuch other Services as his Highneſs the Prince of *Heſſe* ſhould think fit to employ them in: But it was not thought ſafe at that Seaſon of the Year, to comply with a Propoſal of his Highneſs, for ſending two Frigates to the Eaſt Side of the Enemy's Camp to cannonade their Batteries, and then to try with Boats and Men to burn it and nail their Guns; or to co-operate with the Gariſon in making a Sally; for the Fleet being but ill-manned; if they ſhould miſcarry, it would expoſe them to dangerous Conſequences. In the mean Time the *Leopard* arrived in the Bay, and the next Morning the *Canterbury*, *Lark* and *Garland*; which four Ships had been detached to *Tetuan*, in Queſt of two of the Enemy's: The laſt of theſe Sir *John* diſpatched directly with an Expreſs to *Lagos*, in order to be forwarded from thence to *Liſbon*, to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador there; to acquaint his Majeſty of *Portugal* of his Proceedings, and the wretched Condition of *Gibraltar*; telling him, that he was afraid all his Endeavours to preſerve that Place would be unſucceſsful; and it was his Opinion, if he ſhould leave them, they would be obliged to ſurrender; and therefore he muſt ſtay to give them all the Aſſiſtance that poſſibly he could: And to the ſame Effect in his Letter to *England*, after having given an Account of his deſtroying the *French* Ships there; but I doubt (ſays he) the Gariſon will not have the ſame Succeſs in the Defence of the Town; for I find, that it is not Proviſions and Powder they want, (of the former of which I have brought them for ſeven Months, and of the latter 200 Barrels) but Officers and Men; with which unleſs they are ſpeedily reinforced, I cannot ſee, notwithſtanding all the Aſſiſtance I can give them, how they can hold it: For the Wall is only a Heap of Sand, caſed with ſlight thin Stone, and by Reaſon thereof, moſt of their Guns are diſabled, and the Gunners not able to ſtand by the reſt: The Enemy numerous, are advanced pretty near the Town; and have raiſed two very ſtrong Batteries againſt it; and will in a very few Days, level the only Baſtion that's left: The Conſideration whereof will oblige me to ſtay longer than otherwiſe I deſigned. This Letter gives us a ſhort, but clear Account of the Condition of *Gibraltar*; and the Reſolution

Sir

Sir *John* had made within himſelf, to ſupport them to the utmoſt: And indeed every Day ſhewed more and more, how much they ſtood in need of his Aſſiſtance; and confirmed, how impoſſible it would have been to defend the Place, had he abandoned them. The Enemy continuing their Approaches, began to fire furiouſly from their new Battery of fourteen Pieces of Cannon; ſo that with their former Batteries, they continually play'd with 30 Pieces of Cannon, beſides Mortars; whereby they had ruined a great Part of the Wall and Baſtion, and diſmounted above 40 Cannon of the Beſieged. This occaſioned his Highneſs, by his Letter of the 5th Inſtant, to acquaint Sir *John* thereof; and that having in company with Captain *Bennet*, Chief Engineer, been to view the Works of the Enemy, and likewiſe our Fortifications; to conſider of the moſt proper Place to work upon for their Defence, Mr. *Bennet* thought fit, that they ſhould fill with all Speed the Houſes behind the Curtain; but that requiring a great Number of Men, he deſired Sir *John* to take it into Conſideration, if every Day he could not ſend 500 Men on Shore to perform that Service, which every Night might be taken off again to their reſpective Ships; whereupon it was reſolved, that every Part of the ſaid Propoſal ſhould be complied with, but the Number of Men therein required, of which they could ſpare no more than 300: And accordingly ſo many were every Day landed, and employed in demoliſhing ſome Houſes, and carrying the Stone over-againſt a Courtine, that came from the Covert-Way to the Gate; which the Engineer deſigned to make as ſtrong as poſſible, and plant ſeveral Pieces of Cannon thereon, and it was hoped would be finiſhed in eight Days.

The 7th, Sir *John* received Advice by the Maſter of a Merchant Ship, that the 3d Inſtant in the Morning, he being within two Leagues of *Cadiz*, ſaw 16 Sail of Ships with white Pendants, and one with a white Flag at the Main-Top-Maſt-Head; upon which Intelligence, the Admiral diſpatched the *Centurion* the ſame Day, with Orders to cruize between *Cape Spartel* and *Cadiz*; and as often as Wind and Weather ſhould permit, to look into *Cadiz*, to obſerve the Motions of the Enemy's Ships there; and if he ſhould judge they were in any Forwardneſs for the Sea, to return without any Loſs of Time, to him; but if they remained above the *Puntals*, he was to continue in that Station 14 Days. The ſame Day he received a Letter from the Prince of *Heſſe*, expreſſing great Satisfaction with the diligent Application of the Seamen on Shore; whereby he hoped every Thing would be ſuddenly compleated; deſiring him to ſupply them with ſome Medicines, Shot, Paper, Twine, Canvas, &c. and likewiſe that he would take the Priſoners they had in the Garriſon

aboard the Ships; all which was complied with the ſame Day, according to his Highneſs's Requeſt. The following Day the *Lark* was detached to *Tangier*, to bring ſome Materials Colonel *Borr* had left there; likewiſe a more particular Account was received concerning the Ships at *Cadiz*, by two *Engliſh* Priſoners who eſcaped from thence, *viz.* That when they left that Place, there were in the Bay 18 Sail of *French* Men of War; two of them of three Decks, but did not know the Force of the reſt; that there were alſo fitting out with all poſſible Expedition, as many Galleons as would compleat the *French* to 30 Sail; that Monſ. *Ponti* was there and commanded them; and that they were deſigned for *Gibraltar*.

The 9th, the *Swallow* was detached a cruizing to the Eaſtward; the ſame Day the Prince deſired a further Supply of 20 more Carpenters, in order to fix the Palliſadoes in the Ditch and in the Covert-Way; and repreſenting that they were in want of Candles, Flints and Bullets for the *Engliſh* Firelocks; the Admiral ordered the ſame Day, to the Number of 2900 Flints, 1384 Pounds of Muſket-Shot, and ſix Cheſts of Candles; and alſo the additional Number of Carpenters deſired; not being willing to omit any Thing that might be for the Convenience of the Gariſon. The following Day the Prince diſpatched a *Tartan* with an Expreſs to the King of *Spain*; and Sir *John* took the Opportunity by the ſame Conveyance, to ſend a Letter to Mr. *Methuen*, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador at *Liſbon*. I take this Opportunity (ſays he) to acquaint your Excellency, that the Gariſon of *Gibraltar* is ſtill in our Poſſeſſion, but dare not promiſe how long it may be ſo; the Enemy having raiſed another ſtrong Battery of heavy Cannon, and diſmounted moſt of ours; the principal Thing wanting to make it defenſible is Men, which I hope Care will be taken to ſupply them with; and having obſerved ſome Ships, (notwithſtanding all my Care to intercept them) paſs at Times through the *Streights*; I need not mention the evil Effects that may follow, if they ſhould be *French*, and join thoſe at *Cadiz*; therefore deſire that I may be reinforced with what *Engliſh* Ships are at *Liſbon*, &c.

On the 13th the *Lark* arrived from *Tangier*, where ſhe had ſpoke with the *Panther*, who got thither in 10 Days from *Liſbon*; bringing an Account, that the Convoys with the *Iriſh* Forces were expected there every Day; and that Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel* was at *Spithead*, with 30 Sail of Men of War, ready to proceed to thoſe Parts: This comfortable News Sir *John* preſently communicated to the Prince of *Heſſe*, who returned him a congratulating Letter thereupon; and acquainting him, that the Enemy by the Motion in their Trenches, ſeemed to go on ſlow and ſure; ſo that he had Hopes the Recruits might arrive time enough to their Relief: But alas! *Gibraltar* might

have

have been taken twice before their Arrival, which did not happen till near a Month afterwards; and the Fleet ſaid to be at *Spithead* and ready to ſail, did not reach *Liſbon* till the *May* following.

The 14th in the Morning, Sir *John* ordered all the Boats mann'd and arm'd to row into the Shoar, as if they intended to land; which, as the Prince acquainted him, had a very good Effect, alarming the Enemy's Camp, ſo that Horſe and Foot run down to the Water-Side, and their Trenches were ſilent, ſo that they did not fire a Gun in a conſiderable Time after; which Succeſs cauſed him to keep them frequently alarmed on that Side; and the Enemy having diſmounted the Guns upon this Hill, which it was impoſſible to mend ſo ſoon as the Neceſſity required, at his Highneſs's Requeſt, he ſupplied them with a ſufficient Number of Carriages to remount their Guns, and likewiſe with ſome Firelocks, whilſt thoſe that were damaged were mending on board the Ships. The ſame Day the *Panther* arrived from *Tangier*, bringing a Letter from Captain *Cooper* of the *Centurion*; adviſing, that in his Cruize off *Cadiz*, he ſaw about 19 or 20 Sail of the Enemy's Ships, great Part of them in the Bay, the reſt above the *Puntals*, with Yards and Top-Maſts up; but it being hazy, he could not diſcover their Readineſs for the Sea. Upon this Intelligence Sir *John* called a Council of War the 15th of *November*, to conſider what was moſt proper to be done, upon the ſeveral Advices he had received of the Preparations of the *French* at *Cadiz*; but before they came to any Determination, he ſent a Copy of Captain *Cooper*'s Letter to the Prince of *Heſſe*, and acquainted his Highneſs, that he was with the Officers of the Fleet then in Council; and being apprehenſive the Enemy from *Cadiz* might come with a Number of Fireſhips, and put them to ſeveral Inconveniencies, which they ſhould not be able to prevent in that Bay; it was their Opinion, that it would not only be for the better Security of the Fleet, but of the Gariſon, that they ſhould leave the Detachment of Men they had already on Shore, and go with the Fleet to the other Side of the Bay: That therefore they deſired his Highneſs to take the ſame into Conſideration, and with the Concurrence of the Officers of the Gariſon, to return him their Opinion thereof. Whereupon his Highneſs having communicated the ſame to the Colonels of the ſeveral Regiments in Gariſon, returned their Opinion as follows, *viz.* That they all agreed, the Security of the Fleet was of great Conſequence; and that they conſented to what the Admiral ſhould think proper on this critical Occaſion. Upon the Receipt of this Opinion of the Land-Officers, the Council of War came to a Reſolution to remove with the Fleet to the Weſt Part of the Bay, whilſt the Wind was Weſterly, for their better Security againſt any

Attempt of the Enemy; leaving a Ship to make ſuch Signals, as ſhould be ordered, if the Town ſhould be ſtormed, or in any Danger, and then they would immediately return, and contribute all that poſſibly they could to the Preſervation of the Place.

The 15th, the *Garland* arrived from *Lagos*, with Letters from *Liſbon*; by whom Sir *John* received one from Mr. *Methuen*, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador there, which I ſhall inſert at Length, to ſhew the different Temper his Excellency was now in; and ſeems intended to palliate his former Proceedings.

'SIR,

'I Have received the Favour of your Letter, written from *Gibraltar* the 3d of *November*, and I heartily congratulate your ſafe Arrival there, and good Succeſs you have had; which muſt be always acknowledged as owing to your great Zeal and Diligence, as well as to your Conduct in this Affair. What I now write, is no more than what I have wrote to *England* ſince your Departure, to be laid before her Majeſty; whoſe Service I am ſatisfy'd no Man endeavours more than yourſelf. Although I find in your Letter, that the Place is in a Condition much different from what I thought by the Prince's Letters to you, which came here ſince your Departure; yet I perſuade myſelf you will have the Honour to preſerve that Place to *England*; for which I ſhall extremely rejoice. The *Iriſh* Troops are not yet arrived, and my Lord *Gallaway* will not be here till to-morrow, or after to-morrow; but I would not at all delay ſending you by the *Garland*, the Aſſurance that there ſhall immediately be diſpatch'd to you Officers and Engineers, with what Neceſſaries we can, and ſome Number of Soldiers, till a greater Force can come; ſince I think, the Preſervation of that Place of the utmoſt Importance to *England*; and becauſe we may poſſibly ſend you Succours of all Kinds from *Algarbe*, although I cannot yet be particular in that. I do now diſpatch the *Garland* to you, and deſire you will immediately, upon the Receipt of this, ſend two or three Frigates to *Lagos*, that we may, in caſe of Neceſſity, ſend a Detachment of our Troops from thence, *&c.*

'*Your Humble Servant,*

Liſbon, 9th *Nov.* 1704. 'JO. METHUEN.'

In relation to the latter Part of this Letter, deſiring that two or three Ships might be ſent to *Algarbe*, to wait for Succours for the Gariſon, Sir *John* called a Council of War, the 17th Inſtant; when conſidering the certain Intelligence they had received, of the Preparations of the *French* at *Cadiz* to attack

attack them by Sea; it was the Opinion of the Council they were ſuperior to the Confederates; and therefore it was reſolved, not to be ſafe to detatch any Ships to *Lagos*, or any other Port till they were in a better Condition, by a Reinforcement from *England*, to comply with ſuch Services. At Night the Signal agreed upon being made from the Town in Caſe of a Storm, Sir *John* detatch'd all the Boats, mann'd and arm'd to their Aſſiſtance; but by the Time they got aſhoar, the Enemy retreated; the Alarm being cauſed only by the Enemy's reconnoitring their Works; ſo the Boats preſently returned.

The 18th, the *Swallow* came in from the Eaſtward, bringing with her a *French* Prize from *Newfoundland*. The next Day Sir *John* received a Letter from the Prince, acquainting him, that the Enemy had not work'd any Thing that Night againſt them, but only made a Line behind the Rock, which look'd more for Fear than to attack them; and at his Highneſs's Requeſt, a further Supply of Medicines was delivered for the Uſe of the Gariſon. The next Day, the Wind being then at W. N. W. the Fleet removed to the Weſt Side of the Bay. This Motion of the Fleet cauſed a great Conſternation in the Enemy's Camp; who fearing they were about to land ſome Men, ſent their Cavalry to the Sea-ſhoar to oppoſe it; which Sir *John* obſerving, ordered the Frigates into the Shoar to cannonade them; and they had the Opportunity to ſalute them with ſome Broadſides, whereby a great many of them and their Horſes were killed and wounded: And after this, he directed the Boats Night and Morning to row along Shoar, to harraſs the Enemy, and it had the deſired Effect; for the *Spaniſh* Cavalry and ſome Battalions conſtantly drew up in the ſame Place, and were conſiderably annoyed by the Seamen and the Cannon of the neareſt Frigates; and theſe Alarms likewiſe very much diſturbed them in the new Works they were making at the Foot of the Hill.

The 20th, the Prince of *Heſſe* having received ſome Intelligence from a Deſerter, ſent Sir *John* an Account of it, incloſed in a Letter, as follows, *viz.* that he (*Manuel Gonzales*) deſerted laſt Night, and came into the Town that Morning: That 1000 *French* Marines went from the Camp on Horſeback, in order to go for *Cadiz* to man the *French* Fleet, on *Friday* laſt about 9 o'Clock in the Morning: That as ſoon as the Confederate Fleet arrived in *Gibraltar* Bay, they left off all Thoughts of attacking the Town, but by the Hill; and that now their whole Hopes was from the *French* Fleet in *Cadiz*; and that the major Part of the *French* in the Camp were ſick: That they talk'd on Shoar of the *French* and *Spaniſh* Fleet to conſiſt of 40 Sail; that the Enemy on Shoar conſiſted of 10000 Men, and that they had ſent for 1000 or 1500

Men of the Militia of *Malaga*; and that if it were not proclaimed Death for a *Spaniard* to fall out with a *Frenchman*, they would be killing each other every Day. This Intelligence made it neceſſary to provide for the Security of the Fleet: Wherefore Sir *John* calling a Council of War the ſame Day, It was reſolved, to ſend for all the Men from the Shoar and all the Marines; except the Gunners and Carpenters Crews; and this Reſolution he immediately ſent to the Prince, at the ſame Time aſſuring his Highneſs, that nothing but their unhappy Circumſtances, for Want of Men (they being 1280 ſhort of their Complements) to defend their Ships, and the Opportunity of fair Weather that Night could have obliged them to come to ſo ſudden a Reſolution; for at their firſt Arrival, above Half of the *Engliſh* Squadron were only manned to their loweſt Complement; and ſeveral of them were at preſent very ſickly. The next Day, the *Centurion* brought in a *French* Prize of 300 Tons and 24 Guns, from *Martinico*, bound to *Marſeilles*. In the Evening Sir *John* ordered the Boats to alarm the Enemy's Camp, and in the mean Time detatched the *Centurion* to look into the Bay behind the Camp, to make what Diſcoveries he could; and whether it was not poſſible to annoy the Enemy's Batteries on that Side: But they ſaw only two ſmall Boats haul'd up upon the Sand, and reported, it was not practicable to hurt their Batteries, by reaſon of the Sand-Hills that lay between them and the Water.

The 23d, the Wind ſhifted ſuddenly to the Eaſt, and E. N. E. and blew ſo freſh, that the Fleet could not return back to the Eaſt Side of the Bay, as they intended. The next Day it grew worſe, and the Fleet being in great Want of Ground-Tackle, it was very fortunate that any of them eſcaped driving a-ſhoar. The *Panther* drove and was in great Danger, making the Signal of Diſtreſs; but the Weather was ſo bad, there was no ſending any Aſſiſtance to her, ſo that it was a great Providence ſhe did not go a-ſhoar: But about 9 o'Clock ſhe got under Sail, with much Difficulty, and came to an Anchor again, in a Place of more Security in the Bottom of the Bay: Soon after the Cable of Sir *John*'s own Ship, the *Nottingham*, parted, being cut by the Foulneſs of the Ground; and moſt of the Ships of the Fleet loſt their Anchors and Cables. The *Dutch* loſt the greateſt Part of theirs; and one of their Ships narrowly eſcaped going a-ſhoar; and the reſt endeavouring to aſſiſt her, loſt moſt of their Boats. In fine, the whole Fleet were in the moſt imminent Danger of being drove a-ſhoar into the Jaws of the Enemy, and thereby determining the Fate of the Fleet, and the Town of *Gibraltar* at once.

The 25th, Sir *John* received a Letter from the Prince, (the Weather being ſomething abated) acquainting him, that the Enemy's Battery went on but ſlow; but that the few Men he had

had could not poſſibly repair thoſe Works which were abſolutely neceſſary; that for the Defence of the Breach, a Quantity of Blunderbuſſes would be of extraordinary Uſe; deſiring therefore as many as he could ſpare; and likewiſe a Supply of Wine from the Victuallers. This Letter he anſwered the ſame Day; that as ſoon as Wind and Weather ſhould permit, he would order the Victuallers to deliver the Wine as he deſired; and he would likewiſe get the Blunderbuſſes together, and ſend as ſoon as there was an Opportunity of doing it; withal, that he was very much concerned to acquaint his Highneſs, how much the Fleet had been endangered by the late Storm; and if the ſame ſhould come upon them again, he could not foreſee the Misfortune they ſhould be liable to: Neither did he know whether he ſhould be able, after the Loſs of ſo many Anchors, to ſecure the Ships in any Part of the Bay; but that he intended to remove the firſt Opportunity. Accordingly, the next Day he removed with the Fleet, over to the Eaſt Side of the Bay, and called a Council of War, to conſider what was proper to be done for their Security, upon the Loſs of ſo many Anchors and Cables, but did not come to any Determination; Sir *John* thinking it neceſſary, to have the Preſence of the Prince of *Heſſe*, and ſome of the Field-Officers upon this extraordinary Occaſion, that they might reſolve upon ſomething, as well for the Preſervation of *Gibraltar* as the Fleet. Accordingly the next Morning, his Highneſs, with Col. *Borr* and Col. *Purcell* being come on board, he reſumed the Council of War; wherein he propoſed to leave 600 Seamen a-ſhoar, for the Defence of the Gariſon; and to take the Opportunity of the then Eaſterly Wind, to proceed to *Liſbon* for a Supply of Anchors, *&c.* and to bring away the Succours for *Gibraltar*, if he did not meet them in his Paſſage: Or to look into *Cadiz* and offer the Enemy Battle, and then to Cruize off of *Cape Spartel* till the Succours joined him; in both theſe Propoſals, having an eſpecial Regard to the Safety of the Succours, on which all depended: But the Prince and Field-Officers preſent, rejected them both, though Sir *John* uſed all the Arguments he could think of, to make them ſenſible of the Danger the Succours would be expoſed to of being intercepted by the Enemy. The Reaſons they gave for their not conſenting to his going out of the *Streights*, were, that it would endanger the Loſs of the Town; for there being ſeveral diſaffected Perſons in it, that daily diſcovered and betrayed to the Enemy their Proceedings and the Condition of the Gariſon, and the Soldiers being greatly fatigued, they feared great Numbers of them would deſert, could they convince them that the Fleet might not return to their Aſſiſtance, ſhould they be attack'd whilſt the Fleet was to the Weſtward. The Council of War were therefore obliged to come to other Reſolutions; and it

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was at length agreed, that the only Security they had left, was for the Fleet to remain there whilſt the Wind was Eaſterly, and to go to Sea the firſt Weſterly Wind, keeping as near *Gibraltar* as the Wind and Weather ſhould permit: For lying on the Weſt Side of the Bay with the Wind Eaſterly, would endanger the Loſs of the Ships; and continuing on the Eaſt Side, would expoſe them to the Enemy's Fireſhips; it being impoſſible to get under Sail from that Side, with the Wind to the Southward of the Weſt: That for their further Intelligence of the Preparations and Readineſs of the *French*, two Frigates ſhould be detach'd to look into *Cadiz*; and that one Frigate and the *Star Bomb* ſhould be left behind at *Gibraltar*, to prevent any Attempts of the Enemy upon the *New Mole*; and to leave 100 Men when they ſail, to guard that and the Poſts next the Sea; and whilſt the Fleet ſhould remain there, to ſend 150 Men every Day to work on Shoar. According to theſe Reſolutions, Captain *Bertie* was detatch'd in the *Panther* with the *Garland*, to ſail and look into *Cadiz*, and bring an Account of the Number and Readineſs of the Ships there; after which he was to ſend away the *Garland* to *Tangier*, to fetch Refreſhments for the Gariſon of *Gibraltar*; unleſs the Readineſs of the Enemy's Ships, ſhould make it neceſſary to bring her back along with him. The ſame Day at Night, a Barcolongo was diſpatch'd for *Faro*, with the Prince's Letters to the Kings of *Spain* and *Portugal*; and the Admiral's to the Lord-High-Admiral, and to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador at *Liſbon*; acquainting the latter, of the Reaſon of not complying with his Deſire in his Letter of the 9th of *November*, about ſending ſome Frigates for Forces to *Lagos*, with the Council of War thereupon; concluding, that *Gibraltar* would be in a dangerous Condition, if he ſhould engage the Enemy and not get the better of them: And in his Letter to the Lord-High-Admiral's Secretary; having acquainted them with the ſeveral Accounts he had received, of the Preparations of the Enemy, and the Councils of War thereupon: I will not preſume to judge, (ſays he) whether they are for this Place or the *Weſt-Indies*; but am of Opinion, that if they are intended for the former, *Gibraltar* will be in Danger, if we ſhould not be in a Condition to return to its Aſſiſtance; for nothing but the Countenance of a Fleet, or ſpeedy Succours, which we daily expect, can preſerve the Place, in the Condition the Enemy has made it, by their continual Battering and Bombarding.

The 2d of *December*, the *Panther* and *Garland*, which had been detatch'd to look into *Cadiz*, returned, bringing an Account, that there were in the Bay of *Bulls*, 17 Sail at anchor in the Line of Battle; two others under Sail, plying off and on, and 10 Sail more rigged; five in *Cadiz* Bay, and five above the *Puntals*. Upon this Advice, it was high Time to

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be gone, and the Wind favouring, Sir *John* ſailed with the Fleet, leaving the *Leake* and *Star* Bomb to defend the *New Mole*; and having put the 100 Men on Shoar, under the Command of a Lieutenant, with Proviſions for them, that they might not be obliged to uſe that of the Gariſon, who had now but enough.

The 4th, at Night, being within two Leagues of *Gibraltar*, a ſmall *Engliſh* Ship, which the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador had ſent from *Liſbon*, came into the Fleet, bringing Sir *John* a Letter from his Excellency; acquainting him, that the Battalions were moſt embarked, and hoped all would be ſo, as to ſail in four or five Days at furtheſt, under Convoy of the *Antilope* and *Roebuck*; conſiſting of the Battalion of her Majeſty's Guards, the Lord *Barrimore*'s, and a *Dutch* Regiment; bringing with them a great Quantity of Tools of all Sorts, and a Month's Proviſion for 3000 Men; and that 500 *Portugueſe* were at *Lagos*, and only wanted a Couple of Frigates to convoy them to *Gibraltar*. Upon this Intelligence, Sir *John* called a Council of War the next Morning early; there being then but very little Wind, and that Northerly; and it was reſolved, that upon the Readineſs and Strength of the Enemy at *Cadiz*, and the Lord Ambaſſador's Advice of the Forces coming from *Liſbon*, to take the firſt Opportunity of an Eaſterly Wind, to paſs the *Streights* and look into *Cadiz*, to offer the Enemy Battle; and if they declined engaging them, then to come to a further Reſolution where to cruize, to join and protect the Forces coming from *Liſbon*; but that if the Wind ſhould continue and blow hard Weſterly, they would endeavour to get to an Anchor on the Eaſt Side of *Gibraltar*; or if that ſhould be found impracticable, *Cape Malaga* was to be the Place: And he wrote his Highneſs the Prince of *Heſſe* the Reaſon of this Reſolution; that it was in Order to preſerve the Succours expected, and he wiſhed it might not be too late; that the Reaſon this Rendezvous was different from the former, was becauſe ſome of the *Dutch* Ships ſailed ſo very ill, and were ſo Leewardly, that if the Wind ſhould blow hard Weſterly, they would be drove too far up the *Streights*; there being no Anchoring on this Side at that Time of the Year.

This Reſolution, we may remember, was propoſed by Sir *John*, in the Council of Sea and Land Officers before he left *Gibraltar*, but was rejected by the latter; whereupon the Council were obliged to come to other Reſolutions: But upon this laſt Intelligence, it being certain the Succours were by this Time upon their Paſſage, and the almoſt unavoidable Danger they were in from the Enemy at *Cadiz*, who were either at Sea, or ready to puſh out upon them; he thought himſelf obliged to come to that Reſolution, without further conſulting the Officers of the Gariſon; as being the only Expedient to preſerve the Convoy, on which the Fate of *Gibraltar* depend-

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ed; and had not the Wind prevented him, it might have had the desired Success; for nothing could be so effectual to secure the Succours, as to shut up the Enemy in Harbour; nor nothing more brave, than with a Fleet, weaker both in Number and Force, ill mann'd and ill provided, to challenge and defy the Enemy at their own Door, and oblige them to submit to be shut up in their own Port, or come out and fight: So much Resolution must naturally intimidate them, and make them believe our Fleet much stronger than it really was. But the best concerted Measures by Sea, are still liable to the Inconstancy of Wind and Weather, and the Fleet remained Windbound, not able to repass the *Streights Mouth*. Sir *John* was on this Occasion under the greatest Anxiety for the Safety of the Convoy; and the same Evening an Express was brought him by a Felucca, from the Prince of *Hesse*, which put him out of all Doubt as to the Danger of the Succours: By this he had an Account, that the Day before, a *Dutch* Privateer put into *Gibraltar*, having been chased into the *Streights* by a *French* Squadron of 18 Sail, that were cruizing off *Cape Spartel*. In this Extremity, to do all he could, he immediately dispatch'd a Letter to Messieurs *Warren* and *Hampton*, Merchants in *Tangier*, acquainting them, that there was a Reinforcement of 2500 Men, under Convoy of two Men of War, coming from *Lisbon* to *Gibraltar*, which were ordered to keep along the *Barbary* Shoar; and likewise, that the *French* with 18 Sail of Men of War were come out of *Cadiz*, and were cruizing off *Cape Spartel*, with a Design as he feared, to intercept them; that therefore he was to desire them, if the Wind continued Westerly, (if it were possible) to send to *Larach*, and hire a small Vessel to lie off at a convenient Distance at Sea, to give Notice to the said Convoys of their Danger, and deliver to the Commander in Chief the inclosed Letter from him: But that if the Wind should come Easterly before they had employed a Boat, they needed not then do it, because he designed to pass the *Streights* and give the Enemy Battle. He likewise detach'd the *Lark* to cruize off of *Cape Cabrita*, with Directions, as often as Wind and Weather permitted, to send his Boat a-shoar to *Gibraltar*, to know the State of the Place; and if his Highness the Prince of *Hesse*, had Occasion to send him to him, he was to do it; and if he should discover the Enemy coming into the *Streights*, he was to join him directly, according to the Rendezvous; which if the Wind was Westerly, was the East Side of *Gibraltar*, or under *Cape Malaga* or *Roqueta*; but if Easterly, at *Gibraltar* or *Cape Spartel*; but that when the Weather was moderate, he was to keep plying to Windward under the *Barbary* Shoar.

Mean time the Prince of *Hesse* redoubled his Diligence for preventing the Designs of the Enemy, and spent the Days in the

the Works, and moſt Part of the Nights in the Covert-Way. The Enemy, as has been before related, had diſmounted above 40 Pieces of the Gariſon's Cannon, ruined the Parapet of the Courtine, and the Face of the Baſtion of the Sea, and that of the Baſtion of the Mountain; had made a Breach in the former, and likewiſe in the Courtine; which they might have mounted, by Favour of the Stones and other Rubbiſh beat down by their Cannon, had not the ſame been carefully carried off: Theſe Materials were very uſeful to make a Work in the Ditch, for the better Defence of the Foot of the Breach yet ſtanding, about eight Foot high, of a very good ſolid Work, which the Cannon of the Enemy could not reach: The Beſieged had beſide a double Row of Palliſadoes very ſtrong, in the Middle of the Ditch, parallel to the Courtine; and before the ſame had made a Sort of Ditch which was filled by the Tide, and wherein they kept Water. All theſe Works had been compleated by the Diligence of the Seamen detatch'd from the Fleet before they left *Gibraltar*, and could not be battered by the Cannon of the Enemy, till they had lodged themſelves on the Covert-Way; but there was a great Mine ready, conſiſting of four Chambers, which extended to the Right and Left of the Glacis, and were divided into ſeveral Branches, which came from the grand Gallery leading to the Ditch; which Mine could not have failed of having done great Execution, had the Enemy attempted to lodge themſelves on the Covert-Way; but becauſe they ſeemed to have altered their Deſign, and threatened to attack a long Line, which the Beſieged had on the Declivity of the Rock on the Right; the Prince of *Heſſe* cauſed four ſmall Intrenchments to be made at the End of it, with three Batteries of two Pieces of Cannon each, which flank'd the Avenues of the Glacis, and overlook'd the advanc'd Works of the Enemy: This was the Condition of the Place, which had like to have been much worſe: For the Wind continuing Eaſterly, but not enough to ſtem the Current, by the 7th at Night the Fleet were drove a conſiderable Way to the Eaſtward; and then it came freſh to the W. S. W. when juſt as it begun to blow favourably, the Prince's Felucca came on board the Admiral, and brought him the melancholy News, that the Day before the Tranſports with the Succours on board, under Convoy of the *Antilope*, *Greenwich*, *Newcaſtle* and *Roebuck*, fell in with the Enemy's Squadron off *Cape Spartel*; but by good Fortune, the *Antilope* with eight Sail got off, and arrived at *Gibraltar* the next Day, and ſoon after the *Newcaſtle* with ſeven more; and of the four that were miſſing, only one was taken by the Enemy and carried into *Cadiz*, very much to the Diſgrace of the *French* Squadron, and to the Reputation of the Convoy. But this Misfortune had not happened, if the imminent Danger

ger the Garison of *Gibraltar* was in of being lost, would have permitted the Land-Officers to have consented to the Admiral's Proposal at first to go off *Cadiz*. However, the Besieged by this received a Reinforcement of 2000 Men, which arrived very seasonably; for some seditious Persons were about this Time set at Work by the Marquis *de Villadarias*, to discourage the Garison; and a mutinous Petition was already framed, to have pressed the Prince of *Hesse* to surrender; which being timely discovered, his Highness ordered a *Spanish* Colonel and some other Conspirators to be secured.

The Wind contiued Westerly till the 13th, in which Time, by the ill Sailing of the *Dutch*, the Fleet was drove as high as *Maderel*; and then the Wind coming to the Eastward, Sir *John* made the best of his Way to *Gibraltar* again. The next Day the *Newcastle* joined the Fleet with three Transports, which by the Prince of *Hesse*'s Orders he was convoying to *Tetuan*, to get Provisions for the Garison; but the Wind being Easterly, the Admiral ordered them to keep him Company. By them he received a Letter from his Highness, dated the 12th Instant; acquainting him, that that Evening they resolved to make a Sally, which succeeded to his Expectation, by ruining the Enemy's two next Trenches to their Pallisadoes, so that it would be some Days Work before they could make it up again: That he hoped Sir *John* would be at *Gibraltar* very soon, that some Dispositions might be taken how to drive the Enemy quite out of their Trenches; which only could be the securer expected by his good Assistance, *&c.* According to his Highness's Desire, he stood with an easy Sail for *Gibraltar*, sending the *Leopard* before with a Letter to the Prince, to acquaint him, that he should have been with him before, if he had not been detained by giving Chase to some Ships, he believed to be Captain *Legg* with the Transports, but had not yet spoke withal; and therefore sent this by the *Leopard* to let him know, that their Provisions would not last above five Weeks longer; and he believed the *Dutch* would press to take the Opportunity of the fair Wind that then was, to repair to *Lisbon*: That therefore he desired his Highness would please to consider, in the mean Time, what further Service the Fleet could do the Garison; because as soon as he should anchor, he intended to call a Council of War, and should be very glad if his Highness, with some of the Field-Officers he approved of, would be present thereat. In the Afternoon he arrived with the Fleet in the Bay, and presently called a Council of War, upon the present Circumstances of the Fleet and Garison; wherein it was resolved; that as *Gibraltar* was now reinforced with 2000 Men, but in Want of some Necessaries and Fire-Arms, and the Fleet of Provisions; to supply the Garison with what Muskets, Musket-Shot, Flints, Sea-Coals and Armourers

mourers they could ſpare, and to detach'd to *Lagos* two or three Frigates, to take in and bring the Forces that were there ready for Embarkation, and leave another to attend the Gariſon; and then with the firſt Opportunity of Weather to repair with the Fleet to *Liſbon* for a Supply of Proviſions, Anchors, Cables, and what other Stores they had Occaſion for. The next Day, by Brigadier *Shrimpton*, Sir *John* received an Account from the Prince of *Heſſe*, of ſuch Things as were material to be done before the Sailing of the Fleet. That conſidering by the Succours they had lately received, they were now in a Condition to annoy the Enemy, and to hinder them, not only in their Approaches, but to oblige them to retire, by ruining their Batteries; without which Performance they ſhould never be at reſt; and that the ſooner this was put in Execution, the more it would be for the Service; by reaſon they were now in good Health, which Length of Time might prevent by Sickneſs or otherwiſe, and be reduced to the ſame Fate as before the Succours came. That the Aſſiſtance of the Boats from the Fleet would be of great Help on this Occaſion, in approaching their Batteries from behind, where their Reſerve of Horſe ſtand; keeping ſo that their Shot might reach a-ſhoar, and hinder them falling upon their Men; whereby they might promiſe to themſelves the deſired Succeſs, being able to be performed by Break of Day; and the Countenance of the Fleet being by them, would keep the Enemy more in Awe, not to draw all their Forces to one particlar Place. Beſides theſe Propoſitions, were the following Memorandums: That the Proviſions in the four Victuallers, being the principal Point they were to take care of; that Orders be given, that all Boats be employed in landing them immediately: That there was no Method ſettled for bringing over freſh Proviſions to the Gariſon from *Barbary*, which were much wanted for the Sick and Wounded: That they could not neceſſarily be without three Frigates; and to leave under their Protection all the Barcolongos till the coming back of the Fleet; not only to cover any Inſults from the Sea, but to ſend to and fro to *Portugal* with Intelligence, if any Emergencies ſhould happen. That all the Marines on board ſhould be ſent on Shoar and that all the Priſoners, conſiſting of eighty odd, and all unable Soldiers not fit for Service, taken off; and that the Baggage of Colonel *Gonzales* and others on board the *Pembroke*, may be ſent on Shoar, being of Importance, for the further Diſcovery of ſome Deſigns, contrary to the Publick Intereſt.

Upon this Memorial, Sir *John* called a Council of War the 16th, and it was reſolved to cover and facilitate any Attempt from the Gariſon, by ſallying out upon the Enemy: That they would ſtay there till the next Morning, and ſend the Boats mann'd and arm'd, to row along Shoar in the Bay; that the Ships of the

the Squadron being all ſoul, they did not think it ſafe to leave any more than one to attend the Gariſon, according to their Reſolution of the 14th Inſtant: That the Tranſports ſhould be ordered to receive the ſick and wounded Men in the Gariſon: But that having already a conſiderable Number of Priſoners in the Fleet, and a Part of them very ſick and dead; it was their Opinion, not to hazard the Infection of the Ships Companies by receiving any more. According to this Reſolution, he ordered all the Boats to be ready againſt Evening to aſſiſt the Gariſon, in attempting to diſlodge the Enemy from their Batteries: But before Night he received a Letter from the Prince, acquainting him, that having conſulted the Officers concerning it; they conſidered, that the Enemy being now more upon their Guard by the Squadron being preſent, than at any other Time; and the Boats not being able to come ſo near as was deſired, they had agreed to defer it.

The 17th in the Morning, there ſpringing up a ſmall Gale Eaſterly, Sir *John* weighed with the Fleet, and ſtood out of the Bay; but at 11 at Night it came freſh Weſterly, ſo he was forced to ſtand into the Bay again, and anchored on the Weſt Side. In the Morning he called a Council of War, to conſider, whether they ſhould keep the Sea with the Wind Weſterly, or remain in the Bay, but came to no Reſolution. The ſame Day the *Greenwich* arrived from the Weſtward, with the Lord *Donnegal* on board, and ſome Succours for the Gariſon. The 20th, a Flag of Truce from the Marquis *de Villadarias* came on board Sir *John*, to treat about the Exchange of Priſoners, and brought off 10 *Engliſhmen*, for which he ordered back nine *French* and 12 *Spaniſh* Priſoners who were moſt ſickly. The Day following he held another Council of War; wherein having conſidered the Advantages they had of Watering whilſt they lay in the Bay, and the Difficulties they ſhould be expoſed to by going to Sea with a Weſterly Wind, with ſuch a Number of Tranſports; it was reſolved to remain in the Bay whilſt the Wind ſhould be Weſterly, and to proceed to *Liſbon* the firſt Eaſterly Wind, purſuant to their former Reſolution: That Day the *Swallow* brought in a Prize of 200 Tons from *Newfoundland*, which was followed ſoon after by the *Centurion* with another Prize from *Martinico*, bound to *Marſeilles*; and ſome Days afterwards, in the Abſence of the Fleet, the *Star* Bomb and the *Swallow* Prize took in the Bay with their Boats a Brigantine, laden with Wine and Brandy for the Enemy's Camp.

The 23d, another Flag of Truce came on board the Admiral, from the Enemy's Camp; but nothing further could be agreed on, in Relation to the Exchange of Priſoners, unleſs Sir *John* would conſent to ſet the *French* and *Spaniards* at Liberty there, upon the Marquis giving the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Paſſports

Paſſports, to travel from *Cadiz*, *Seville* and other Places, to *Liſbon*; which he did not think reaſonable to comply with; not only in Conſideration, that the Way to be travelled was ſo diſproportionable, but of the immediate Service it would do the Enemy; not only by ſtrengthening their Camp, but better manning their Ships at *Cadiz*. Soon after the *Garland* was detatch'd to *Tetuan* for freſh Proviſions for the Gariſon, and towards the Evening the Wind coming Eaſterly, the Fleet weigh'd, and by Midnight got under Sail, and ſtood out of the Bay.

The 28th, at Night, Sir *John* detatch'd the *Centurion* with the utmoſt Diſpatch to *Lagos*, with the Prince of *Heſſe*'s Letters; one from himſelf to Mr. *Methuen* at *Liſbon*, and another to be forwarded to *England* to the Lord-High-Admiral. In that to the Ambaſſador, he acquainted his Excellency, that he left the Gariſon of *Gibraltar* in a very good Condition, and that he was coming to *Liſbon*; but before he had diſpatch'd the Ship with the Packet, the Wind coming about Southerly, by which he was doubtful he ſhould be forced back to *Gibraltar*; he further acquainted his Excellency with the State of their Proviſions, which would not laſt above a Month at fartheſt; ſo that if the Weſterly Winds (which might be expected at that Time of the Year) ſhould detain him any Time there, they ſhould want Proviſions; the Gariſon not having for above thirteen Weeks at ſhort Allowance, which would ſoon be conſumed, if he ſhould be obliged to draw from them: That therefore if there were any Men of War and Proviſions at *Liſbon*, he hoped Care would be taken to keep them from ſtarving. At the ſame Time he diſpatched the *Leopard* and *Tyger* before him to *Liſbon*, with Orders to apply themſelves to Mr. *Cheney* the Store-Keeper there for their being cleaned; for which they were to uſe their utmoſt Diſpatch; and as ſoon as they were ready, to proceed with the *Centurion* (who had the like Orders) to tranſport the *Portugueſe* Forces that were at *Lagos*. In his Letter likewiſe to the Lord-High-Admiral, after having acquainted his Highneſs with his Proceedings till he left *Gibraltar*, particularly in relation to the Reſolution of the Council of War of the 27th of *November*, where he gives the Reaſons of the Land-Officers, for diſagreeing in Opinion with him and the reſt of the Sea-Officers: He adds, this I am certain of, that nothing but the Reſolution and Courage of the Prince of *Heſſe* and ſome of the Officers could have preſerved the Place ſo long; for at our firſt coming, ſeveral of them were of Opinion that it was not tenable; and if I had not ſupplied them with 700 Men at ſeveral Times, to work Day and Night, and to guard the *New Mole*, they could not have maintained it: But that before he ſailed, for ſome Days the Enemy had very much abated their Cannonading and Bom-

barding the Town, which he believed proceeded from the Damage their Guns and Mortars had received in their Vents, by their inceſſant Firing; and according to the Report of Deſerters, who daily came in, they very much deſpaired of taking the Town, ſince they found that Monſieur *Ponti* with the *French* Fleet, contrary to their Expectation, did not attack him, nor ſucceed in his Deſign of intercepting the Forces; ſo that all their Dependance was now upon the Miſchief they expected to do with the new Mortars, which they lately receiv'd. He then goes on to relate the Proceedings of the Fleet; that after they left *Gibraltar* the 23d Inſtant, they had ſo little and variable Wind, they were got no further; and conſidering that their Wine had been out a Fortnight, and the Ships Companies put to the Allowance of one Quart of Water *per* Man a Day, and half their Allowance of Proviſions, (which began to cauſe Sickneſs in the Fleet) and that all the Ships were foul; he did not think it adviſeable to ſend three Ships, according to their Reſolution of the 14th Inſtant, to *Lagos*, for Forces there, till they were cleaned and re-victualled: For by an intercepted Letter from *Ceuta*, he underſtood that Monſieur *Du Caſſe* with ſix Sail from *Thoulon*, was daily expected to join thoſe at *Cadiz*. You will alſo ſee, (ſays he) by the Copy of the Conſul of *Algiers* Letter, what further Preparations they are making: It is indeed humbly my Opinion, that they will leave nothing unattempted that will contribute to the Recovery of *Gibraltar*, and therefore could wiſh that I might be re-inforced: For the *Dutch* are ſo very foul, (it being two Years ſince they were cleaned) that I am doubtful they will inſiſt upon their Neceſſity of Careening, before they go upon any further Service: But I ſhall be better able to judge upon my Arrival at *Liſbon*, what will be moſt proper to be done, for the Preſervation and Security of that Gariſon, and then be more particular on that Head. Laſtly, he concludes, by deſiring his Royal Highneſs would empower him to hold Courts Martial; there having been ſome Irregularities committed, which he did not think himſelf ſufficiently empowered to inquire into, by his Warrant when he was Rear-Admiral. But he intended however to proceed upon it, if he did not receive another very ſpeedily.

By theſe Letters we may underſtand the Condition of the Fleet and *Gibraltar*, when Sir *John* left that Place; after which he endeavoured to make the beſt of his Way to *Liſbon*; but finding himſelf very much retarded by the *Dutch*, who being foul, ſailed very heavily, the 2d of *January* he ſent the *Dutch* Admiral a Letter, to acquaint him, that the Wind being likely to retard their Paſſage, and his Preſence being abſolutely neceſſary at *Liſbon*, in order to get the Ships cleaned and refitted, that were to go upon immediate Service, and

to

to diſpatch ſome other Affairs of Moment; he deſired he would not take it ill, if by making the beſt of his Way thither, with four or five Ships, he was obliged to leave him behind; not but if he ſhould diſapprove of it, he would ſtay with him: But as this Motion was ſo much for the Benefit of the common Cauſe, it could not poſſibly meet with the leaſt Objection. Whereupon Sir *John* (being then about 50 Leagues to the Weſtward of the Southward Cape) ſtriking his Flag, with the *Nottingham*, *Swallow*, *Newcaſtle* and *Antilope*, purſued his Courſe to *Liſbon* privately; having appointed Captain *Hicks* with the reſt of the Squadron and Tranſports to keep Company with the *Dutch*. The 8th he got off of the Rock of *Liſbon*, upon which he re-hoiſted his Flag, and the next Day arrived in *Liſbon* River, where he was joined two Days afterwards by the reſt of the Fleet. This was the Concluſion of a very difficult and fatiguing Enterprize to all concerned in it, but more particularly to the Prince of *Heſſe* and Sir *John Leake*, whoſe unwearied Zeal and entire Harmony, was the only Means that could have preſerved the Place ſo long under ſo many Difficulties, againſt ſo powerful an Enemy. And now leaving *Gibraltar* (once more) in a State of Defence, with a good Gariſon; I ſhall conclude this Chapter. How they were reduced to the Neceſſity of a further Aſſiſtance from the Fleet, and were as fortunately relieved the ſecond Time, will be the Subject of the next.

CHAP. VIII.

Sir John *is made Vice-Admiral of the White: He relieves* Gibraltar *the ſecond Time, taking and deſtroying the* French *Squadron there; whereupon the Enemy raiſe the Siege, and he returns to* Liſbon.

THE maintaining *Gibraltar* againſt the Efforts of *France* and *Spain*, who had vowed to ſacrifice all to the regaining that Place, was an Act ſo great and glorious, that it may well find a Place amongſt the many Wonders of her Majeſty's Reign. For if we conſider the united Force of thoſe two Crowns to recover it, the inſuperable Difficulties the Gariſon laboured under, being weak and ſickly, almoſt all their Cannon diſmounted; a Breach without, and Conſpiracies within, with the Length of Time they defended themſelves againſt ſo powerful an Enemy; and the Fleet, from whence was all their Hopes, deſtitute of all Sort of Stores, and at length forced to keep the Sea for want of Anchors; ſhort of Provi-

ſions, as well as 1200 Men of their Complements, beſides many ſick; yet obliged to furniſh the Gariſon almoſt conſtantly with 700 Men, to do their Work and defend Part of their Outworks; and laſtly, in continual Apprehenſions of being attacked by a ſuperior Force of the Enemy: All theſe Difficulties, (augmented by the Seaſon of the Year) with the continual Fatigues, which the Prince of *Heſſe* and Sir *John Leake* ſuſtained, in taking the neceſſary Precautions for their Safety and Defence; and the Diſquietudes of Mind ariſing from the Uncertainty of Events: All theſe Circumſtances conſidered, this Action may claim the Pre-eminence, with the greateſt of our Naval Succeſſes that the War produced. But leaving the Gariſon of *Gibraltar* for a while, well provided with all Things, and a good Gariſon to defend themſelves; we muſt attend the Proceedings of the Fleet, which, as I obſerved in the Concluſion of the laſt Chapter, Sir *John* having left about 50 Leagues to the Weſtward of the Southward Cape, proceeded before in the *Nottingham*, with the *Swallow*, *Newcaſtle* and *Antilope*, and arrived at *Liſbon* the 9th of *January*. This he did, becauſe the *Dutch* being very foul, ſailed heavily, and he was impatient to be at *Liſbon*, to expedite the cleaning and refitting the Ships, that were to carry the Forces from *Lagos* to *Gibraltar*. As ſoon as he arrived, he preſently gave Notice to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, who immediately ſent him a Packet from *England*, which had arrived in his Abſence. This Packet brought him the agreeable News, that Rear-Admiral *Wiſhart* with four Sail, and a Convoy of Stores and Proviſions, might be expected at *Liſbon* in a ſhort Time; and likewiſe incloſed ſome Orders from the Lord-High-Admiral, for trying Captain *Legg*, and Captain *Kempthorne*, and for ſending two Ships to the *Brazils*. Two Days after, the reſt of the *Engliſh* Squadron with the Tranſports arrived; the *Dutch*, whom they were ordered to keep Company with to ſatisfy them, being ſenſible how much it might retard the publick Service, conſented they ſhould leave them, and make the beſt of their Way before, which indeed was very well judged; for the *Dutch* did not arrive till long afterwards.

The 13th, Sir *John* diſpatch'd a Letter to *England*, to give his Royal Highneſs an Account of his Proceedings ſince he left *Gibraltar*, the Circumſtauces of that Gariſon and the Condition of the Fleet. After a previous Account of his Arrival at *Liſbon*; and acknowledging the Receipt of his Highneſs's Orders; particularly as to that for ſending two Ships to *Brazil*; he ſays, the *Canterbury* (which was one of the Ships deſigned for that Service) not being ſheathed, nor any of his Squadron but the *Glouceſter* and *Aſſurance*, (the latter whereof was diſabled in her Maſts and very weak) he was doubtful whether he could comply with thoſe Orders till ſhe

had had a Survey and Repair, which he had not yet had Time to do: Neither did he find that the King of *Portugal*, according to the Ambaſſador's Account, was very preſſing for their ſpeedy going. He then proceeds to the Circumſtances of *Gibraltar*. In my laſt, ſays he, I acquainted you in what Condition I left that Place, and of my Apprehenſions of the Enemy's getting a Squadron of Ships together, ſolely for the Reduction thereof; and hearing ſince my Arrival here, that the Camp before it has been reinforced, do believe it abſolutely neceſſary to keep all the Ships with me, till I have a more certain and particular Account, or till the Place is recruited with more Men and Proviſions, to make it defenſible till the Arrival of the Grand Fleet; for 'tis humbly my Opinion, if any Part of the Squadron, according to my former Orders, ſhould be ſent to *England*; the Enemy has ſo good Intelligence from hence, that it will prove of ill Conſequence. That ſince his Arrival at *Liſbon*, he had been informed of 14 Sail of large Ships ſeen off the *Burlings*, ſtanding to the Southward Cape; ſince which Time they were ſeen off of the Southward Cape, by ſome Ships he left behind him; and that it was reported at *Liſbon*, that 10 Sail of *French* Men of War were got into *Cadiz*: That as to the Condition of his Squadron, it was not without the utmoſt Concern he muſt acquaint him, that the Companies of the Ships under his Command were very ſickly, and no convenient Place to be had a-ſhoar for their Reception, though he made the greateſt Application for one the laſt Time he was there: That he muſt likewiſe acquaint him, the Want of Ordnance Stores had been, and then was very great, and abundantly more than could be purchaſed there, occaſioned by their continual Compliance with the Demands of the Gariſon of *Gibraltar*: That he was alſo doubtful there was not Naval Stores ſufficient, eſpecially Sails, to put the Squadron in a Condition for the Sea; but the Expectation of Rear-Admiral *Wiſhart* coming thither, and bringing Stores and Proviſions with him, encouraged him to hope they ſhould not be put to any Inconveniency therein. In the mean Time he had ordered every Ship to take in a Month's Proviſions, and to be put into the readieſt and beſt Poſture, that the Circumſtances of Time, Place and Deficiency of Stores would admit of.

That the Surgeons of the Ships had generally complained of their Want of Medicines; he therefore deſired they might be furniſhed with them from *England*; proper Medicines being not to be purchaſed or otherways procured there, but at very extravagant Prices. That he had likewiſe enquired of the Agent Victualler, what Quantity of Proviſions there was in Store, and found only a Proportion for about 40 Days, for his Squadron and the Gariſon of *Gibraltar*, but for the Ships only might ſerve double that Time. Laſtly, that he intended to

have diſpatch'd a Frigate to *England*, as ſoon as he got out of the *Streights*, with his Letter of the 28th *Ultimo*, had not their general Want of Proviſions impeded it; particularly Bread was ſo ſhort, that ſeveral Ships had not to feed their Companies for above the Day they arrived there. That upon his Arrival at *Liſbon*, he found the *Tartar* was gone from thence to *Gibraltar* in Queſt of him, with ſome further Orders from his Royal Highneſs; but ſhe not being returned, he could not tell what Commands they contained.

The next Day the *Tartar* arrived, bringing his Royal Highneſs's Orders for ſending that Ship and the *Newport* to *Nice*; and ſome others, together with a Letter from Mr. *Clarke*, his Royal Highneſs's Secretary, acquainting him, that the Plate Fleet would be coming home that Winter from the *Weſt Indies* in ſingle Ships or very ſmall Numbers; and that therefore it was recommended to him, as ſoon as the Buſineſs of *Gibraltar* was over, to have Part of his Squadron looking out for them, about the Weſtward Cape; which in all Probability they would make. That all imaginable Care was taken to haſten more Ships, and that it was expected ſix or ſeven 70 Gun Ships would be ready to come to him, with Proviſions for 2000 Men for eight Months, in three Weeks Time or thereabouts. The following Days Sir *John* held ſeveral Courts Marſhal, to enquire into ſome Miſdemeanors; wherein Captain *Legg* of the *Antilope*, the Surgeon of the *Roebuck*, and the Chaplain of the *Aſſurance*, were diſmiſs'd the Service; the former for Breach of Orders, and the two others for Diſobedience to Command: Captain *Cook* and the Officers of the *Terror* Bomb, which was burnt by the Enemy at *Gibraltar*, were honourably acquitted. The Maſter of the *Centurion* was likewiſe tried and diſmiſſed the Service for Drunkenneſs and Neglect of Duty. About the ſame Time Sir *John* commiſſioned the *Swallow's Prize*, which being a new Ship, and ſailing extremely well, made a better and larger Sixth Rate than any we then had.

The 22d, purſuant to his Royal Highneſs's Orders, he diſpatched the *Tartar* and *Newport* to *Nice* and *Villa Frank*, to join the *Lyme* and *Mary* Gally, and two Ships of the States General, in order to aſſiſt the Duke of *Savoy*; with Orders to theſe four Ships, to put themſelves under the Command of the Senior Captain, who was to follow ſuch Orders as he ſhould receive from her Majeſty's Miniſter at the Court of *Savoy*, provided they were judged practicable at a Conſultation of the Officers of thoſe Ships and the States General. And he took the Opportunity to put ſome Ordnance Stores on board theſe Ships with Directions, if it could be done with Safety, to put them a-ſhoar for the Gariſon of *Gibraltar*; and likewiſe a Letter for the Prince of *Heſſe*, acquainting him, that he was preparing the three Ships to tranſport the *Portugueſe* Troops from

from *Lagos* to *Gibraltar*, and making the greateſt Diſpatch in getting the reſt of his Squadron in a Condition for the Sea. Whilſt Sir *John* was thus vigilant for the Safety of *Gibraltar*, the Enemy were no leſs active and reſolved to wreſt it from the Hands of the Confederates. Indeed, upon their receiving Advice of the ſafe Arrival of the Succours to reinforce that Gariſon, they began to think it a doubtful Undertaking; and there were ſeveral Councils held at *Madrid*, to conſider whether they ſhould raiſe the Siege or not: The *Spaniards* were for giving it over, but the *French* repreſented the Honour of King *Philip* was ſo nearly concerned in that Affair, that all poſſible Means ought to be uſed to take the Place: King *Philip* at the ſame Time made the Count *Thouloufe* a Knight of the Golden Fleece, and ſent him a Letter, thanking him for what he had done for the Security of the Coaſt of *Spain*, of which he might be ſtiled the Deliverer, and that he expected yet greater Effects of his Services; namely, the Reduction of *Gibraltar*. That he expected every Moment to hear the Baron *Pointis* was arrived there, and did not doubt but he would gain a conſiderable Advantage over the Enemy, if they durſt ſtand him.

Theſe Preparations of the Enemy, Sir *John* was adviſed of the 23d Inſtant, by a *French* Ship from *Cadiz*, with 150 *Engliſh* Priſoners ſent from thence to *Liſbon*, to be exchanged for *French* and *Spaniſh* Priſoners on board the Fleet: By theſe he was informed, that three Days before, when they left *Cadiz*, Monſieur *Pointis*'s Squadron, conſiſting of 14 Men of War, four Galleons fitted for Service, with two or three Frigates, and four Fireſhips, were above the *Puntals*; and that they hourly expected to be joined by eight Sail, that were ſaid to be at *Malaga*, and were then to proceed to *Gibraltar*. The following Day the *Dutch* arrived, 14 Days after the *Engliſh* Squadron with the Tranſports, and 16 Days after Sir *John*'s Arrival at *Liſbon*; which ſufficiently ſhews, how difficult and almoſt impoſſible it was to purſue any Action with Succeſs upon an Emergency, where they were to confederate, and conſequently how much he was impeded by them in all his Undertakings.

The 25th, an Expreſs (by the Way of *Faro*) arrived in five Days from *Gibraltar*, with Letters from the Prince of *Heſſe* and Brigadier *Shrimpton*; giving an Account, that they had Powder in that Gariſon but for 12 Days; that the Enemy had receiv'd a Reinforcement of near 4000 *French* Troops; that there were above 900 ſick Men in the Gariſon, which had not above 2000 private Men that could do Duty; that the Enemy had brought their Works within 10 Paces of the Round Tower, which was very much ſhattered; and that they had made a Breach above it, where thirty Men could enter abreaſt; and that the Curtain and new Battery were battered, enough to

enter at; preſſing therefore very much for a ſpeedy Supply of all Sorts of Ammunition. Further, that they had ſeen from *Gibraltar* Hill, a Squadron of Ships with one Flag, paſs by that Place to the Weſtward. Upon this Occaſion Sir *John* called a Council of War the ſame Day, and it was reſolved to ſend the *Leopard* and *Roebuck*, (being the only two Ships that were clean and in a Condition for the Sea) directly to *Gibraltar* with 300 Soldiers, and as much Powder and Ordnance Stores as they could take in; but that they ſhould in their Way call at *Tangier*, to inform themſelves of the *French* having a Squadron of Ships before *Gibraltar*; and if they had, they were to return to *Liſbon* and not run the Hazard of being intercepted. And he gave theſe further Directions to the Commanders of thoſe Ships, that if the *French* Squadron ſhould be in *Gibraltar* Bay, they were to hire a Boat or Veſſel, to take the Powder and Ordnance Stores in, and by Favour of the Night convey them to *Gibraltar*: Likewiſe a few Days after, he diſpatched a Tranſport with Powder and Stores, giving them the like Orders to proceed to *Gibraltar*, under Convoy of the *Tyger*: He likewiſe took this Opportunity to ſend a Cheſt of Money to Mr. *Jeſreel Jones*, for the Redemption of Captives, purſuant to his Inſtructions from Sir *George Rooke*; but the Powder which was to have been ſent likewiſe, Sir *John* was obliged to make uſe of to ſupply the Gariſon of *Gibraltar*, beſides all that could be ſpared out of the Fleet. And finding that there had been greater Promiſes made than he had Orders to comply with, he wrote to Sir *Cloudſley Shovel*, who was expected with the grand Fleet from *England*, that he might bring with him what was neceſſary. Accordingly, when Sir *Cloudſley* arrived, that Affair was adjuſted, and the *French Proteſtant* Captives ſet at Liberty. In the mean Time the Equipment of the Squadron was haſtened with the utmoſt Diſpatch; but the *Dutch* declared, their Ships would not be in a Condition to go to Sea till they were careened, which was true; for it was obſerved in their Paſſage from *Gibraltar*, that the heavieſt of the Tranſports ſailed better than any of the *Dutch* Men of War; it having been two Years ſince ſome of them had been cleaned, and moſt of them being ſheathed, Part thereof was dropp'd off, and the reſt hanging looſe, was a great Hindrance to their Sailing; and this would have prevented all the Succeſs which followed, had Sir *John* kept them Company, as in Strictneſs they might have inſiſted upon. I mentioned before, that a *French* Ship from *Cadiz*, called the *John* and *William*, had arrived at *Liſbon*, with a Letter from the *French* Commiſſary at *Cadiz*, and 150 *Engliſh* Priſoners; purſuant to an Agreement between the Marquis *de Villadarias* and Sir *John Leake*, when he was at *Gibraltar*; on his Word of Honour to ſet at Liberty a like Number of theirs at *Liſbon*.

This

This Sir *John* had complied with on his Part, having ſet that Number of *French* and *Spaniards* at Liberty a Week before, with Paſſports, to travel by Land to their reſpective Habitations; and therefore, as ſoon as the Ship arrived, to prevent the Men getting on Shoar, he ordered all the *Engliſh* Seamen from on board the *French*, to the ſeveral Ships of the Squadron. This the *Portugueſe* ſeemed offended at, alledging, that he had taken them out of the *French* Ship, without their Leave; and on that Pretence put the Ship under an Arreſt. At this Proceeding he was not a little ſurpriſed, and therefore immediately wrote to his Excellency Mr. *Methuen*, deſiring him to enquire the Cauſe of it; for that he did not think himſelf obliged to aſk any Leave to take her Majeſty's Subjects where he ſhould find them, eſpecially in the preſent Caſe, where if he had not done it immediately, they would have been all on Shoar, and the Service never the better, at a Time when they had the utmoſt Occaſion for them. When Mr. *Methuen* had cleared up this Particular, then they pretended there were ſeveral private Letters from *Cadiz* brought in the Ship, for the *French* in thoſe Parts: And though no Proof of it appeared, yet under that Pretext, the *French* Commander, and likewiſe ſeveral *Engliſh* Commanders of Ships, were unjuſtly detained in Priſon and almoſt ſtarved for want of Proviſions: The latter indeed after much Sollicitation were ſet at Liberty; but the former were detained as Priſoners, contrary to the Faith of Nations; and it was the more regretted by Sir *John* as he had promiſed them ſafe Conduct by Sea, in order to ſave the Priſoners the Fatigue of ſo long a March by Land. All that could be done on his Part he did; for before he ſailed from *Liſbon*, he ſent his own and the *Dutch* Admiral's Paſſes to the *French* Commander, accompanied with a Letter to the *French* Commiſſary. Of this and other barbarous Treatment of the *French* Priſoners by the *Portugueſe*, the Commiſſary juſtly complained in his Letter, ſent by the next Ship that came with Priſoners to *Liſbon*. At length with great Difficulty, the *French* Commander obtained his Liberty and returned to *Cadiz*. Nor did Sir *John* labour under leſs Difficulties from the Court of *Portugal*, with reſpect to Supplies of all Kinds; which as Allies they were to furniſh; for every Thing they could do to diſtreſs and diſgrace us they did. On the other Hand, Sir *John* did not meet with that Unanimity in his Proceedings with the *Engliſh* Envoy, as might have been expected from a Perſon in his Station, and on whoſe Endeavours with the Court of *Portugal*, either the Furtherance or Delay of our Naval Affairs at *Liſbon*, muſt in a great Meaſure depend; though the Blame might perhaps only fall upon the Admiral. Certain it is, the neceſſary Supplies expected, and that ought to have been given by the *Portugueſe*, was little or not at all complied with. And

therefore

therefore it was the more ſurprizing, when the Admiral was informed, by a Letter from Mr. *Methuen*, as a Complaint of the Court of *Portugal*, that the Refitting the Squadron was not carried on with that Vigour they expected, when in Fact there was more Expedition uſed than had ever been known at *Liſbon*. If there was indeed ſuch a Complaint, it was very ungrateful and very diſcouraging to Sir *John*; but it ſeems rather to have been made or improved to a Complaint by the Envoy; and in this Light he took it; for in his Anſwer, without regarding it in the leaſt as a Complaint of the Court of *Portugal*, he addreſſes himſelf directly to the Ambaſſador: How eaſily your Excellency may imagine (ſays he) Ships can be cleaned, victualled and fitted, I cannot tell; but becauſe you ſeem to be ſurpriſed that the Ships are not ready, I ſhall only take Leave to tell you, that I want no Spur to forward me in my Duty.

The 9th of *February*, the *Greenwich* was diſpatch'd to convoy ſome Veſſels with Ammunition of the King of *Portugal*'s, to *Vienna* and *Oporto*. The 13th, the *Newcaſtle*, *Centurion*, and *Swallow* were careened, and compleatly ready to ſail for *Lagos*, to take in the Soldiers for *Gibraltar*, but were prevented ſailing, for want of the Proviſions being ſent on board, by the Neglect of the Agent Victualler; which occaſioned Sir *John* to ſend a reprimanding Letter to him; telling him, he was much concerned, that the ſeveral Meſſages he had ſent him to haſten the Proviſions aboard the Ships bound to *Gibraltar*, was no better complied with. I don't know what you may believe the Conſequence (ſays he) of ſtopping them 24 Hours; but it is my Opinion, the Preſervation of *Gibraltar* may depend upon it; or elſe he ſhould not have given himſelf and him ſo much Trouble as he had done to haſten them away. And as there was no Want of Boats to be hired to perform that Service, ſo he could not ſee how he could excuſe himſelf for ſo great a Neglect. This Letter however ſpurr'd him up, ſo that with much Difficulty, the Proviſions and Stores were embarked, and the Ships ſailed the next Day for *Gibraltar*. The 15th, having ordered the *Nottingham* to be cleaned; he ſtruck his Flag there, and hoiſted it on board the *Pembroke*: Two Days after in the Evening, a *Genoeſe* Cette arrived in five Days from *Gibraltar*, giving an Account, that a Squadron of 19 Sail of *French* Ships, had been ſeen ſtanding from *Cadiz* to the Southward, and that they were expected at *Gibraltar*. Upon this Advice, Sir *John* put a Stop to the *Nottingham*'s cleaning, and the reſt of the Ships, and ordered the Guns and Proviſions to be taken on board again, and the Ships to be got ready with all Expedition: But the *Dutch* were very backward, having but two Ships cleaned and ready for Service; and two others cleaned, but would not be ready in leſs than

than five Days; and the *Dutch* Admiral's own Ship having ſprung her Main Maſt, endeavouring to clean; it was impoſſible they could be ready in a reaſonable Time. The Day following, the *Leopard*, *Tyger*, *Garland* and *Lark* (and five Sail of Victuallers that had been left behind at *Gibraltar*) arrived, having landed the Powder, Ordnance Stores and Soldiers, before they came, and left the *Roebuck* to attend the Gariſon; bringing Sir *John* a Letter from the Prince of *Heſſe*, acknowledging the Receipt of them; and likewiſe deſiring a Quantity of dry Proviſions; having of that Sort left for two Months, and the other for three or thereabouts at ſhort Allowance for the Men then in Gariſon. The 21ſt, at ſeven at Night, he received another Letter from his Highneſs, bearing Date the 15th of *February*, (New Stile) acquainting him, that Monſieur *Ponti* was come in there with 14 Men of War and two Fireſhips, that Morning about 10 o'Clock; ſo he hoped he would make all the Haſte he could to their Relief, they being reſolved to try a general Aſſault, which he hoped Sir *John* would prevent: That the Squadron lay as he did when he expected Monſieur *Ponti* there, at the Weſt Side of the Bay, in the ſame Place where his Ship did ride. Upon this Advice, a Council of War being called the next Morning on board the *Pembroke*; it was reſolved to be abſolutely neceſſary to take ſome Land-Forces on board, for the better Manning of the *Engliſh* Squadron (above 800 Men ſhort of their Complement) which being done, and a Supply of Ordnance Stores (very much wanted) put on board; it was reſolved, without a Moment's Loſs of Time to proceed to their Relief. For this End Sir *John* waited on the Ambaſſador and the Lord *Gallaway*, in order to get Land-Forces to make up the Deficiency of their Complements; as alſo 600 Barrels of Powder, and a conſiderable Quantity of Ordnance Stores, which could only be ſupplied out of the King of *Portugal*'s Magazines, that no Time might be loſt in the Relief of *Gibraltar*. All this he obtained the Promiſe of, and likewiſe of eight *Portugueſe* Men of War, four of which were then ready. With Relation to the Forces, ſoon after his firſt Arrival at *Liſbon*, he had acquainted the *Portugueſe* and the Lord *Gallaway*, that if he ſhould be obliged to go to the Relief of *Gibraltar* again, there would be a Neceſſity of taking ſome Land-Forces on board, for the better Manning the Ships; and that as ſoon as the Service was over, he would put them into that Gariſon, as he intended to do now; but the *Portugueſe* could not be prevailed upon to part with any of the *Engliſh* Forces, till now this laſt Advice of the Danger of *Gibraltar*: And for the Ordnance Stores, all that could now be got from them was Powder only, with Match and Canvaſs for Cartridges; for the reſt, Sir *John* was obliged to buy them up a-ſhoar as well

as he could; though the whole City would not furniſh him with one Half he had occaſion for, which was no ſmall Quantity; having ſupplied the Gariſon of *Gibraltar*, before they left that Place, with all their Muſquetoons; the greateſt Part of their Muſkets, Muſket-Shot, Flints, Cartouch-Boxes, and other ſmall Stores in the Squadron, and all their Powder except 25 Rounds each Ship. The ſame Day the *Newcaſtle*, *Centurion* and *Swallow* arrived from *Lagos*, having, purſuant to their Inſtructions, taken on board the Forces at that Place to tranſport to *Gibraltar*; but upon Advice of the Enemy's Squadron in the Bay, it being impoſſible to proceed thither with the Forces and Stores they had on board for that Gariſon; they diſembark'd the Troops again, and came directly to *Liſbon*.

There was one Thing at this Time, which at firſt gave Sir *John* ſome Uneaſineſs, and might have fruſtrated the whole Expedition, if the Court of *Portugal* had not been ſomething more conſiderate and pliable, then they had yet appeared upon any other Occaſion. I have mentioned above, that the *Portugueſe* had offered to join with the Confederates, a Squadron of eight Sail of their Men of War. Now by the 19th and 20th Articles of the Treaty of Alliance, offenſive and defenſive; between the Emperor, the Queen of *Great-Britain*, the King of *Portugal*, and the States-General. It was provided [a], that whenever the Auxiliary Ships of the two Maritime Powers, upon any Occaſion joined thoſe of *Portugal*, the *Portugueſe* Commander in Chief was to command the Whole. Whether this was intended to take Place upon any other Occaſion, than of joining them with ſome Ships upon Convoys or upon an Expedition to their Dominions beyond Sea, I ſhall not particularly enquire; but they ſeemed to underſtand it in the largeſt Senſe; which Sir *John* being apprehenſive of, and remembring what Difficulties had attended all his Applications

[a] Article 19th. That all the Auxiliary Ships ſhould be ſubject to the King of *Portugal*'s Command, ſo as to perform what they are commanded by his Majeſty: and if it happen that they are ſent to the Dominions and Provinces belonging to *Portugal* beyond Sea, they ſhall exerciſe what the King's Vice-Roys and Governors ſhall require of them in his Majeſty's Name.

20th. Whenever theſe Auxiliary Ships of the Maritime Powers, are upon any Occaſion to join with the *Portugueſe* Men of War; the Commander of the *Portugueſe* Fleet or Men of War ſhall make the Signals and call the Councils of War, which ſhall be had in the Ship of the *Portugueſe* Commander; and the ſaid Commander of the *Portugueſe* Fleet or Men of War, ſhall iſſue out the Orders for the Execution of what has been reſolved in the Council of War, which ſhall be executed accordingly, by the Commanders of the Auxiliary Ships.

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to that Court by our Ambaſſador, who was deſirous beyond Meaſure to pleaſe them in every Thing, and too much inclined to perplex him. I ſay, theſe Reflections gave him ſome Uneaſineſs; the Succeſs of the preſent Expedition, and conſequently the Fate of *Gibraltar* depending upon it: For if the *Portugueſe* commanded, he muſt conduct it nevertheleſs, or all would be loſt; if he diſputed the Command, *Gibraltar* (which lay at his Heart) might in the mean Time be loſt, and all the Blame fall upon him. If he did not diſpute the Honour of his Flag, he might be charged with betraying the Honour of his Country. It was not (conſidering former Inſtances) without Reaſon, if he thought it look'd like a Snare to bring him into a Strait, unavoidably to err one Way or the other; or at leaſt to diſhonour the *Britiſh* Flag by force of the Treaty, which he was reſolved to avoid if poſſible. It was prudent therefore to have his Excellency's Sentiments upon it; who perhaps might underſtand the Meaning of thoſe Articles, and the Senſe of the Miniſtry at Home upon them, better than himſelf, at leaſt he was willing to think ſo. He therefore wrote to Mr. *Methuen*, deſiring to know of him, what Poſt the *Portugueſe* Men of War that were to go with the Fleet expected, and were to have by the Treaty; that if it was to command in Chief, in his Opinion they had better be without them; deſiring his Excellency would ſettle that Matter; for he believed their being mixed with our Ships in the Line of Battle, would be the only Way to perform the Service they were intended for. By this, he put the Affair wholly upon the Envoy, reſolving to be entirely governed by his Opinion in it; when, I conceive, he thought Sir *John* would act quite otherwiſe: By this Means the Buſineſs took a much happier Turn than was at firſt or at leaſt ſo ſuddenly expected; upon the Conſideration, no Doubt, of the ill Conſequences which muſt have attended any other Meaſures: Beſides, the *Portugueſe* well knew their own Incapacity to command in Chief, being but ill qualified to fight, or even to navigate their own Ships: I am apt to think therefore, their own Officers waved a Command, which could ſerve only to ſhew their Preſumption and render their Ignorance more conſpicuous, and probably be a Means to fruſtrate the Service they were to go upon. Wherefore they came into Sir *John*'s own Propoſal; and for that End, appointed only private Captains to command their Ships, that they might be incorporated into the Line with the *Engliſh*: But though the *Portugueſe* agreed to this Method, it was done as a Conceſſion, and by not appointing a *Portugueſe* Admiral to command their Ships under the *Engliſh* Flag, it ſhewed plainly, they underſtood they were empowered by the Articles of the Treaty to command the Whole; and that it was ſo meant and intended to be at the Ratification

Ratification of the Treaty. It will be no Salvo to our Honour, to ſay the *Portugueſe* never actually aſſerted this Command at Sea over our Flag, and a much poorer Shift, to pretend, that the Articles were ſo looſely worded as to admit of Diſpute.

The 25th, Sir *John* re-hoiſted his Flag on board the *Nottingham*. The next Day the *Greenwich* with ſome Merchant-Ships from *Vienna* and *Oporto* arrived, as did the following Day Sir *Thomas Dilks* from *England*, with the *Revenge*, *Warſpight*, *Bedford*, *Expedition* and *Hampton-Court*, and a Fleet of Merchant-Ships, Victuallers and Storeſhips. By Sir *Thomas Dilks*, Sir *John* received a Commiſſion from his Royal Highneſs, appointing him Vice-Admiral of the White Squadron of her Majeſty's Fleet, and Commander in Chief of her Majeſty's Fleet in the *Mediterranean*: Accordingly he ſtruck the Blue Flag on board the *Nottingham*, and hoiſted the White Flag at the Fore-top-maſt-head the 1ſt of *March*, on board the *Hampton-Court*, a 3d Rate of 70 Guns. The following Day he held a Council of War; wherein it was reſolved, that the Tranſportation of the *Portugal* Forces at *Lagos* deſigned for *Gibraltar*, ſhould be deferred till they had relieved that Place; and that it was for her Majeſty's Service, that the Reinforcement of Ships expected from *England*, be ordered to proceed after them. The ſame Day in the Afternoon the *Dutch* Regiment was embarked on board the Fleet, and the 600 Barrels of Gunpowder were delivered from the King of *Portugal*'s Magazine. The 3d, he weighed and run out into the Bay of *Wares*, and was ſaluted by the *Portugueſe* Commodore with ſeven Guns; but ſeveral of the Squadron could not follow him. The next Day he iſſued out the Line of Battle and Rendezvous, with particular Directions for the Fleet's going into *Gibraltar* Bay, if they ſhould ſurprize the Enemy there, *viz.* That if they had Intelligence that the Enemy were in *Gibraltar* Bay, and the Wind Weſterly, that they were to ſail in a Line of Battle a-breaſt of each other, after they were paſt *Tangier*, till they got near the Length of *Cape Cabarita*; and if the Enemy ſhould be at an Anchor on the Weſt Side the Bay, that they could not weather them, the Ship that lead with the Starboard Tacks, was, as ſoon as ſhe got the Length of the ſaid Cape, to ſpring her Luff and endeavour to get a-head of them, every Ship following in a Line a-head of each other, till the Van got a-head of the innermoſt Ship; and then to make the Signal for tacking and to tack accordingly; and as ſoon as he was about, he was to lay his Head Sails to the Maſt, every Ship a-ſtern doing the ſame, obſerving to tack when the Ship a-head tack'd; and to endeavour all that was poſſible to annoy the Enemy, by either laying them a-thwart the Hawſe, or otherwiſe boarding them before they could ſet

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their Sails; which Method was to be obſerved if they cut or ſlipp'd, if any Advantage was to be gained before they could form their Line of Battle. The ſame Day Part of the *Engliſh* Regiment embarked; and the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador and my Lord *Gallaway* came on board the *Hampton-Court*, to wiſh Sir *John* a good Voyage. The 5th, the reſt of the *Engliſh* Regiment being embarked, he weighed with the Fleet and endeavoured to ſail, but it proved ſo calm he was obliged to anchor again: However, the following Day he ſailed with the whole Fleet under his Command, conſiſting of 35 Sail of the Line, *viz.* 23 *Engliſh*, eight *Portugueſe*, and four *Dutch*; the Place of Rendezvous being four or five Leagues Weſt from *Cape Spartel*; and if Sir *John* ſhould not be there, nor any Orders at *Tangier* to the contrary, to proceed directly to *Gibraltar*: At the ſame Time the *Newcaſtle* was ordered to proceed before to *Lagos*, to take on board Mr. *Methuen*. The 8th, Sir *John* drew the Fleet into a Line of Battle, to try how the *Portugueſe* would behave, who indeed anſwered his Expectation, he being obliged to bring too for Half an Hour, to give them Time to get into the Line; which muſt have produced fatal Conſequences had it been to proceed upon Action, as he expected very ſhortly to do. The next Day at Noon, being got in Sight of *Cape Spartel*, he detatch'd the *Tyger* and *Leopard* before him to *Tangier* for Intelligence of the Enemy; and finding he had not Day enough to reach *Gibraltar*, he lay by that Night, to prevent being diſcovered from the *Spaniſh* Shoar, that he might ſurprize the Enemy in the Bay early the next Morning.

The Weather continued fair till after Midnight; then the Wind flew from W. N. W. to S. W. with much Rain and thick Weather, which hindred his making Sail ſo ſoon as he intended; but towards Morning, as the Day appeared, he found he was within three Leagues of *Cape Cabarita*: Hereupon, he made the Signal for the Fleet to bear away in a Line of Battle: But the *Leopard*, whom he had ſent to *Tangier* for Intelligence, coming into the Fleet, acquainted him there was only 12 Sail of the Enemy's Ships in the Bay; upon which he ordered the Fleet to chaſe, and at Half an Hour paſt Five, being within a League of *Cape Cabarita*, diſcovered only five Sail making out of the Bay; and a Gun being fired at them from *Europa-Point*, Sir *John* concluded the Gariſon was ſafe and gave chace to them. They proved to be the *Magnanime* of 74 Guns, the *Lis Vaeſcan* of 88, the *Ardent* of 66, the *Arrogant* of 60, and the *Marquis* of 56. At firſt they made for the *Barbary* Shoar, but finding our Ships gained upon them, they ſtood for the *Spaniſh* Shoar. At 9 o'Clock Sir *Thomas Dilks* in the *Revenge*, with the *Newcaſtle*, *Antilope*, *Expedition* and a *Dutch* Man of War got within half Gun-ſhot of the

the *Arrogant*, and after very little Reſiſtance ſhe ſtruck; the *Newcaſtle*'s Boat getting firſt on board her; the reſt of the Ships leaving her in the Poſſeſſion of the *Newcaſtle*, followed the Chace of the other four. Soon after the *Warſpight*, *Canterbury*, *Leopard*, and the *Dutch* Rear-Admiral engaged the *Lis*; and as others came to their Aſſiſtance, the three former ſtretch'd a-head and engaged the other three of the Enemy's Ships. About half an Hour paſt 10, Sir *John* got along-ſide the *Lys*, within Piſtol-ſhot, and engaged her with his Guns double ſhotted, till he ſhot a-head, his Fore-Yard being unluckily ſhot in two juſt by the Slings; ſo that there was no trimming the Head-Sails otherwiſe then they ſtood; having received no other Damage, but three Men killed and one wounded: But the Wind being but two Points on the Quarter, the Misfortune did not hinder him from following the other three, where was the greateſt Want of Ships to prevent their running a-ſhoar; there being then only four Ships a-head of him, and he made no Doubt but there was enough a-ſtern to take care of the *Lys*. Within an Hour and Half he got within Gun-ſhot of the *Magnanime*, commanded by the Baron *Ponti*; but ſhe run a-ſhoar with ſuch Force, that all her Maſts came by the Board as ſoon as ſhe ſtruck; only her Hull from the Taffrel to the Midſhips remaining above Water: But he had the Opportunity before ſhe run a-ſhoar, of giving her a Broadſide or two, which killed and wounded a great many Men; and amongſt the latter Baron *Ponti* himſelf; of which, and the Diſappointment, he died ſhortly after. Soon after this, Sir *John* got within Piſtol-ſhot of the *Ardent*; at the ſame Time that a *Dutch* Man of War ſheering along her Side, entred his Men and turn'd her from the Shoar ſo timely, that the *French* Ship's Stern touched the Ground; but the Way ſhe had, filled her Sails the other Way, ſo that ſhe got off again. The other Ship taken by the *Dutch* was the *Marquis*.

Whilſt all this was doing, the reſt of the Ships which were a-ſtern kept plying the three deck'd Ship the *Lys*; which made ſuch Confuſion, that it was thought our own Shot did more Miſchief than the Enemy's, nor was it poſſible to be regulated; having ſuch freſh Way, there was no ſending a Boat with Orders. When ſhe run a-ſhoar Sir *John* was about two Miles to the Eaſtward of her; and for half an Hour before, ſhe was ſo diſabled in her Sails and Rigging, and made ſo little Reſiſtance, that if any Ship had laid her aboard, ſhe would have yielded; which Sir *John* (in his Letter to the Admiralty upon this Engagement) obſerves to have been ſo general a Fault in the Captains of the Ships that engaged, he could not tell who to blame; the Captains excuſing themſelves, that either they were prevented by other Ships, or were ſo much diſabled in their Rigging, that they could not command their own;

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though it was thought the chiefeſt Reaſon was, they expected every Minute ſhe would yield, or her Maſts come by the Board; and indeed it was a Miracle they ſtood. As for the *Portugueſe*, thoſe that durſt get any Thing near, fired their Guns with ſo little Judgment, that they did more Harm than Good; and one of them miſtaking the *Pembroke* for the *Lys*, gave her a Broadſide, but did little Damage. If Sir *John* had happened to have been two or three Leagues farther from the Land, it would have been impoſſible for any of them to have run a-ſhoar: Or if his own Ship had not been ſo unluckily diſabled, the *Lys* had certainly been taken; which however might have been done notwithſtanding, had our Ships performed their Orders as well as the *Dutch*; which was, to take the Enemy by laying them athwart the Hawſe, or otherwiſe by boarding them: But how ill theſe Orders were performed has been ſufficiently explained. As to the Baron *Ponti*'s Ship the *Magnanime*, it was almoſt impoſſible to prevent her going a-ſhoar, few of our Ships being able to come up with her. The Place where theſe two Ships run a-ſhoar, was upon the Coaſt of *Spain* near *Marbella*. After the Engagement, Sir *John* having repaired the Damage he had received, and made a Shift to get farther off the Shoar, ordered ſome Ships in to endeavour to burn the *Lys*, and what was left of the other; but the Enemy prevented them, by ſetting them on fire that Evening themſelves. He likewiſe ordered the *Tyger* away to *Gibraltar*, with the agreeable News of his Succeſs. The reſt of the Enemy's Ships that were at *Gibraltar*, were drove from their Anchors ſome Days before, and it was believed were in *Malaga* Road; wherefore he looked in there, and at the ſame Time forced a-ſhoar and burnt a *French* Merchant Ship of 300 Tons; but the Men of War which had put in there, having heard the Firing when he engaged the other five, thought that was no ſecure Harbour, and cutting their Cables, made the beſt of their Way to *Toulon*. The 15th, Sir *John* ordered the *Canterbury* and *Swallow* to take on board 400 Soldiers, and carry them to *Gibraltar* to reinforce the Gariſon: At the ſame Time he detach'd the *Lark* to cruize off *Veles Malaga*, to look for a *French* Flyboat, which he was informed was coming from *Toulon*, laden with Ordnance Stores for the Camp before *Gibraltar*.

The Wind continuing Weſterly, and for ſome Days very bad Weather, drove the Fleet as high as *Requeta*, where they anchored 48 Hours, and in that Time were joined by the *Centurion*, *Leopard* and *Lark* from their Cruize, and likewiſe by the *Expedition* and *Panther*, who had chaſed a-ſhoar and burnt, near *Cape de Gat*, a *French* Ship of 30 Guns, bound for the *Weſt-Indies*, and the *Aſſurance* and *Bedford* took two Cettees. Sir *John* put to Sea again, but by Reaſon of the contrary

trary Winds could not reach *Gibraltar* till the 31ſt of *March*, having been joined in his Paſſage two Days before, by the *Kent*, *Orford* and *Eagle* from *England*. He had no ſooner anchored in *Gibraltar* Bay, but his Highneſs the Prince of *Heſſe* ſent him the following Letter.

'SIR,

'I Expected with great Impatience this good Opportunity, 'to expreſs my hearty Joy of your great and good Succeſs 'you had at this your ſecond appearing off this Place; which 'I hope hath been the final Stroke towards our Relief; the 'Enemy ſince five Days having begun to withdraw their heavy 'Cannon; being the Effects only to be aſcribed to your good 'Conduct and Care: It is only to you the Publick owes and 'will owe ſo many great and happy Conſequences of it: And 'I in particular cannot enough expreſs my hearty Thanks and 'Obligations I lie under, &c.

'*I am with great Sincerity and Reſpect*, &c.

'GEORGE, *Prince of* Heſſe.'

His Highneſs had likewiſe provided a Gold Cup againſt Sir *John*'s Arrival, which he preſented him, as a Token of his Gratitude and Eſteem for his Perſon and Services; till it ſhould be in his Power to acknowledge it by ſomething better worth his Acceptance. It is certain the Prince had contracted a great Eſteem for Sir *John*, by the Friendſhips which had paſſed between them during this Siege; and had his Power been equal to his generous Spirit, he would have thought no Favours too great to have conferred upon him.

Thus, when the *French* Court expected to hear of the Reduction of *Gibraltar*, according to the Promiſes of the Marſhal *de Theſſe*, they were very much ſurpriſed to receive an Account of Monſieur *Ponti*'s Diſgrace, in a Letter from himſelf, dated from *Marbella* the 22d of *March*, New Style. It was my good Fortune, ſays he, that the bad Weather ſeparated ſo many Ships from me, otherwiſe the more I had had, the more I had loſt: Thoſe that abuſe the King's Name, and wrote and cauſed others to write to me, that I ſhould not be afraid, nor ſuffer myſelf to be ruled by the Motives of vain Fears, will perhaps be more aſtoniſhed than myſelf at the Ruin of this Squadron, the Loſs of which they cannot hinder from being imputed to themſelves. The Marſhal *de Theſſe* being afraid that Monſieur *Ponti* would lay that Misfortune at his Door, did not fail to write to the Court to juſtify the Conduct of that Admiral. It is very true, ſays he, the Baron *de Ponti* has often

often ſolicited me to give him Leave to return to *Toulon*; but the Orders I had from your Majeſty, and his own imported, that we ſhould conform ourſelves to the Will of the Catholick King. The Council of *Spain* ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the Retreat of our Ships. Expreſs Orders were ſent to me from *Madrid*, to detain them in the Bay; the Baron *de Ponti* complained of it, and proteſted againſt it, well foreſeeing what would follow; and being very diligent and vigilant, he took all poſſible Precautions to ſecure himſelf from being ſurprized by the Enemy. Notwithſtanding which, the Enemy advanced without being diſcovered, either by the Scouts that cruized at the Mouth of the *Streights*, or by the Centinels poſted on the Coaſt, and on the neighbouring Towers, and ſurprized your Majeſty's Ships, *&c.* After this unhappy Accident, ſeeing the Place was ſupplied a-new with Refreſhments and all other Things, I gave Orders for an Intrenchment to be made; and I diſpatch'd the Engineer *Renaud*, to repreſent to your Majeſty, as alſo to the Catholick King, the Impoſſibility of continuing the Siege. The Troops are fatigued, a great many ſick, and Ammunition begins to be wanted; and I have received Advice from *Malaga*, that the Enemy's Squadron is before *Ceuta*, and has ſome Deſign againſt that Place, *&c.*

Beſides the Apprehenſions they were under for *Ceuta*, this Blow ſtruck ſuch a Terror all along the whole Coaſt, that their Fear ſuggeſted the Fleet to be at every Place at once: And Mr. *Hill*, her Majeſty's Envoy at the Court of *Savoy*, in his Letter to Sir *John* upon this Occaſion, gives the following Account. I can tell you (ſays he) your late Succeſs againſt Monſieur *Ponti*, put all the *French* Coaſt into great Diſorder and Conſternation, as if you were come to ſcour the whole *Mediterranean*. All the Ships of War that were in the Road of *Toulon* hauled into the Harbour, and nothing durſt look out in ſome Days. About the ſame Time he likewiſe receiv'd a Letter of Congratulation from the Earl of *Gallaway*. But to return to the Beſiegers, who now (as the Marſhal *de Theſſe*, in his Letter, plainly declared) gave over all Hopes of carrying the Place; and to the Fleet who arrived at *Gibraltar* (as I ſaid) the 31ſt of *March*; that Day the Town fired briſkly upon the Enemy with Cannon and Mortars, which, as Deſerters informed them, killed a great many of their Men. The 1ſt of *April* the Town continued their Fire very ſmartly. In the Evening Sir *John* cauſed all the Boats of the Fleet to be armed, and Part of them were ordered to cut down a Crane the Enemy had ſet up to weigh the Guns of the *French* Frigates, which were run a-ſhoar and burnt when he relieved the Place the firſt Time; which Service was performed without any Loſs; the reſt of the Boats rowed to other Places to alarm their Camp; whereupon all their Forces were drawn together, and

a conſiderable Body advanced to the Sea Side to oppoſe their Landing. The next Day a Council was held on Shoar, to conſider whether they ſhould make a Sally, but it was reſolved in the Negative; chiefly, becauſe if they ſhould miſcarry, it would encourage the Enemy and weaken the Gariſon; that as the Place was in no Danger of being taken, they would ſpend their Ammunition and daily periſh in their Trenches; and becauſe they would not drive them too ſuddenly from before the Place; that Diverſion being very favourable to the Confederate Army in *Portugal* to march into *Spain*. Upon this Occaſion the Prince wrote to Sir *John*, deſiring the Fleet might remain as long as poſſible, hoping in two or three Days the Enemy would leave the Siege and turn it into a Blockade. Whereupon it was reſolved in a Council of War the 3d Inſtant, to remain there till the 6th, and then return to *Liſbon* to refit and victual for the Summer's Expedition; and in the mean Time, if the Gariſon ſhould be diſpoſed to make a Sally, they would give the utmoſt Aſſiſtance with their Boats to divert the Enemy, and by putting 3 or 400 Men into the Town to man the Batteries during the Action: But the Fleet being but weakly mann'd, they thought it too hazardous to land Men without the Town; and that they would ſend on Shoar all the Land-Forces they brought from *Liſbon* before they ſailed. The next Day he received another Letter from his Highneſs, acquainting him that the Countenance of the Fleet continuing in the Bay made the Enemy continue to draw off their Guns, ſo that there was only 12 left and one Mortar, which he hoped in three Nights more, by his ſtaying there, might be removed, and deſiring that the *Portugueſe* Forces at *Lagos* might be brought thither as ſoon as poſſible; whereupon at a Council of War it was reſolved to detach five Frigates out of the Fleet to perform that Service. The ſame Day, by a Deſerter, they were informed the Enemy were drawing off their Cannon. The 5th, the Marſhal *de Theſſe* wrote to the Admiral, deſiring the Priſoners taken in the *French* Ships; but the Sick and Wounded only were ſent back, the reſt Sir *John* promiſed the Marſhal, when ſome *Engliſh* Seamen, Priſoners in ſeveral Parts of *Spain*, and very ill treated, were ſet at Liberty. After this the Siege was entirely raiſed, and the Enemy marched off, leaving only a Detachment at ſome Diſtance to obſerve the Gariſon. Thus the Siege of that important Place, after near ſix Months Toil and fruitleſs Attempts, was at laſt raiſed by the obſtinate and valiant Defence of our brave *Engliſh* Troops, under the Conduct of the indefatigable and courageous Prince of *Heſſe d'Armſtadt*, and by the ſeaſonable Relief, which was from time to time given them by the Confederate Fleet, under the Command

mand of Sir *John Leake*. A *French* Writer [a] obſerves, that the unſucceſsful Siege of *Gibraltar* made the *Spaniards* ſenſible how important that Poſt was, and how dear they were to pay for their Neglect in preſerving it. It was this in particular (ſays he) which obliged the Duke of *Berwick* to ſtand upon the Defenſive, and hindered him from purſuing his Conqueſts.

The Loſs the Enemy ſuſtained may eaſily be computed, if we obſerve that four *French* Battalions that were before that Place, were reduced to 1000 Men, and their 14 Companies of Grenadiers, which arrived in the Camp ſome Days before the Marſhal *de Theſſe* took the Command of the Army, and made 700 effective Men, to 350, and two Thirds of the Officers were either killed or died of Sickneſs. The *Walloon* Guards of 1300 Men, were reduced to 400. The *French* Marines, which conſiſted of 2000 effective Men in the Beginning of the Siege, to 500; and all of them in a languiſhing Condition, by reaſon of the long Siege, and the Badneſs of the Weather. And the *Spaniards*, who were about 9000, loſt very near two Thirds of that Number; by which it appears, the Loſs of the Enemy could be little leſs than 10,000 Men; whereas the Loſs of the Beſieged did not exceed 1200, either killed or by Sickneſs. And by Sea their Loſs was in Proportion; for of ours, they only had the good Fortune to ſurprize one of the Tranſports, and to deſtroy the *Terror* Bomb in the *Old Mole*: But of theirs were deſtroyed and taken, one Ship of 86 Guns, one of 74, one of 66, one of 56, two of 36, one of 30, two of 24, and one of 16, beſides Merchant Ships and ſmaller Veſſels, and above 500 Men killed, and 1200 taken Priſoners.

Whilſt the Fleet continued at *Gibraltar*, the Weather was ſo bad, that all the *Portugueſe*, the *Dutch* Admiral, and ſeveral of the *Engliſh* Ships were drove from their Anchors, and ſome of them were forced to Sea: Whereupon, the 1ſt of *April*, the *Portugueſe* returned to *Liſbon*; and the *Swallow*, having loſt all her Anchors, was ordered thither. The *Tyger* was detached to *Lagos* with Letters, and the *Lark* upon the like Service to *Tangier*; the latter of which had Orders to join the Fleet again off *Cape Spartel*. Sir *John* ſtay'd at the Prince of *Heſſe*'s Deſire, till the 6th of *April*, and then ſailed for *Liſbon*; where he arrived the 12th, with the three *French* Men of War taken in the late Engagement; having left Rear-Admiral *Dilks* and ſeven Sail, with Orders to cruize off the Rock of *Liſbon* for ſix Days, to look for four Sail of *French*, that were ſaid to cruize off that Place; and having likewiſe

[a] Life of the Duke of *Berwick* from the *French*. *Lond.* 1738. 8vo. p. 249.

diſpatch'd the *Panther*, *Leopard*, *Tyger*, *Charles Gally*, *Garland* and *Swallow Prize* to *Lagos*, to tranſport 1000 *Portugueſe* Soldiers from thence to *Gibraltar*, (purſuant to the Prince's Deſire and the Reſolution of the Council of War thereupon) with Orders, when they had performed that Service, to return to *Liſbon*; except the *Swallow Prize*, which, with the *Flamborough*, was appointed to attend that Gariſon.

This was the happy Concluſion of a very long and troubleſome Affair, conducted with great Judgment and Reſolution on the Part of the Confederates; and with equal Obſtinacy and Reſentment on the Side of the Enemy. It was no leſs honourable and advantageous to the former, then diſgraceful and diſadvantageous to the latter; after they had vowed to ſacrifice all to the retaking *Gibraltar*. This vain Reſolution, no doubt, the Grand Monarch was prompted to make, to wipe off the Diſgrace of their wretched Politicks, in ſuffering that important Place to become ſo eaſy a Conqueſt, and which, beſides the Diſhonour that attended it, was loſing the moſt advantageous Port (except *Cadiz*) of the Kingdom of *Spain*: And conſequently the moſt important to us, by putting us in Poſſeſſion of this Miſtreſs of the *Mediterranean* and Key of *Spain*, than which nothing could be more beneficial or glorious to the *Britiſh* Nation. The taking of *Gibraltar* was certainly a brave Enterprize, but will bear no Compariſon with that of preſerving it afterwards: It was an eaſy Matter for the grand Confederate Fleet to ſurprize the Place at a Diſadvantage, with a ſmall Gariſon: But to preſerve that ſame Town with a ſmall Squadron under all poſſible Diſadvantages, againſt the united Force of *France* and *Spain*, by Land and Sea, was an Act of the moſt conſummate Skill and Bravery. This could not have been effected, but by the mutual Endeavours and Harmony of thoſe two brave and vigilant Officers, the Prince of *Heſſe* and Sir *John Leake*. It is true, the Prince had ſome *Engliſh* Officers about him, brave in the higheſt Degree; but there were others of Opinion from the firſt, to give up the Place as not tenable; and indeed, conſidering there were Conſpiracies within for the ſame Purpoſe, nothing but the indefatigable Pains and brave Reſolution, with which the Prince and ſome few of the Officers and their brave Marines, mutually inſpired each other, could have made it defenſible. But the Fleet both did and ſuffered ſtill more than all this: For the Soldiers were but Men, they could not have repaired the Breaches, made new Works, and defended the old, had they not been continually aſſiſted by the Seamen from the Ships; who were their Pioneers, their Artificers, their Carpenters, their Gunners, and their Fellow Soldiers, and the Ships their Magazines and Store-Houſes. Beſides, as their Marines were Part of the Ships Companies, in that Reſpect almoſt the Whole

may

may be attributed to the Fleet. But moreover, the Ships Companies greatly ſuffered by Want of Proviſion, which the Gariſon did not; and beſides their Portions of Labour with the Gariſon, they had their particular Fatigues, by bad Weather, and being ſhort of their Complements of Men in every Ship; and by their Labours to refit the Squadron at *Liſbon* to proceed thither: All which, may at leaſt be eſteemed equal to the Fatigues of the Gariſon. And as the Actions of every Member proceed from the Head: So in like Manner Sir *John Leake* had the Weight of all this upon himſelf. It is true, the Prince (not to leſſen his Labours) had the Enemy always before him, and the Preſervation and Defence of the Town always in his Mind: But theſe Cares were circumſcribed by the Walls of the Place, he could contribute nothing to their Relief, and therefore had only to think how to defend themſelves to the utmoſt; and having done that, though the Place ſhould be loſt, he had done all could be expected from him. But with regard to Sir *John*, the whole Care and Preſervation of the Place depended upon him. It was from him only their Relief could be expected, and his Reputation depended upon it, and what Fatigues and Difficulties did he overcome to accompliſh it? He wanted every Thing neceſſary to further him; and all that ſhould have aſſiſted him, prevented and perplexed him. His own Credit was all the Means to procure him every Thing he wanted, and his Reputation at Stake for the Event: We have few ſuch Inſtances in the *Engliſh* Hiſtory. We have hardly had an Inſtance where the Sea and Land-Officers have agreed together in any Expedition; but none where an Admiral and a General have agreed like the Prince and Sir *John*; who ſacrificed all private Views and Paſſions, with a diſintereſted Regard, and ſtedfaſt Perſeverance for the Publick Good. No Difficulties, no Dangers, no Fatigues, no Advantages, no Punctillios could diſunite them; but they acted as by a Sympathy of Nature, ariſing from a like Generoſity and Bravery of Mind. It was this that crown'd their Endeavours with a glorious Succeſs, which will be remembered whilſt *Gibraltar* remains a Part of the *Britiſh* Poſſeſſions; and that it is to be hoped will be as long as Trade and Navigation continue to flouriſh, and the Power of the *Britiſh* Navy can maintain that Conqueſt.

CHAP. IX.

Tranſactions at Liſbon, *till the Arrival of the grand Fleet. They proceed with the King of* Spain *and Land-Forces to* Barcelona, *which is beſieged and taken: Whereupon the Fleet returns to* England, *leaving Sir* John *with a Squadron Abroad.*

THE Vigorous Defence of *Gibraltar*, as it obliged the *French* and *Spaniards* to draw moſt of their Forces that Way, gave the Allies the Opportunity in the Spring Campaign, to take *Valencia de Alcantara* by Storm, and *Albuquerque* by Capitulation, within the Compaſs of two Months. All this while the grand Fleet, with the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Recruits, were preparing in *England* to come to *Portugal*, under the Command of the Earl of *Peterborough* and Sir *Cloudſley Shovel*, who had been appointed Joint-Admiral of the Fleet for that Purpoſe; and they ſailed from *Spithead* the 24th of *May*. What could induce our Miniſters to put a Land Man (I won't ſay a Soldier) in Conjunction with the Admiral in Chief to command the Fleet, is not very eaſy to determine; it might anſwer ſome particular private End, but could have no Tendency to promote the Good of the common Cauſe: The beſt Conſtruction is, that they meant thereby to render the Proceedings of the Fleet and Army more unanimous: But contrariwiſe it was the moſt oppoſite to produce that Effect. If his Lordſhip aſſumed the Command of the Fleet, he muſt neglect the Land Service; the Operations of the one being ſo very oppoſite to, and diſtant from the other upon many Occaſions. Beſides, it would be acting in a Sphere he was wholly unacquainted with: In which Caſe it was moſt likely the Admirals would leave all to him, or agree to nothing with him, from a Reſentment which may be naturally ſuppoſed on ſuch an Occaſion. So that it put it in the Power of his Lordſhip to prejudice the publick Service one Way or other, without a Poſſibility of promoting it; and it had the certain Conſequence to diſoblige the whole Fleet, by placing an unqualified Perſon over them; but more eſpecially a Land-Officer. If it had no ill Conſequence therefore but diſguſting our brave Admirals and Seamen, who had done ſo much, and from whom ſo much more was neceſſary to the Conqueſt of *Spain*, that alone ſhould have prevailed beyond any other Conſideration: And if the Inconveniencies attending this Proceeding, had not the fatal Conſequences which might have been expected, it was more owing to the Virtue of

our

our Admirals Abroad, than the Politicks of our Miniſters at Home.

Whilſt this was doing in *England*, Sir *John* was buſy at *Liſbon*, diſpatching of Convoys, and getting his Squadron in a Readineſs for the Summer's Expedition, againſt the Arrival of the grand Fleet. The 21ſt of *April*, he ordered the *Monk* and *Centurion* for *Vizuna*, *Oporto* and *Figuera*, to bring the Trade to *Liſbon*; and the ſame Day the *Leopard* with the reſt of the Men of War from *Lagos* arrived, having tranſported the *Portugueſe* Forces to *Gibraltar*, according to their Orders. The next Day the *Newcaſtle*, *Greenwich* and *Glouceſter* were diſpatch'd with 27 Sail of Merchant Ships, bound to *Virginia* and the *Weſt-Indies*, with Orders to ſee them 150 Leagues into the Sea. Soon after the *Lark* arrived from *Tangier*. The 25th, Sir *John* detach'd the *Kent*, *Orford* and *Antilope*, to cruize off of the *Burlings* for ſix Days. The next Day the Convoy with the *Vizuna* and *Oporto* Trade arrived at *Liſbon*; as on the 30th did a Tranſport, with about 200 *Engliſh* Priſoners that had been ſent to *Cadiz* ſome Time before, with a Letter from the *French* Commiſſary, complaining of the ill Treatment of the *French* Priſoners by the *Portugueſe*, and particularly of the Maſter of the *John and William* before-mentioned. Whilſt he was thus employ'd in ſecuring the Coaſt, and protecting the Trade by Cruizers and Convoys, a Packet arrived from *England* the 3d of *May*, bringing him a Letter from Mr. Secretary *Hedges*, dated the 17th of *April*; incloſing ſome Letters of Intelligence of the Preparations of the *French*; importing, that there were nine large Ships at *Breſt* ready to ſail for *Toulon*, beſides ſix of 50 and 60 Guns; and ſix more, from 40 to 50, from St. *Malo*'s, and 1500 Seamen arrived for manning them. That there were at *Toulon*, 12 Sail, from 106 to 90, ſix of 70, and 12 of 60 Guns, beſides Frigates. Accompanying theſe was a Letter from Mr. *Clark*, his Highneſs the Lord-High-Admiral's Secretary, recommending it to him from his Highneſs, to prevent the Junction of the Eaſt and Weſt *France* Squadrons, if he ſhould find himſelf in a Condition to do it; to which Purpoſe 17 Sail were ſailed from *Spithead* to come and ſtrengthen him. Upon this Advice, Sir *John* took the Opinion of a Council of War the next Day; and it was reſolved and agreed, that they were not ſtrong enough at preſent, or otherwiſe in a Condition to oppoſe and hinder the Junction of the Fleets of Eaſt and Weſt *France*; Naval Stores being wanted; ſeveral Ships of the Squadron having their Guns and Stores out in order to be cleaned; others refitting and ſome at Sea; and the *Dutch* victualled but for three Weeks: But that when the Ships ſhould arrive from *England* and *Ireland*, they would come to a further Reſolution. In the mean Time the Refitting the Ships was carried on

on with the greateſt Diſpatch, to be ready againſt the Arrival of the expected Reinforcement.

The 6th, Sir *John* fell down into the Bay of *Wares*, with 10 Sail of *Engliſh* and two of *Dutch* and a Fireſhip; the reſt being refitting and under Orders to clean. The following Day the *Newcaſtle*, *Greenwich* and *Glouceſter* arrived, having ſeen their Convoy as directed; and the Day after, the *Monk* and *Centurion* with the *Viana* and *Oporto* Trade. In this Interval Inquiry was made into ſome Miſdemeanors that had been committed, and for that Purpoſe a Court-Martial was held the 12th, wherein the Boatſwain and Purſer of the *Glouceſter* were tried, and diſmiſs'd the Service for Drunkenneſs and Neglect of Duty; and the ſecond Lieutenant of the *Expedition* was fined two Months Pay. At the ſame Time two Men were convicted and condemned to be hang'd for Sodomy; which Sentence was executed upon them ſoon after. The 14th, the Packet from *England* arrived, bringing Letters from Mr. Secretary *Hedges*, confirming the former Advices; that the *French* Fleet from *Breſt* were ready to put to Sea, and of the Forwardneſs of the Squadron of Ships at *Rochford*, whoſe Deſign ſeemed to be to paſs the *Streights*. The 18th, the *Eſſex*, *Rupert*, *Edgar*, *Berwick* and *Faulcon* arrived from *Ireland*, with 30 Sail of Tranſports with Horſes: Whereupon Sir *John* called a Council of War the following Day, to conſider further of Mr. Secretary *Hedges*'s Letter. But the Council reſolved to remain at *Liſbon* till they ſhould be reinforced or receive further Advice; the Ships not being in a Condition to go into a proper Station to intercept the Enemy, by Reaſon of the Shortneſs of Proviſions, and being weakly and ſickly mann'd. The 23d, the *Pembroke*, *Garland* and *Charles Gally*, were ordered to cruize for 21 Days off of the Southward Cape; and the Day after 400 Sail of Merchant Ships were diſpatched to *England*, under Convoy of the *Swiftſure* and five Sail more: But two of them, *viz.* the *Swallow* and *Roebuck*, were only to ſee them clear of the Coaſt and then return. A few Days after, Prince *Liechtenſtein* paid Sir *John* a Viſit, and at his going on Shoar was ſaluted with 13 Guns.

During this Time, the grand Confederate Fleet were at Sea on their Way to *Liſbon*, from *England* and *Holland*; and the 3d of *June*, Admiral *Allemond*, with 14 Sail of *Dutch* Men of War, two Fireſhips, two Bombs, and 62 Sail of Tranſports and Merchant Ships arrived: And the 9th following, the *Swallow* and three Sail more, having the Lord *Peterborough* on board, who hoiſted the Union Flag, and was ſoon followed by Sir *Cloudſley Shovel* with the Fleet; wherein was the *Prince George*, Sir *John*'s former Ship, which had been ſent to *England* at the Concluſion of the laſt Campaign, under the Neceſſity

ceſſity of a thorough Repair, by Reaſon of the great Damage ſhe had received in the *Malaga* Engagement, with an Intention to rehoiſt his Flag on board that Ship when ſhe returned; which accordingly he did the 13th Inſtant.

The grand Confederate Fleet being thus united at *Liſbon*, a Council of War was held the 15th of *June*; at which were preſent, the Earl of *Peterborough* and Sir *Cloudſley Shovel* Joint-Admiral, Sir *Stafford Fairbone*, Sir *John Leake*, Sir *Thomas Dilks*, and four *Dutch* Admirals; and it was determined, that ſince the Land-Forces from *Ireland* were not arrived, nor thoſe which *Portugal* was to furniſh in a Readineſs; they would put to Sea with about 46 or 48 Sail of the Line, *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, and place themſelves in ſuch a Station, between *Cape Spartel* and the Bay of *Cadiz*, as might beſt prevent the Junction of the *French* Ships from *Toulon* and *Breſt*, until the Arrival of thoſe from *Ireland*; but not to go into the *Streights* if it could be poſſibly avoided. The 18th, in the Afternoon, his Majeſty the King of *Spain* and the Prince of *Brazil* took a View of the Fleet; going on board the *Britannia*, and were attended by each Ship's Barge with an Officer at their coming and returning; and were four Times ſaluted by every Ship with 15 Guns each Time, and the Flag-Ships ſpreading out their Colours. Two Days after this, a Council of War was held of the *Engliſh* Flag-Officers only; where it was agreed not to be adviſeable to detach any Ships, in regard the Fleet was proceeding on Action, and that there was a Probability of the Junction of the Enemy's Ships of the Ocean and *Mediterranean*.

The 22d, the Fleet ſailed to cruize off *Cape Spartel*, till the Lord *Peterborough* ſhould join them with the King of *Spain*; and juſt without the *Bar* they met the Convoy from *Ireland*. The 26th, the *Leopard* having the Prince of *Heſſe* on board came into the Fleet, but ſoon after proceeded to *Liſbon*. In the mean Time the Fleet continued cruizing on their Station, without affording any remarkable Occurrence. *July* the 20th, they were joined by a Tranſport Ship, that came out in Company with the Lord *Peterborough*; but his Lordſhip, with the Men of War and King *Charles* proceeded for *Gibraltar*, where his Majeſty firſt took Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Spain*, and then ſailed to join the Fleet. The 25th, his Lordſhip in the *Ranelagh*, with the King of *Spain* on board, and moſt of the Ships from *Gibraltar* joined the Fleet; and the next Day his Majeſty removed on board the *Britannia*. The 30th, the Fleet came to an Anchor in *Altea* Bay, in order to water, and the Marines were landed for that Purpoſe to protect them; but ſo far from meeting with any Oppoſition, that the Inhabitants came and offered their Service to his Catholick Majeſty, imploring his Protection. They brought all

Sorts

Sorts of Refreſhments and Proviſions, and were very well paid for them. Whilſt the Fleet was in the Bay, certain Advice was brought, that there were in the adjacent Mountains 800 or 1000 of the Inhabitants of the Towns and Places in the Neighbourhood, who being weary of the *French* Yoke, had declared for King *Charles*, and ſecured the Town of *Denia*, not far from the Bay; whereupon his Catholick Majeſty appointed Major-General *Rames*, (who had ſerved under the Prince of *Heſſe* in the Siege of *Gibraltar*) to be Governor of that Place, ſending with him about 400 Men for its Security. The 2d and 3d of *Auguſt* the Wind blew very hard at Eaſt, which prevented their ſailing; however the 5th they ſailed, ſteering for *Barcelona*: But his Majeſty thought fit to detach the Prince of *Heſſe d'Armſtadt* before, with two Frigates, to enquire into the Poſture of Affairs in thoſe Parts, and of the Strength of the City. His Highneſs accordingly proceeded before, and put into *Mataro*, four Leagues diſtant from *Barcelona*; where having informed himſelf of what he thought neceſſary, and encouraged the People at *Vich*, who had declared for King *Charles*, he came away, in order to rejoin the Fleet; but they met with ſo many Calms, that it was the 11th Inſtant before they arrived in that Bay.

The City of *Barcelona*, the Capital of *Catalonia*, and one of the moſt ancient and flouriſhing Cities of *Spain*, is ſituated in a Plain, near the Sea Side, having a Mole, within which only Gallies and ſmall Ships can enter. It is fortified round with ten Baſtions and ſome old Towers; the Ditch in ſome Parts not very deep, and the Covert-Way not quite finiſhed; the Caſtle and Citadel, which is called *Montjuich*, is built upon a Hill on the Weſt Side, commands the City, and is not commanded by any Ground thereabouts. The Coaſt along the Shoar is level, very fruitful and well cultivated; being watered with many Rivers and Rills from the neighbouring Mountains, all full of Villages and Towns.

As ſoon as the Fleet had anchored in the Bay, they began to fire from the Mole and a Battery near the Sea, upon the Tranſport Ships that ſtood in for the Shoar, but to little Purpoſe; for they all anchored in ſuch a Manner as they found moſt commodious for landing the Soldiers on board them. But the Wind being Eaſterly, and beginning to blow hard, made ſo great a Sea, that it was impoſſible for them to get on Shoar that Day. In the mean Time, Don *Franciſco de Velaſco*, Vice-Roy of *Catalonia*, and who as ſuch commanded in Chief in *Barcelona*, gave Orders to burn all the Straw and Forage in the Country and Villages for a League round the City; notwithſtanding which Precaution, there was found enough remaining for all the Horſe the Fleet brought. The next Day the Foot were landed, though not without ſome Difficulty, the

the Sea running very high; ſo that in ſome Places the Soldiers were up to their Middles in Water. They landed about three Quarters of a League from the City, near a River called *Baſſez*, on the Eaſt Side, between the Town and a Place called *Badalena*, without any Oppoſition; and it was ſo ordered, that the Boats at every Turn carried near 3000 Men; ſo that in a little more than five Hours, there were 15 Battalions of Foot on Shoar. The 13th, the Dragoons and Part of the Horſe were landed and joined the reſt of the Forces, encamp'd about a Quarter of a League from the City, in a Place well fortified by Nature; extending itſelf on the Left near the Sea, and covered on the Right by the River *Secchia*, and defended on the Rear by the River *Baſſez*, and divers Hills and Defiles.

The 15th, Sir *Cloudſley Shovel* adviſed with the *Engliſh* Flag-Officers (at the Lord *Peterborough*'s Deſire) whether the Money for paying the ſhort Allowance to the Fleet, might not be made uſe of to pay the *Catalans* for their Service in carrying on the Siege of *Barcelona*; which was agreed to. The 17th, his Majeſty went on Shoar to encourage the Expedition by his Preſence, and ſhew himſelf to the People of the Country. At his going from on board, the whole Fleet ſaluted him; and at the Water Side he was met by an infinite Number of People from the adjacent Towns and Villages, with repeated Cries of *Long live the King*; caſting themſelves at his Feet, with a thouſand Demonſtrations of Joy; and being arrived at the Camp, he was received by a treble Diſcharge of ſmall Arms of the Forces, who were drawn in a Line to receive him.

The firſt Council of War of Generals, was the 16th of *Auguſt*, O. S. when the Siege was judged impracticable, *Nemine contradicente*. The 19th, at a Council of Admirals, the Lord *Peterborough* acquainted them, that the Land Generals were unanimous of Opinion, not to attempt *Barcelona*, but were mighty deſirous they ſhould carry them to *Italy*. Whereupon the Flag-Officers had recourſe to their Inſtructions; which being read, they were of Opinion, they intended chiefly the attempting *Barcelona* and *Cadiz*; and that if they found not a ſuitable Return from the *Catalans*, that even then they were to endeavour the Reduction of other Places on the Coaſt of *Spain*; and that if any Troops could be ſpared from Services in *Spain*, it would be highly acceptable if they could be engaged in any Service for the Good of the Duke of *Savoy*; and therefore they came to a Reſolution, unanimouſly, to attempt ſomething, though with Hazard, as they had landed the Troops at *Barcelona*. This was a very early Attempt to influence the Fleet, by Means of Land Councils, from the Service of the King of *Spain*, for which they were principally deſigned; and a flagrant Inſtance of the Folly, if not Treachery, in appointing

ing the Lord *Peterborough* Joint-Admiral. But it was very happy the Sea-Admirals were ſo honeſt to be governed by their own Councils; wherein they conſtantly ſhewed a Zeal for the Intereſt of his Catholick Majeſty. The 22d, his Lordſhip held a Council of War of Generals, upon a Letter from his Catholick Majeſty that Day, which having weighed, and according to his Majeſty's Deſire, had a ſecond Conſideration of their own Circumſtances, and that of the Gariſon; an Attack was propoſed and paſſed in the Negative, the Lord *Peterborough* alone being for the Affirmative: And giving his Reaſons for it, ſo full of dutiful and affectionate Expreſſions to his Catholick Majeſty, that are no ways to be reconciled with his Proceedings immediately following, unleſs intended to diſguiſe his real Deſigns. For the 24th, in the Morning, his Lordſhip came on board again, and calling another Council of War of Flag-Officers, read to them the Letter from the King of *Spain* of the ſecond of *September*, N. S. and after ſome Diſcourſe and Debates, laid a Memorial before them, That whereas it had been reſolved in two ſeveral Councils of War of General Officers, of the 16th and 22d, that the Attack of *Barcelona* could not be made with any Hopes of Succeſs; and that the King of *Spain* in his Letter, ſeemed deſirous to have 18 Days ſpent in Attempts againſt *Barcelona*; and that by a Letter of the 26th of *July*, the Lord Treaſurer of *England* ſeemed to infer the Inſtructions relating to the Duke of *Savoy*, and Services in *Italy* ſhould be attempted; and when the Service of *Barcelona* ſhould be judged impracticable, their next Article in courſe, was to uſe all Means for the Aſſiſtance of the Duke of *Savoy* and Services in *Italy*: He offered to the Council of War theſe two Points; whether after 18 Days, the Fleet could accompany the Army in an Enterprize to be made on Shoar; and whether, if the Forces were immediately embarked within ſeven Days, the Time yet allowed their Paſſage to ſuccour the Prince of *Savoy*, and to perform the Services yet poſſible in *Italy*. This Propoſal (which ſo plainly tended to render the propoſed Attack for 18 Days impracticable or ineffectual, and make the Admirals accountable for the Conſequences) ſeemed a little incongruous from his Lordſhip, who had but two Days before in the laſt Land Council given ſuch extraordinary Reaſons for the Attack. So that he manifeſtly promoted the Opinions of the other Generals againſt his own, or promoted his real Deſigns under the Appearance of other Mens, tending to the ſame Point, as the Council of the 16th, which he agreed in, though otherwiſe dreſſed up; namely, to draw over the Fleet to prefer the Cauſe of the Duke of *Savoy* before that of the King of *Spain*; notwithſtanding they had in their Council of the 19th, delivered their Opinion upon their Inſtructions ſo clearly, as to the main End

they

they were deſigned for; which Opinion was now ſtrengthened by the King of *Spain*'s Deſire to the ſame Effect. They therefore came to theſe prudent and honeſt Reſolutions, That if it ſhould be reſolved to attack *Barcelona*, (for this they judged the firſt Thing to be reſolved upon) as by the King of *Spain*'s Deſire in his Letter of the ſecond of *September*, N. S. all reaſonable and poſſible Aſſiſtance ſhould be given from the Fleet to carry on the Work: That if the Troops ſhould make a March by Land towards *Tarragona* and *Valentia*, the Fleet ſhould attend and aſſiſt to their utmoſt in that March: That if the General Officers were of Opinion, that *Barcelona* was not to be attack'd but with apparent Ruin to the Army, and they deſired to come off, the Boats ſhould be ready to embark them: And when the General Officers repreſented that they could do little or no Service in *Spain*, but might be of great Service in *Italy*, provided they all embarked in a Week, the Fleet might accompany them to *Nice* or thereabouts. Theſe Reſolutions of the Admirals ſeem to have deſtroyed this *Italian* Scheme, and to have determined his Catholick Majeſty in his Reſolution to carry on the Siege; notwithſtanding the fixed Opinion of the greaterPart of the Land Generals to the contrary.

The 27th, Brigadier *Stanhope* came on board, with the Reſolution of a Council of War of Land Generals held the 26th, wherein they deſired (ſince the King of *Spain* was reſolved, but contrary to their Opinions, to make an Attempt for 18 Days,) the Admirals would conſider, if from the Fleet they could afford 1500 Men to be upon Duty, and work in opening the Trenches every Day, as alſo to ply the Cannon on a Battery of 52 Guns, beſides the 1100 Marines already in the Camp; at the ſame Time they received the Lord *Peterborough*'s Opinion, as Admiral, in Writing, directly againſt complying with this Demand [a], and recommending the Services in *Italy*; upon which (as they ſay in the Council) the Earl of *Peterborough* not thinking fit to afford them his Company at that great Council, they came to a Reſolution, to ſend 2500 armed Men, including thoſe belonging to the Fleet already on Shoar; which would reduce them under their middle Complement, ſick Men included, and the *Dutch* agreed to aſſiſt with 600 Men; but that upon Notice of the Enemy at Sea, both

[a] Agreed to it, being ſatisfied that ſuch a Number (as 1500 Seamen beſides the Marines) could no way be ſpared; and well knowing that I could never come up to it in my private Judgment; but more particularly, having that very Morning received by the *Charles Gally*, Letters, which, in my Opinion, did much recommend the Services in *Italy*; to which in my Judgment I inclined for the publick Service. Thus his Lordſhip, as Admiral, was of a contrary Opinion to what he had reſolved as General. *Impartial Inquiry*, page 31.

Seamen

Seamen and Marines ſhould immediately be embark'd: And that immediate Notice ſhould be ſent them, when it was deſigned the Men and Guns ſhould be landed. But though the Fleet ſo readily concurred with the Demands of the Land-Forces to carry on the Siege, and there ſeemed no Difficulty remaining, the Lord *Peterborough* with the Majority of the Land Generals would not conſent to it; but in two Councils of War, the 28th and 30th, reſolved the propoſed Attempt for 18 Days ſhould not be made; but to embark for *Italy* for the Service of the Duke of *Savoy*, and deſired the Fleet might carry them to *Nice*, as if nothing had been intended by the Propoſal, but to amuſe only and waſte Time: Whereupon King *Charles*, in the greateſt Diſtreſs, wrote to Sir *Cloudſley Shovel* [a], that though his Lordſhip left him, he was reſolved to ſtay, in hopes the Fleet would never permit ſuch a cruel abandoning. After this, three Days paſſed, and nothing was done in relation to the Siege; but his Lordſhip at laſt offered as an Expedient, to march to *Tarragona*, which his Majeſty of Neceſſity accepted of, ſince nothing elſe could be obtained. Accordingly, the 31ſt Inſtant, Lord *Peterborough* came off, and at a Council of Flag-Officers, acquainted them, that his Majeſty and he had agreed to march with the Army to *Tarragona*, and propoſed to aſſiſt with the Fleet, what lay in their Power, which they came unanimouſly to a Reſolution to comply with: So that the Attempt upon *Barcelona* ſeemed wholly laid aſide. But the King even doubted of my Lord in this, and therefore deſired the Admirals [b] to interpoſe with him to come to a Determination in it.

'[a] HON. SIR, *From the Camp*, Sept. 8, N. S.

'*His Catholick Majeſty being in the greateſt Trouble in the World, to find my Lord* Peterborough *again reſolved to leave this Enterprize,* 'hath his only Recourſe to you, hearing his Majeſty declared, that 'if his Lordſhip perſiſts in his Reſolution to go away, that his Ma-'jeſty finding that without Reaſon, his Crown and ſo good Subjects 'ſhall be ſacrificed; *is reſolved to ſtay with them, happen what will.* 'Thus I muſt acquaint you with it, *in hopes that you will never per-'mit ſuch a cruel abandoning*, and to take your Meaſures accordingly; 'the King begs it of you as the leaſt Favour, and entreats you in 'the moſt ſubmiſs Manner, to find out a Way that his Majeſty 'may not be the Sacrifice of Fools and Knaves.

'*I am with great Truth*, &c.

'GEORGE, Prince of *Heſſe*.'

Impartial Inquiry into the Management of the War in Spain, 8vo. 1712, p. 34, 35.

[b] Prince of *Heſſe*'s Letter to Sir *Cloudſley Shovel*, of 9th of *Sept.* N. S. Ibid. p. 41.

They

They had been now twenty Days before *Barcelona* with the Fleet and Army, and nothing undertaken againſt the Place; on the contrary, were about to leave it behind them, with a Shame equal to a Defeat, and certainly had done ſo, but for the vigilant Prince of *Heſſe*, who was as aſſiduous to preſs the Siege as my Lord *Peterborough* to obſtruct it. His Highneſs indeed knew the Place better than any other, having been Vice-Roy of *Catalonia* in King *Charles* the IId's Time; and having defended *Barcelona* againſt the Duke of *Vendoſme*. And as he had all along been contriving to obviate the Objections of the Land Generals, againſt carrying on the Siege; at length propoſed to the Earl of *Peterborough*, a Method both practicable and effectual to reduce the Place; namely, by ſurprizing and taking the Citadel and Caſtle of *Montjuich*; which by its advantageous Situation, commanded the City. To perform this, he deſired only 1000 Men, which he himſelf would both conduct and command in the Attempt. His Lordſhip therefore, at the Prince's Requeſt, having taken a View of *Montjuich* and the Town on that Side, and weighed his Highneſs's Reaſons, and conſidered the Manner in which he intended to proceed in the Attack, found the Deſign ſo feaſible, that he could not object to it, and therefore wiſely joined in it, not only granting the Prince the 1000 Men he deſired, but likewiſe reſolved to ſupport his Highneſs himſelf with 1000 Men more, and ſome Dragoons. In the mean Time Scaling Ladders and all Things neceſſary for the Attempt were got in readineſs, and on *Sunday*, the ſecond of *September*, about ſix in the Evening, a Detachment of 400 Grenadiers, under the Command of Colonel *Southwell*, with 600 Foot to ſupport them, marched towards *Tarragona*, by the Way of *Sema*. About 10 at Night they made directly to the Fort, and about Midnight the firſt Detachment was followed by 1000 Men more, and to them were joined ſome Dragoons, who were poſted to hinder the Horſe that might come out of the Town to cut them off. The greateſt Part of the Way not being paſſable for above one Man a-breaſt, and the Night very dark, it was break of Day by that Time they came to the Fort of the Mountain; and ſome Miquelets who belonged to the Enemy, giving the Alarm, the Prince of *Heſſe* at his Arrival was received by a general Diſcharge of their Artillery and ſmall Arms: Hereupon the Prince ordered Colonel *Southwell* to begin the Attack, which he performed with great Bravery, driving the Enemy from their Outworks, and obliged them to retire into the Donjon or Caſtle. Upon this Succeſs, the Prince of *Heſſe d'Armſtadt* being deſirous to puſh forward, and poſſeſs himſelf of a Poſt that would hinder the Enemy's Communication with the Town; advanced with great Eagerneſs through all the Fire from two Bulwarks and a

Curtain, without any Shelter, and was ſhot with a Muſket-Ball; which paſſing through his Thigh, tore an Artery, by which loſing a great Quantity of Blood, after he had march'd about 50 Paces, animating his Men as though he knew nothing of his being wounded, at laſt fell down. The Prince being thus fallen, they carried him to a little Houſe that was near, and as ſoon as he was brought thither, before they could look upon the Wound he expired, to the unexpreſſible Grief of the King, the Officers, Soldiers and Seamen, and particularly the *Spaniards*, for the Loſs of ſo great and ſo good a Man.

This unhappy Accident put the Soldiers in great Confuſion, and at the ſame Time the Marquis *de Roſburg* marched out of the Town, to ſuccour the Line of Communication, bringing a Supply of 200 Grenadiers to the Citadel: Upon which our Detachment retreated: But the Earl of *Peterborough* putting himſelf at the Head of the Detachment, regained the Works; whereby the Communication betwixt the Town and Citadel was entirely cut off. Hereupon it was reſolved to ply the Enemy with Bombs and Grenadoes. Accordingly, the 4th, 5th, and 6th, 158 Bombs and Carcaſſes were thrown into the Place by the Bomb-Veſſels; which cauſed a great Fire for two Hours in the City. But this had little Effect; till the 6th, a Shell falling into the Magazine, blew it up; and our People in the Outworks, taking the Opportunity of the Confuſion of the Enemy, forced into the Caſtle and poſſeſſed it; making all they found therein Priſoners of War. Upon this Succeſs, his Lordſhip acquainted the Admirals by a Memorial, that if any Thing made it poſſible to take the Town of *Barcelona*, it was to carry on the Attack; and therefore deſired the Succours promiſed in the Council of War, of the 27th, *ultimo*, as alſo about 40 Guns from the Fleet, 24 and 18 Pounders; and the Aſſiſtance of the Fleet in Bombarding and Cannonading; and the Admirals unanimouſly came to a Reſolution to ſend them a-ſhoar, and alſo 10 Braſs 24 Pounders. Accordingly, the Men and Guns with their Appurtenances were put on Shoar, to be placed on the Batteries; and the Bomb-Ships continuing the Bombardment, from the 6th at Night to the 11th, 321 Bomb-Shells and Carcaſſes were thrown into the City.

The 11th, the Trenches were opened, and three of the youngeſt Captains of the Fleet that had not taken Poſt, and ſix Lieutenants were ordered to command, by Turns, the Gunners of the Fleet that were employed in the Batteries on Shoar; and the Bomb-Veſſels, which had been prevented by a great Swell ſome Days, continued the Bombardment. The 17th, the great Battery of 30 Guns was opened, and 14 of them began to play with great Execution upon that Part of the

Wall where a Breach was deſigned. The Siege going on now in earneſt, the Lord *Peterborough* came aboard, and repreſented to the Admirals the great Neceſſity he laboured under for want of Money to ſubſiſt the Army and carry on the Siege and Services in *Catalonia*, and therefore deſired the Aſſiſtance of the Fleet; upon which they came to a Reſolution to ſend his Lordſhip 40,000 Dollars, out of the Contingent and ſhort Allowance Money of the Fleet; and the 19th, they came to a Reſolution, to continue longer before *Barcelona* than they had at firſt agreed; to give all the Aſſiſtance they could, and to lay a Fireſhip a-ſhoar near the Arſenal, with 200 Barrels of Gunpowder; and a further Demand being made for Guns for the Battery, they landed from the Fleet 14 more, which made in all 72, whereof 30 were 24 Pounders.

The Bomb-Veſſels continued to bombard the Town from the Sea, as the Weather would permit; having from the 14th to the 19th, thrown in 556 Shells. The 20th, a Demand was made for more Shot; and the Flags being called together, came to a Reſolution to ſupply the Batteries with all the 24 and 18 Pound Shot in the Fleet, except 40 Rounds. Two Days after, the Prince of *Lichtenſtein* and the Earl of *Peterborough*, having deſired, at the Requeſt of his Catholick Majeſty, that the Town of *Lerida* might for its better Security be furniſhed with ſome Barrels of Powder; and a further Supply of Shot being demanded a-ſhoar for the Batteries; it was conſidered by the Flag-Officers in a Council of War, and they agreed to furniſh 50 Barrels of Gunpowder for *Lerida*, and to ſend ſo many more 24 and 18 Pound Shot a-ſhoar, as would reduce the *Engliſh* to 30 Rounds, as likewiſe to be further aſſiſtant upon timely Notice given them thereof. The next Day the Bomb-Veſſels, threw 154 Shells into the City. By this Time the Breach being made, and all Things prepared for an Attack, the 23d, at Night, the Town was again ſummoned; whereupon they deſired to capitulate, and Hoſtages were exchanged; on the Part of the Allies, Brigadier *Stanhope*; and on the Enemy's, the Marquis *de Rivora*; and all Hoſtilities ceaſed; the Vice-Roy made ſeveral extravagant Demands, the debating whereof continued till the 28th. Amongſt other Things, he demanded to be conducted to *Tarragona* or *Tortoſa*, but they convinced him of the Impoſſibility of it; the latter having declared for King *Charles*, and the other being actually beſieged. He deſired afterwards to be tranſported with the Gariſon by Sea to St. *Felix* near *Pallamos*, and to be conducted from thence to *Gironne:* This was at laſt granted him; and accordingly, the 28th of *September*, the Capitulation was ſigned in the Evening; and it was agreed amongſt other Points, that the *Angel Gate* and Baſtion ſhould be immediately delivered up to the Army of the Allies, and

the whole City four Days after, when the Garison should march out, with all the Marks of Honour; with 16 Pieces of Cannon and three Mortars. That Day and the following it blew a Storm of Wind, with Thunder, Lightning and Rain, which made the Ships ride hard, and obliged them for their Security to veer away to three Cables; during this Time the Admiral's 20 Oar'd Boat was lost, with three Tun of Cask, and the Lieutenant and 12 of the Crew were drowned; and several of the *Dutch* Transports were forced a-shoar and lost.

The third Instant, pursuant to the Capitulation, the Tenders of the Fleet were sent to the Mole, to lade the Artillery and Equipage of the Garison; and 13 Transport Ships, under Convoy of some *English* Frigates, were appointed to transport the Garison to St. *Felix:* But the same Day the King of *Spain* received Advice that *Girone* was surrendered to him; so it was agreed, the Garison should be transported to *Roses:* Accordingly they were preparing to march, when the exasperated Citizens of *Barcelona* rose upon them, and had certainly murthered the Vice-Roy, and the Adherents of the Duke of *Anjou*, had they not desired the Protection of our Forces, who presently marched into the City. But this did not hinder the pillaging and rifling a great many Houses, of those that were Enemies to King *Charles* the Third; and in the Evening, the Vice-Roy with several others were brought on board the Ships privately for their greater Security, they not daring to stay all Night on Shoar. Whilst this Disturbance happened in the City, the Elements seemed no less agitated in the Harbour, as conspiring to a general Revolution. A Water-Spout (which had hardly ever been known there) broke in the very Mole, attended with a Hurricane, and a surprizing Whirlwind, which overset several loaded Cettees at Anchor, turning them Bottom upwards: Men on Shoar were forced to catch hold of any Thing near them, to prevent being blown up into the Air, to the great Astonishment of the Beholders; and the 5th and 6th was a violent Storm of Wind, which drove several of the Fleet and did great Damage, and attended with such violent Thunder and Lightning, that several of the Seamen on board the *Prince George* and other Ships, were struck senseless for a considerable Time; not only upon the Deck, but in the Hold of the Ships. Several of the *Dutch* Transports were also drove a-shoar and lost, besides a great many Boats.

Thus was the important City of *Barcelona* reduced to the Obedience of King *Charles* the Third, by the Integrity of the Admirals, and the Vigilance of the Prince of *Hesse*. His Majesty some few Days after made his public Entry into the City, under a triple Discharge of the Cannon of the Place; and it being Time for the Fleet to return to *England*, and to dispose Things for the Winter Service, a Council of War was held

of

of the Flag-Officers, the 8th of *October*, to conſider of ſome Things which had been previouſly agreed to at a Council of General and Flag-Officers the firſt Inſtant; and they came to a Reſolution to aſſiſt the Gariſon of *Barcelona* with 1800 Barrels of Powder, eight Braſs Six-Pounders, and all the Three-Pound Shot in the Fleet: That Sir *John Leake* ſhould be left in the *Mediterranean* with a Squadron, and ſail to *Liſbon* when he ſhould be reduced to ſeven Weeks Allowance for the Squadron under his Command, which was to conſiſt of 15 *Engliſh* and 10 *Dutch* Ships of the Line; with Frigates, Fireſhips, Bomb-Veſſels, and an Hoſpital Ship. This Diſpoſition being made for the Services Abroad, Sir *Cloudſley Shovel*, with the Groſs of the Fleet, on the 12th Inſtant, ſailed for *England*, leaving Sir *John Leake* at *Barcelona*, with Orders purſuant to the Reſolution of the Council of War. The next Day he embark'd the Marines belonging to the Ships of his Squadron, and received a Viſit from the Earl of *Peterborough*, to wiſh him a good Voyage; and being now reduced under the Allowance of Proviſions limited for his proceeding to *Liſbon*, the following Day he ſailed, in order to make the beſt of his Way thither.

CHAP. X.

Sir John Leake's *Inſtructions. He ſails with his Squadron from* Barcelona, *and after a tedious Voyage, arrives at* Liſbon.

HAVING, in the Concluſion of the laſt Chapter, given an Account of the Departure of the grand Fleet for *England*, and the Reſolution of a Council of War for leaving Sir *John Leake* Abroad, with a Squadron for the Winter Service; it will be neceſſary, before I proceed further, to ſet down at large the Inſtructions he received from the Earl of *Peterborough* and Sir *Cloudſley Shovel*, in conſequence of the ſaid Reſolution.

Charles, *Earl of* Peterborough *and* Monmouth, &c. *and Sir* Cloudſley Shovel, *Knt.* &c. *Admirals of her Majeſty's Fleet.*

'Whereas, in purſuance of his Royal Highneſs's Orders, of 'the 26th of *July* laſt, for conſidering what Number of 'Ships it may be convenient to leave at *Liſbon*, under the 'Command of a Flag-Officer, with ſuch Inſtructions as ſhall 'be thought adviſeable by a Council of War, when this Summer's Expedition with the Fleet ſhall be over: It is the Opinion of a Council of War, of *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Flag-Officers, held the firſt Inſtant; that a Squadron of 15 *Engliſh* and 10 *Dutch* Ships of the Line, with Frigates, Fire-

'ſhips and Bomb-Veſſels, and an Hoſpital Ship, be appointed 'for a Winter's Squadron to ſtay abroad.

'You are therefore hereby required and directed, to take 'under your Command the Ships and Veſſels, in the Margin [a], 'and ſuch Ships of the States Generals as ſhall be appointed to 'join you; and whereas ſeveral Seamen, Marines, *&c.* be-'longing to the Ships hereby appointed to be under your 'Command, have been ordered a-ſhoar to aſſiſt in the Attack 'of *Barcelona*; you are immediately to direct they be ſent 'for, and taken a-board their reſpective Ships; and uſe all 'probable Means, to get and keep all the Ships and Veſſels 'mann'd to their higheſt Complements.

'And, whereas many Services may be thought fit to be per-'formed, at a Council of War, of *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Flag-'Officers, and the Number of Flags being but one of each 'Nation: We judge it for the Service, that when you think 'it reaſonable, you may add five *Engliſh* and a Proportion of '*Dutch*, of the oldeſt Captains to your Councils of War, by 'which you are to govern yourſelves.

'And, whereas the Service in theſe Parts may keep you 'hereabouts ſomewhat longer than the main Fleet; you are, 'in purſuance of a Council of War, dated the 8th Inſtant, 'to repair with the Ships under your Command to *Liſbon*, 'when your Proviſions are reduced to ſeven Weeks at ſhort 'Allowance, taking with you all the Tranſports, *&c.* that 'are by Agreement to be diſcharged there; unleſs the Earl of '*Peterborough* have Occaſion for one or more to remain here; 'and upon your Arrival at *Liſbon*, you are to direct the Agent 'for Tranſports immediately to diſcharge them.

'You are alſo to conſider with the Commiſſioner there, and 'direct the refitting and cleaning her Majeſty's Ships and Veſ-'ſels as ſoon as poſſible; and order their Cruizing in ſuch 'Stations as you judge moſt effectual for diſturbing and de-'ſtroying the Enemy; and ſo as you may call and have them 'together upon any emergent and ſpecial Services.

'If the Earl of *Peterborough* ſhall adviſe you, that it is ne-'ceſſary for a Part, or your whole Squadron to come to the 'Coaſt of *Catalonia*, and you have none of her Majeſty's or 'his Royal Highneſs's Commands to perform, you are to 'comply with his Lordſhip's Directions, if it ſhall be thought 'adviſeable by a Council of War. And when the Miniſters

[a] The *Prince George*, 2d Rate: The *Hampton-Court*, *Bedford*, *Berwick*, *Ranelagh*, *Grafton*, *Rupert*, *Burford*, *Edgar*, 3d Rates: The *Leopard*, *Pembroke*, *Antilope*, *Panther*, *Tyger*, *Newcaſtle*, 4th Rates: The *Garland*, *Faulcon* and *Roebuck*, 5th Rates: The *Griffin* and *Hunter* Fireſhips: The *Baſiliſk* and *Carcaſs* Bombs, and *Princeſs Anne* Hoſpital. For *Gibraltar*, the *Flamborough*, a 6th Rate, and *Swift* Sloop.

'of

'of *England* and *Holland* reſiding at *Liſbon*, or the Earl of 'Gallaway, ſhall on any Occaſion offer to you to ſend to 'the Aſſiſtance of the Army, under the Earl of *Peterborough*. 'any Men, Arms, Ammunition, or Money; you are to con-'ſider at a Council of War, how far you are able to aſſiſt in 'the Performance of the ſame.

'When Application ſhall be made by the Commanding Of-'ficer at *Gibraltar* for Ammunition, Victuals, Stores and Pro-'viſions, of which the Gariſon ſhall ſtand in need; they are 'to be ſupplied from Time to Time with what ſhall be judg'd 'neceſſary, and may be ſpared from the Fleet; and you are 'upon your going out of the *Streights*, to inform yourſelf of 'the Condition of that Gariſon, and ſupply them with what 'they want as ſoon as you can, directing Receipts to be taken 'of the proper Officers, into whoſe Cuſtody the ſaid Provi-'ſions, Stores, *&c.* ſhall be delivered: And during the Win-'ter, you are to conſider at a Council of War, what may 'be neceſſary for the relieving and ſupplying *Gibraltar* and '*Barcelona*, and the guarding the Coaſt of *Portugal*, as the 'Treaty requires; and ſend home to the Secretary to his 'Royal Highneſs, an Account from Time to Time of your Re-'ſolutions and Proceedings, for his Royal Highneſs's Information.

'Dated on board the *Britannia*, before *Barcelona*, *October* 'the 9th, 1705.

'PETERBOROW,
'CLOUD. SHOVEL.'

Conformable to the 2d Article of theſe Inſtructions, the ſame Day that Sir *Cloudſley Shovel* ſailed with the Fleet for *England*, Sir *John* embarked the Marines and Seamen from on Shoar, on board of the reſpective Ships of his Squadron to which they belonged: And being already reduced below the Allowance of Proviſions for carrying them to *Liſbon*, he left *Barcelona* the 14th of *October*, leaving behind him the *Antilope* and *Newcaſtle* to attend the Lord *Peterborough*; and the *Hampton-Court*, *Berwick*, *Suffolk*, *Edgar*, *Rupert* and *Burford*, under Orders to convoy ſome Tranſports, which had the Vice-Roy and Part of the Gariſon of *Barcelona* on board, to be landed at *Malaga*.

The 21ſt of *November*, the Fleet being in Want of Water, by reaſon of their long Paſſage from *Barcelona*, the ſame was taken into Conſideration, at a Council of War; and there being no Proſpect of a fair Wind, it was agreed to bear away for *Altea* Bay to ſupply themſelves, and as ſoon as that was compleated to put to Sea again, and endeavour to gain their Paſſage to *Liſbon*. Three Days after they anchored in the Bay, landing the Marines to protect their Watering. Here Sir *John* received a Letter the Day following, from the Go-

vernor of *Denia*, acquainting him he was in great Want of Ammunition; whereupon he ſent him 10 Barrels of Powder; and whilſt he was at *Altea*, what Money he had, he diſtributed to the Ships Companies, to buy freſh Proviſions, which ſaved the Lives of many, and was a great Relief to all.

Having compleated Watering the Ships, the 26th he ſailed. Three Days after, he chaſed two Ships under *Turkiſh* Colours, which were ſuppoſed to be *French*; but they could not come up with either. He continued in this Manner to make the beſt of his Way, but with little Succeſs, by reaſon of contrary Winds; ſometimes Calms and ſometimes hard Gales, which blew away their Sails; till at laſt being no longer able to ſupply each others Wants in that Reſpect, they were forced to uſe the beſt Huſbandry with what they had left. Sir *John* kept Company with the *Dutch* till the 8th of *December*; when his Proviſions growing very ſhort, he was obliged to leave them off of *Carthagena*, in order to make the beſt of his Way for *Gibraltar*, to provide both for them and himſelf, leaving them reduced to two Pounds of Bread *per* Man a Week; and not for above five Weeks at that Allowance. In this Diſtreſs, to forward Relief to themſelves and the *Dutch*, from *Liſbon*; the 14th of *December* he wrote a Letter by Captain *Hobart*, directed to the Commander in Chief of her Majeſty's Ships at *Liſbon*, relating to the Circumſtances of their Proviſions: That it was uncertain how long it might be before they had a Wind, and therefore he could not give him any Directions how to ſend them Proviſions, for the particular Uſe of the Ships with him; but as the Gariſon of *Gibraltar* would ſoon be in Want, he deſired he would diſpatch ſome thither, that he might ſhare with them if he did not get out of the *Streights* in Time; that he believed three Weeks was the longeſt that they could hold out, at the ſhort Allowance they then were: So that the utmoſt Diſpatch ought to be made to relieve them: That the Ships that convoy'd the Victuallers ſhould call at *Lagos*, if they met with the Wind Eaſterly after they got about the Cape; to which Place he would ſend a Ship, to give Notice of his paſſing by: But if the Wind ſhould be Weſterly, to proceed directly to *Gibraltar*, where he hoped to be in a few Days, having left the *Dutch* to take care of themſelves; for they had ſo many heavy Sailers, it was impoſſible for them to get thither without a fair Wind: At the ſame Time he diſpatch'd an Anſwer to a Letter he had received from Major-General *Shrimpton*, Governor of *Gibraltar*, deſiring Supplies of Money and Stores, which he could not ſpare him till he got to *Liſbon*: As to Money, he told him, it was not in his Power to ſupply him, having lent what little Stock he had of his own to his Men, to buy them Refreſhments when they were at *Altea*: And though it was uſual for Flag-Officers,

commanding

commanding a Squadron, to have Money of the Queen's for Contingencies, Sir *Cloudſley Shovel* could only leave him Credit at *Liſbon*.

The 20th and 21ſt, it blew a hard Storm of Wind; when the *Prince George* lying by under a Mizen, ſhipp'd a great Sea, which ſtaved a Nine-Oar'd Boat all to Pieces in the Tackles, though hoiſted up under the upper Teer of Guns, and a Plank in the Ten-Oar'd Boat upon the Bombs. The 23d, the Squadron were ordered to two Pounds of Bread *per* Man a Week. Two Days after, the *Leopard* in a hard Gale of Wind, having loſt her Main-Maſt, and ſprung her Fore-Maſt, was ordered to go into *Table-Round*, (being near) in order to ſecure it, with the *Bedford* to aſſiſt her; Sir *John* deſigning to go in there himſelf; but the Wind ſpringing up to the N. N. E. he bore away for *Gibraltar*, which he reached the 27th. Here he was in Hopes to have found a Supply of Proviſions. But the Gariſon could only ſupply him with a ſmall Quantity of Pork, 3024 Pounds of Bread, and 13 Firkins of Butter. And the Ships with him having had no Oil for a conſiderable Time, and being reduced to two Pounds of Bread *per* Man a Week, and to half Allowance of all other Species; obliged him to take out of a Merchant Ship, called the *Mary Gally*, that was in her Way from *Genova* to *London*, 30 Bags of Rice and 14 Caſks of Oil; giving the Maſter a Certificate thereof, in order to his being paid by the Commiſſioners of the Victualling, upon his Arrival in *England*; the Rice being to ſupply the Want of Bread. This however was afterwards made a Matter of Complaint, as will be obſerved in its Place. At *Gibraltar* was an Ambaſſador from the Emperor of *Morocco*, who deſiring a Paſſage from thence to *Liſbon*, in order to go for *England*, he was received on board with his Retinue. Sir *John* ſailed from *Gibraltar* the 5th of *January*, and two Days after had the good Fortune, off *Cape St. Vincent*, to meet the *Pembroke*, *Roebuck* and *Faulcon*, with Proviſions on board, Part whereof he took out for the Suſtenance of his Men; who for Want of it, were for the moſt Part ſick, and continually dropping off. By the *Pembroke* he received the following Letter from the *Engliſh* Envoy at *Liſbon*, dated the 6th of *January*, N. S.

'SIR,

'IT is with a great deal of Concern that I write this; the 'long Stay you have been forced to make, the terrible 'Storms, and continual ill Weather we have had, and the 'little Proviſions you have with you, have given me great 'Uneaſineſs; the laſt Wiſhes I make at Night, and the firſt 'Deſires I have in the Morning are for your Safety. I ſend

'the

'the Packet which came from *England* for you, and I would 'very willingly, for this Month paſt, have ſent the Queen's 'Orders and Money to my Lord *Peterborough*, and Money to '*Gibraltar*; but the utmoſt Endeavours and moſt earneſt 'Deſires of mine, have not been able, for near a Month, to 'prevail with the Frigate I had got cleaned and refitted to 'ſail, for want of ſafe Orders. I have earneſtly deſired, for 'this three Weeks paſt, to ſend out Proviſions to you, having 'them ready, and proper Tranſports to carry them; but my 'Deſires in that likewiſe are not thought reaſonable. Sir '*William Jumper* has done me the Favour, to let me put on 'board the *Pembroke*, 10,000 Dollars for *Gibraltar*, where 'they are extremely wanted; I therefore requeſt you, that in 'caſe we are ſo fortunate, that this Ship meet you in your 'Way hither from *Gibraltar*, that you will pleaſe to ſend her 'or ſome other Ship forward to *Gibraltar*, with the Money 'and my Letters: And ſince it hath abſolutely been refuſed 'me to let me ſend away any Proviſions whatſoever, even 'ſome Flour to ſupply Bread in caſe of Neceſſity; I beg 'you, that if your own Neceſſity doth not require it, you 'will pleaſe to let ſome Proviſions, eſpecially Bread or Flour 'go forward for *Gibraltar*. I have nothing to add, but my 'hearty Prayers for your Safety, and my earneſt Wiſhes to ſee 'you here:

'*Being with great Truth and Reſpect*, &c.

'JO. METHUEN.'

This Letter ſhews, that his Excellency was at this Time upon better Terms with Sir *John* than he had formerly been; and indeed it became neceſſary they ſhould be ſo, to avoid the Intrigues of the *Portugueſe* and *Dutch*, who, though true to their own particular Intereſt, nevertheleſs concurred to our Prejudice. It likewiſe diſcovers how inſufficient the Orders were, that had been left by the Joint-Admirals with the Ships at *Liſbon*; that none of the Services required by the Ambaſſador, though abſolutely neceſſary, could be complied with; and (if as repreſented) was the ſole Cauſe of that Diſtreſs the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* ſuffered for want of Proviſions; which his Excellency ſays, he had ready with Ships to carry them three Weeks before, but could not diſpatch for want of ſafe Orders. It was undoubtedly ſo; for had it been otherwiſe, the Commanders would have been called to Account by a Court-Martial. Sir *John* having, as I ſaid, taken out Part of the Proviſions, diſpatch'd the *Pembroke* and *Roebuck* to *Gibraltar*, with the Money for that Gariſon, as his Excellency deſired, with Orders afterwards to return to *Liſbon*; and if they ſhould meet with

with the *Dutch* in their Way, or at *Gibraltar*, to deliver them the Proviſions they brought for him; but if they ſhould not meet them, to leave it at *Gibraltar*; and the *Faulcon* he ordered to cruize for three Weeks off of the Southward Cape; but being ſhort of her Complement, and the Men falling ſick, ſhe was obliged to return to *Liſbon* 10 Days afterwards.

Notwithſtanding the miſerable Condition the Squadron were reduced to through the Scarcity of Proviſions, they were not idle; for whilſt they were detained in the *Streights*, two of the Squadron chaſed a-ſhoar near *Alicant*, a *French* Cettee, loaden with Wax and Hides from *Barbary*, and burnt her, and ſoon after another was taken, loaden with Broad Cloth and Serge, bound to *Cadiz*; which was afterwards unfortunately loſt in bad Weather: And preſently after they got out of the *Streights*, they took a *French* Letter-of-Mark Ship, of 26 Guns and 130 Men (Priſoners included) loaden with Wine, Oil and *Spaniſh* Wool, bound from *Cadiz* to *Dunkirk*. And after a miſerable Voyage of 13 Weeks and three Days, to their inexpreſſible Comfort, they arrived at *Liſbon* the 16th of *January*, having been reduced in that Time to a Biſcuit a Day, and ſometimes to half a Biſcuit, and three Weeks no Bread: Water was likewiſe wanting ſome Part of the Time; ſo that many of thoſe who recovered the Sickneſs, may be ſaid to have periſhed for want of Proviſion. By this Means the Sickneſs which had been amongſt them the whole Campaign, was much increaſed, and many died. In the *Prince George*, Sir *John*'s own Ship, no leſs than 50 were thrown over-board in this Paſſage, beſides three Times that Number in a dangerous Condition; and reckoning from the Time Captain *Martin* firſt compleated her Complement of Men at *Portſmouth*, to this Arrival at *Liſbon*, there had died above 300. I believe there never was an Inſtance of ſo long a Paſſage from *Barcelona* to *Liſbon*. But this tedious Paſſage with the unhappy Effects of it, were in a great Meaſure owing to that uſual Clog which prevented him in moſt of his Undertakings: For the *Dutch* Ships not being able to ply to Windward, in Caſe of a contrary Wind, as the *Engliſh* could, it frequently happened in a Night's Sail they were Hull too to Leeward; and the latter were frequently obliged to bear down three or four Leagues to join them. And being obliged to keep them Company as long as he could, brought on thoſe Inconveniencies which followed; and which would have been avoided, had he made the beſt of his Way from *Barcelona* without them. They indeed were in a wretched Condition, and at the laſt Extremity; when they had alſo the good Fortune to meet the *Pembroke* and *Roebuck* in their Way to *Gibraltar*, and received from them the Proviſions Sir *John* had ordered to be delivered them; without which, in all probability, they muſt have ſtarved: But encouraged

couraged by this ſeaſonable Supply, they purſued their Voyage, and arrived at *Liſbon* nine Days after the *Engliſh*.

CHAP. XI.

Tranſactions at Liſbon. *Sir* John *receives Orders to ſtop the Galleons in* Cadiz, *which he attempts, but is prevented by the ſiniſter Practices of the* Portugueſe; *with his Proceedings afterwards, till his Arrival at* Gibraltar.

UPON Sir *John*'s Arrival at *Liſbon*, he immediately began to put in Execution that Part of his Inſtructions relating to the refitting and cleaning his Squadron, which had been ſo much retarded by his long Paſſage. And in this Buſineſs he did not fail to meet with the uſual Difficulties, by the Dilatorineſs of the *Portugueſe*, as well as by the Want of neceſſary Supplies from *England*. Nevertheleſs, beſides what was enjoined him by Sir *Cloudſley Shovel*'s Inſtructions, he met with more Work cut out for him, required to be done with the greateſt Expedition, as if he had been Maſter of every Conveniency to perform it. For he found a Packet at *Liſbon* from *England*, with Orders from his Royal Highneſs, and ſeveral Letters of Advice of the Preparations the *French* were making. By the former of theſe it was recommended to him, as one of the moſt conſiderable Services he could perform, to uſe his beſt Endeavours to ſtop the Galleons, which they had Intelligence were getting ready at *Cadiz*, to proceed under Convoy of Monſieur *du Caſſe* to the *Weſt-Indies*; or if they ſhould get out, to endeavour to deſtroy them. He was likewiſe empowered by another Order, to give ſuch Aſſiſtance to the Duke of *Savoy*, as ſhould be judged proper by a Council of War. And whereas there were coming from *England*, four 3d Rates, with ſeveral Victuallers and Storeſhips, as alſo Tranſport Ships, with two Regiments of Foot for *Catalonia*; he was to conſider in what Manner the ſaid Forces might be moſt ſpeedily and ſafely conveyed thither, and to put it in Execution without Loſs of Time. And he was alſo to conſider of the like Method, for the ſafe Conveying of three other Regiments of Foot, which were coming from *Ireland*, under Convoy of five Sail of Men of War, which he was to diſpatch back to *England*, as ſoon as they had ſeen their Convoy ſafe to *Liſbon*. Accompanying theſe Orders, were ſeveral Extracts of Letters of Intelligence from *Paris* and other Parts; importing, there was a general Fitting out at Sea, in all the Ports

of

of *France*, which were to be ready by the 17th of *April*: That the Squadron fitted out at *Toulon*, was to cruize to intercept the Succours that ſhould be ſent to *Catalonia*: That ſix of the King's big Ships that were ready, had been joined by three others of 60 Guns each, and were at Sea the 18th of *December*, making the beſt of their Way for *Barcelona*: That the Squadron of *Breſt* and *Toulon* were to join in the *Mediterranean* to cruize in that Sea, in Expectation of joining the grand Fleet: That they had got abundance of Proviſions together of all Sorts, and a great Number of large Shallops, ſo contrived that they were in Pieces, but could ſoon be put together for making a Deſcent; each Shallop being capable to hold 100 Men: That they talk'd of making a Deſcent upon *Surinam* or *Curaſſaw*, which belonged to the *Dutch*; but that it was rather believed to block up the Arch-Duke by Sea and Land in *Barcelona*, before the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* could put to Sea again. He received likewiſe ſome further Information of the Preparations and Forwardneſs of the Galleons at *Cadiz*, and the Diſpoſitions of the People there, by Means of a Merchant at *Liſbon*, from the Report of a Maſter of a Ship lately a Priſoner there: And by a Letter from his Excellency Mr. *Methuen*, of the 4th of *February*, N. S. that the *French* were preparing to come to *Cadiz* to convoy the Galleons, which with the Flota were both loading in Haſte: That there was a great Diſcontent at *Cadiz* and *Seville* on that Occaſion: The Duke of *Anjou* having turned out the Preſident, Prior and Conſuls of the *India-Houſe*, and by his own Authority named new ones; which had greatly diſguſted the *Spaniards* concerned in the Commerce of the *Indies*, many of them ſeeming to deſire that our Fleet might appear, to hinder the going of the Galleons: And the Government ſhewed great Jealouſy and Diſtruſt of all the *Spaniards* of any Concern in this Matter. Upon theſe Advices, Sir *John* detach'd the *Hampton-Court* and *Faulcon* to proceed to *Cadiz*, with Orders, that having made ſome Diſcovery of the Readineſs of the Enemy, and got what Intelligence they could, to make the beſt of their Way back to him. Soon after Vice-Admiral *Waſſenaer* arrived, having met the *Pembroke* and *Roebuck* in their Way to *Gibraltar*, and been ſupplied with Proviſions, as was mentioned in the Cloſe of the laſt Chapter.

In the mean Time, Sir *John* removed his Flag on board the *Ranelagh*, a 3d Rate of 80 Guns, the 27th Inſtant; the *Prince George* being ſo leaky, that there was a Neceſſity for her being careened before ſhe could put to Sea again. But the reſt of the Ships that were under immediate Orders, he cauſed to be healed and tallowed, and put into the beſt Poſture for the Sea, that his preſent bad Circumſtances would permit. There was extreme Want of Anchors and Cables, and though the

the Commiſſioner had bought all the Naval Stores that he could poſſibly get, yet much was wanting; and they were obliged to make new Sails for the Ships that came in with him laſt, which took up ſome Time, and together with the Badneſs of the Weather, ever ſince his Arrival at *Liſbon*, had been no ſmall Hindrance to the Diſpatch of Affairs.

The 1ſt of *February*, the *Pembroke* and *Roebuck* arrived from *Gibraltar*, bringing with them a *French* Privateer of 24 Guns they had taken in their Paſſage. Sir *John* immediately ordered them to Sea again, to convoy ſome *Virginia* Ships 150 Leagues into the Sea, purſuant to his Royal Highneſs's Orders. The next Day the *Northumberland* with the Victuallers, and the *Dutch* Men of War with their Convoys arrived. The 3d, the *Litchfield Prize* and *Angleſea* were diſpatch'd with ſome Merchant Ships for *Oporto*. The ſame Day the Packet from *England* arrived, which brought Advice, that the nine Ships from *Toulon* before-mentioned, had been joined by one of 80 Guns; and that having been at Sea, they were ſo ſhattered by a Storm, that they were forced to return to the Iſle *Hyeres*: But that they were refitted, and ſince put to Sea again, and that 13 Ships more were ordered to be got ready at *Toulon* to join them. By an Order which Sir *John* received at the ſame Time, he was directed to ſend home all the Priſoners he ſhould take to *England*, not only to prevent the Charge of maintaining them abroad, but that they might be regularly exchanged; for which Purpoſe they were to be delivered to the Agent for the Commiſſioners of Sick and Wounded, and Exchange of Priſoners of War, as ſoon as they arrived. By the Return of the ſame Packet, he diſpatch'd a Letter to his Highneſs's Secretary, dated the 8th of *February*; wherein he acquaints him, that he was making all poſſible Diſpatch to get his Squadron ready for the Sea, and likewiſe of the Difficulties he laboured under, by the Want of all Sorts of Stores and other Conveniencies. He then goes on to inform him of the bad State of Health in the Fleet, and the Want of Conveniencies on Shoar for the Sick and Wounded: And that as to the Priſoners, he would take Care, purſuant to his Royal Highneſs's Orders, to ſend them to *England* as often as Opportunity offer'd; but that in his Opinion, as the Enemy ſet all the Priſoners that were carried into *Cadiz* (and other Ports) at Liberty, with Paſſports to travel to *Liſbon*; it would ſave a conſiderable Charge to her Majeſty, prevent thoſe infectious Diſtempers, and other Inconveniencies, which their Want of Cloaths and Number, would cauſe amongſt the Ships Companies that carried them to *England*, to diſcharge them as often as they were taken; beſides avoiding the Diſorders often created, by being kept under the ſame Roof, and the Conveniency of making more Room in the Hoſpital for the Sick.

The

The 10th, he received a Letter from his Excellency Mr. *Methuen*, acquainting him, that the King of *Portugal* had desired himself and him would meet with his Minister, to consider what could be done for the Preservation of the *Brazil* Fleet; and that the Meeting was appointed the *Monday* following, at the Secretary's Office. Sir *John* accordingly attended, when taking into Consideration the present Circumstances of Affairs, the ill Condition of the Fleet, and the Difficulties he lay under, by his Royal Highness's express Orders, for relieving *Gibraltar* and *Barcelona*, now in a very unhappy Situation, they could not come to any Resolution. About the ~~same~~ same Time the *Hampton-Court* and *Faulcon* returned from the Expedition they had been sent upon, to look into *Cadiz*, but had not been there; bringing with them two Privateers they had taken off of *Cape Spartel*; one of 38 Guns, but able to carry 44, and the other of 32 Guns, but had hove six overboard, endeavouring to escape. On board these were several *English* Prisoners, whose Declaration believing sufficient to discharge the Orders they had received, they made the best of their Way back to *Lisbon*, without looking into *Cadiz*. Upon these Advices and Orders, a Council of War was held the 17th Instant: Wherein having considered his Royal Highness's Orders, of the 15th of *October*, the 3d, 4th, and 25th of *December*, and of the 1st, and 28th of *January* last; and the Secretary's Letters of the 3d, 26th, and 31st of *December*; with the several Extracts of Letters concerning the Naval Preparations of the *French*; and some Papers of Intelligence, discovering the Disposition of the Inhabitants of *Cadiz*, and that the Galleons were fitting out: It was agreed, the *Panther* and *Tyger*, lately cleaned, should be sent to *Barcelona*, with the Money for paying the Forces, and that as soon as 10 *English* and six *Dutch* of the Line, and some Frigates and Fireships could be got ready, to proceed directly therewith to *Cadiz*; and resolved, if they found the Galleons in the Bay, to go directly in, and endeavour to take and destroy them. There were some Ships of War and Transports expected, with Forces from *England* for *Catalonia*; and it was determined, if they timely arrived, to take the former, and leave the Transports at *Lisbon*, since it was not safe to send them up the *Streights* without a Convoy able to protect them. A Copy of this Council of War, Sir *John* immediately sent to the *English* Envoy, desiring him at the same Time to move the King of *Portugal*, for an Embargo to be laid on all Shipping till he should sail, to prevent any Advice of his Preparations and Designs being carried by Sea to *Cadiz*, which was accordingly granted.

In the mean Time, Mr. *Schonenberg*, the *Dutch* Minister, who was an artful, designing Man, took this Occasion to excuse

cuſe their Nation, and ingratiate himſelf with the Court of *Portugal*, by laying all the Blame upon Sir *John*, for not diſpatching a Convoy to meet the *Brazil* Fleet: Notwithſtanding the *Dutch* Officers were unanimous in Opinion with him and the reſt of the *Engliſh* Officers in the Council of War. But the *Dutch* Miniſter had two Ends in View by this Proceeding: To make a Breach between the *Engliſh* and *Portugueſe*, or at leaſt to promote it as much as poſſible, (which they conſtantly purſued) to be the better eſteemed themſelves, and to retard the Expedition to *Cadiz* till the Galleons were ſailed; wherein there is too much Reaſon to believe the *Portugueſe* concurred, as will appear more plainly by the Sequel. To accompliſh this, they ſent Mr. *Methuen*, a Memorial and ſolemn Proteſt of the King of *Portugal*, againſt himſelf and Sir *John Leake*, in caſe he refuſed to ſend a Convoy of Ships directly from *Liſbon* to meet the *Brazil* Fleet. If he complied with this Demand, it would prevent the *Cadiz* Expedition; if not, it would however embarraſs the *Engliſh* Admiral, and occaſion a Delay till that Affair was adjuſted. This Memorial and Proteſt was couched in the ſtrongeſt Terms; declaring, that if the Convoy demanded was not diſpatch'd, his Excellency with the Chief Officers of the Fleet muſt anſwer for it to the Queen of *England* and the Allies, of being the Cauſe of their Fleet's being loſt, on which depended the Continuation, or a total End of the War in *Spain*. This Proteſt was made and delivered to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador before the Council of War, though Sir *John* did not receive it till ſome Time afterwards; and it is obſervable, is dated the 23d, N. S. the very Day after he conferred with the *Portugueſe* Miniſter of State, in Company with Mr. *Methuen*; when having conſidered his Orders, they could not come to any Reſolution upon the Convoy; which, no doubt, would have been inſiſted upon at that Time, had it been found conſiſtent with other Services, to be performed in the Manner now required.

This Memorial and Proteſt, though dated the 12th, O. S. did not come to Sir *John*'s Hands till the 18th, incloſed in a Letter from Mr. *Methuen*, dated the Day before; and the Reaſon why it was not ſent ſooner, was, becauſe it ſhould not intervene before he had ſettled his other Reſolutions; which I find his Excellency and Sir *John* had agreed was beſt to be done firſt, as moſt beneficial to the common Cauſe, and agreeable to his Orders from *England*. I could not (ſays Mr. *Methuen* in his Letter) delay it any longer, not only becauſe the King of *Portugal* will be concerned to have an Anſwer; but alſo, being laſt Night with Monſieur *Schonenberg* and the *Dutch* Admiral, I found Mr. *Schonenberg* contriving to lay this Delay upon

upon the *Engliſh*, telling me that the *Dutch* Admiral had deſired that you would have propoſed it Yeſterday in the Council of War. I doubt not but he will inform the King of *Portugal* the ſame, and much more; and therefore I think it concerns us, that it be propoſed in a Council of War as ſoon as poſſible. (He then goes on) I muſt own freely to you, this Matter is of the laſt Importance; and therefore I have wrote to you in my Letter ſo ſtrongly, (that was for ſending a Convoy) ſuppoſing you will lay my Letter before the Council of War; and as I think the Reſolution you communicated to me Yeſterday is extremely good; ſo I think, having not reſolved to cruize before *Cadiz*, but to attempt the Galleons, if they are in the Bay, you have a very good Anſwer to make to the King of *Portugal:* That you are going with what Ships are ready on an important Service, which probably cannot detain you but a few Days; when you ſhall make ſuch a Detachment as may protect his, ſo far as you are able. Pardon me, that I am ſo free to ſuggeſt to you, what I would be glad a Council of War ſhould reſolve to anſwer; for after all, you are the entire Maſters what to anſwer and what to do; and which I do not in the leaſt doubt will always be for the Service of her Majeſty and the Good of *England*. I have ordered the Packet to be diſpatched *Wedneſday* Night, and ſhould be glad if you could inform me privately, when you hope to be ready, *&c. Jo. Methuen*. The other Letter of his Excellency's, which this refers to, was of the ſame Date, and in the ſtrongeſt Terms for ſending a Convoy.

According to his Excellency's Deſire, the next Day Sir *John* laid that Letter with the Memorial before a Council of War of *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Officers, together with his Royal Highneſs's poſitive Orders for relieving *Barcelona:* And they reſolved to proceed according to their Reſolution of the 17th Inſtant; and when that Service was over, to detach as many Ships as could be ſpared from other Services, to endeavour to meet and convoy to *Liſbon* the *Brazil* Fleet, and with the reſt proceed to *Gibraltar*, and remain there or thereabouts till they ſhould be joined by the Ships and Tranſports expected from *England*. This Reſolution he immediately diſpatch'd to the Ambaſſador, withal deſiring him to let him know as ſoon as poſſible, in what Station the King of *Portugal* would have the *Engliſh* Ships cruize to join the *Brazil* Fleet; for that he hoped to order it ſo, that the *Dutch* Ships might join ours off of *Lagos*, and proceed from thence to their Station. Mr. *Methuen* returned an Anſwer to this the 21ſt, at eight at Night; that the Secretary had ſent for him between one and two o'Clock to come to a Conference, and bring Sir *John* with him at four o'Clock; which knowing to be impoſſible, he did not trouble him, but went alone: That Monſieur *Waſſenaer* be-

ing, he ſuppoſed, in Town, came with Mr. *Schonenbergh*, where they debated with the whole Council of State till then, and all the Hardſhip had been in effect on him: That the King of *Portugal* inſiſted poſſitively, to have the Ships go from *Liſbon*; but he was confident by ſeveral of the Council, that if Sir *John* would reſolve to detach eight Ships for the Convoy, after the Service was over, to go directly from thence, without touching any where, the King would be very well ſatisfied. Now I beg you, ſays he, to conſider, that this ſeems to be the very Words of the Reſolution already taken; and both the *Dutch* Admiral and Miniſter have ſo far already conſented, that all will be upon us. Monſieur *Waſſenaer* reſolves to ſend four from thence and have this come to him: And therefore, ſo far as my Opinion can weigh with you; I entreat you by all Means poſſible to conſent to this Expedient; and I dare anſwer with my Life, it will be approved in *England*. Monſieur *Waſſenaer* will come down to you to-morrow to hold a Council of War, if it be neceſſary; but I think it is already enough in the Reſolution. If you two do ſend Word to me and Monſieur *Schonenbergh*, to tell the King he may depend upon that, it is enough. And in another Letter, I am glad (ſays he) that you hope to facilitate the Rendezvous of the Veſſels in *Lagos* Bay, becauſe the *Dutch* Miniſter is underhand perſuading the King, that all the Eaſineſs comes from the *Dutch*, and all the Difficulties from us; and therefore, (ſays he) I wiſh this could be ſettled before you go. Sir *John* having conſidered this Matter, and believing it would be leſs Trouble to order the Convoys for the *Brazil* Fleet from *Gibraltar* or thereabouts, than to appoint them a Rendezvous off of *Cadiz*, leſt they ſhould not join ſo ſoon as might be expected; he acquainted the Ambaſſador (the 22d) with his Opinion; which if the Vice-Admiral *Waſſenaer* agreed to, he ſaid, it ſhould not be his Fault, if it was not ſo ordered: That he had not ſeen him, but when he did, which he hoped would be in a little Time, he did not doubt but they ſhould take ſuch Meaſures concerning the Convoys, as would be ſatisfactory to the *Portugueſe*.

After this there were two more Conferences with the Council of State, *viz.* the 21ſt and 22d, whereat Mr. *Methuen* was preſent; in both of which the Propoſal for ſending the Convoy immediately after the Expedition to *Cadiz* ſhould be finiſhed, was rejected by the King of *Portugal:* But being afterwards repreſented to his Majeſty, a Letter was ſent from the Secretary of State, to his Excellency Mr. *Methuen*, in the Middle of the Night, after the laſt Council, which he diſpatched the next Morning to Sir *John*, incloſed in one from himſelf; by which it appears, that the King with ſome Regret accepted of that Propoſal: For in the Secretary of State's Letter, it is ſaid, that

that the King being under a Neceſſity to conform himſelf to the Form, in which alone his Excellency would agree that the Convoy ſhould be given; his Majeſty did command him to deſire, that he would recommend to the *Engliſh* Admiral, that after the Expedition of *Cadiz*, which he did preſume would be very ſhort, he might with all poſſible Speed detach the four *Engliſh* Ships to go with four *Dutch* Ships, to convoy the *Brazil* Fleets in Safety to *Liſbon*. In another Letter he received at the ſame Time from Mr. *Methuen*, he thanks him for his laſt, which had given him Notice of his Intentions; becauſe the *Dutch* Miniſter, the Night before, ſeemed to reflect that he had not ſpoken any Thing to Monſieur *Waſſenaer*. As it is his whole Buſineſs (ſays he) to ingratiate with the *Portugueſe*, and to leſſen the good Underſtanding between the *Dutch* and the *Engliſh*, it is very troubleſome to avoid his Deſigns; and therefore it was his humble Requeſt to him, that the Reſolutions he took might be jointly with Mr. *Waſſenaer*, and as ſoon as he could conveniently; for by that Means the *Dutch* Miniſter would not have it in his Power to do Miſchief. What I mention relating to Mr. *Waſſenaer* (ſays he) is only for your private Information and Caution, to avoid the Tricks of the *Dutch* Miniſter; for I believe Mr. *Waſſenaer* is entirely diſpoſed to a good Friendſhip and Correſpondence with you, and I hope he knows Monſieur *Schonenbergh*. Theſe little Intrigues, however, gave Sir *John* ſome Uneaſineſs, and made him apprehend ill Conſequences to himſelf; for in his Anſwer, which the next Day he ſent his Excellency, after acknowledging the Receipt of his Letter, with the Memorial and Rendezvous of the *Brazil* Fleet; wherein he told him, he would take Care to do all that poſſibly he could; I cannot imagine, (ſays he) what I have omitted in talking to Vice-Admiral *Waſſenaer*, relating to our Proceedings: Neither do I know of any Diſputes that have happened between us, but what he has agreed to; except it be my preſſing (after the Service of *Cadiz* is over) for our going to *Gibraltar*, and remaining there till joined by the Convoys from *England*. But it is plain to me, that notwithſtanding all my Inclination to ſerve the King of *Portugal*, and comply with the *Dutch* to make them eaſy, it is to no Purpoſe; and I am in a fair Way of being ruined, without ſome extraordinary Succeſs attends me. But however that was, it appears Sir *John* had more Difficulty to keep a good Underſtanding with the Court of *Liſbon*, than to perform all the Services that were required of him: And this was entirely owing to the evil Diſpoſition of the *Dutch* Miniſter, who made it his conſtant Study to ſet the *Portugueſe* at Variance with the *Engliſh*; and as he judged this a fit Opportunity, ſo he improved it accordingly.

Having now got over this Difficulty of the *Portugueſe* Convoy, we muſt return to our Preparations for the *Cadiz* Expedition, in the Proſecution whereof Sir *John* had ſo much incurred the Reſentment of the Court of *Portugal*; which, however, he was willing to bear, rather than the juſt Reproach he muſt otherwiſe have ſuffered, of diſobeying his Orders, and neglecting the King of *Spain*'s Intereſt, and the Services of more immediate Conſequence to the common Cauſe.

Beſides the Advice they had received of the Forwardneſs of the Galleons at *Cadiz*; the Diſpoſition of the People there, and the Preparations of the *French* to convoy them in Safety; they had been further informed by a Letter from Mr. *Methuen*, that the abſolute Order for the going out of the Galleons and Flota, after all the Repreſentations to the contrary, came to *Cadiz* the 6th of *February:* That the Galleons began to come down into the Bay in two or three Days after, againſt the Endeavours of all the *Spaniards* concerned: That they were all come out of the *Puntals* into the Bay of *Cadiz*, near the Town: That by the ſinking of the Ships between the *Puntals* only one Ship was able to go in at a Time, and that with Hazard; by Reaſon of the Current being there become extream rapid: So that if our Fleet ſurpriſed them in the Bay, it would be very difficult for them to retire within the *Puntals*. The Perſon from whom his Excellency had this Account, was a *Spaniard* in whom he could confide; and left *Cadiz* the 17th N. S. and he added, that he ſaw ſo much preſſing Haſte made to get the Galleons to Sea, that he feared they would be gone before our Squadron could arrive.

By theſe Advices Sir *John* was, however, in great Hopes to ſurpriſe the Galleons in *Cadiz:* And 16 Sail of the Line being now almoſt ready to proceed, *viz.* 10 *Engliſh* and ſix *Dutch*; he gave out the Rendezvous and Line of Battle, with the proper Diſpoſitions for going into the Bay if they found the Enemy there; which, though it did not take Effect, yet as they were well concerted and ſuitable to the Occaſion, I think it proper to inſert, to ſhew the Nature of ſuch an Attempt.

Line

	Line of Battle.	Guns.
	Hampton-Court,	70
	Berwick,	70
Roebuck,	40, *Pembroke*,	60
Griffin Fireſhip,	*Edgar*,	70
Vulture Fireſhip,	*Bedford*,	70
Carcaſs Bomb,	*Ranelagh*,	80, Sir *John Leake*.
Faulcon,	30, *Northumberland*,	70
	Burford,	70
	Graſton,	70
	Rupert,	70
Salamander Fireſhip,	*Ripperda*,	52
Etna Fireſhip,	*Edam*,	64
Schryck Bomb,	*Elſwoud*,	72, V. Adm. *Waſſenaer*.
Beſchutter,	*Zirickzee*,	64
	Medenblick,	54
	Zeelandt,	64

Line of Batle for ſailing into *Cadiz*.	Guns.
Hampton-Court,	70
Griffin Fireſhip,	*Edam*, 64
	Berwick, 70
	Edgar, 70
	Zeelandt, 64
Salamander Fireſhip,	*Bedford*, 70
	Ranelagh, 80
Vulture Fireſhip,	*Northumberland*, 70
	Pembroke, 60
	Burford, 70
	Zirickzee, 64
Etna Fireſhip,	*Elſwoud*, 72
	Ripperda, 52
	Graſton, 70
Carcaſs Bomb,	*Rupert*, 70
Schryck Bomb,	*Medenblick*, 54

In caſe of Separation before they got to *Cadiz*, the Place of Rendezvous was off of *Cape St. Mary's*, where they were to remain 24 Hours; and if Sir *John* did not join them in that Time, they were to proceed and cruize in Sight of *Cadiz* 48

Hours, and then to proceed to *Gibraltar*, appointed the Place of Rendezvous: And the following Directions he gave to the reſpective Ships for going into *Cadiz* Bay.

Firſt, every Ship to bend a Hawſer (paſſing out of the Stern-Port) to the Ring of the Anchor he lets go, in order to bring her Broadſide to bear, if there be Occaſion. Second, no Ship to engage either Forts, Town or Ships till the Admiral fires. Third, that particular Care be taken to put the Matches under the Direction of a Commiſſion or other Officer that can be truſted, to prevent the Seamens firing before their proper Time. Fourth, the Barge of every Ship to have a Fire-Grappel in her: And if any of the Enemy's Ships ſhould be ſet on fire, and endanger any of the Queen's or States-General, that the Boats be ſent to tow her or them off; likewiſe to aſſiſt any of the Fireſhips, if any of their Gallies ſhould come to attack them, a Lieutenant being in each Boat. Fifth, if there be a *French* Squadron in the Bay, that the Fireſhips attempt them firſt. Sixth, the Signal for drawing into a Line for going into *Cadiz* Bay, is a Red Flag hoiſted at the Mizzen-Peak, inſtead of a Union Flag and a Gun fired. Seventh, if they ſhould be detained in the Bay till Night; each Captain was, about ſeven o'Clock the ſame Night, to repair on board the Ship wherein Sir *John* then was for Orders, without any further Notice. Eighth, that every Ship comes to an Anchor the moſt advantageouſly he can, for annoying the Enemy. Ninth, every Ship's Long-Boat to have a Stream Anchor and Cable put in her. Tenth, the Ships that will be ſent a-head of the Fleet, to look into *Cadiz*, upon their Diſcovery of the Galleons being in the Bay, are to hoiſt a Flag at their Main-top-maſt-head, if above the *Puntals*, at their Fore-top-maſt-head; but if none be at either Place, then a Flag at the Mizzen-top-maſt-head.

Loſing Company and meeting in the Day; the Weathermoſt Ship to lower her Fore-top-gallant-ſail, or Top-ſail, and fire two Guns diſtinctly; but if the Top-ſails ſhould be handed, then to hoiſt the Main and Fore-top-ſail Stay-ſails, with the Sheets flown, till he is anſwered by the Leewardmoſt Ship, by hawling up his Main-ſail, Fore-ſail and Mizzen, and firing three Guns. If in the Night, the Weathermoſt Ship to hoiſt four Lights, one over the other, where they may beſt be ſeen, and the Leewardmoſt to anſwer by ſhewing three Lights, or as many as he can conveniently of equal Height, where they may beſt be ſeen.

When the Admiral would ſpeak with a Captain of any Ship, he will put abroad a Pendant, as againſt that Ship's Name in the following Scheme: If with a Lieutenant, the ſame, and a Weſt with the Enſign: If for a Boat, without a Commiſſion Officer, a Weſt half up the Enſign Staff.

Red.

Red.	White.	Blue.	Yellow.	Places where.
				Main } top-
Hampton-Court,	*Berwick*,	*Rupert*,	*Griffin* Fireſhip,	Fore } maſt-
Northumberland,	*Edgar*,	*Burford*,	*Vulture* Fireſhip,	Mizzen } head.
Ranelagh,	*Bedford*,	*Pembroke*.	*Carcaſs* Bomb.	Main-top-ſail-
Grafton.	*Roebuck*.	*Faulcon*.		yard-arm.

The Rendezvous, with the Signals for knowing each other by Day or Night, were left with the Commiſſioner at *Liſbon* and the Governor of *Gibraltar*, to be communicated to any Ships that were to join him; leaving Orders with the Commiſſioner, directing the Commanding Officer of her Majeſty's Ships which he ſhould leave at *Liſbon*, or might arrive there in his Abſence, to follow him to *Gibraltar* with the reſt, when the Ships of the States General, under the Command of Captain *Norſe* were ready for the Sea, and remain there till further Order, taking with them all the Queen's Ships that ſhould arrive, not being under immediate Orders from his Royal Highneſs to return to *England*; as alſo the Tranſports with Forces for *Catalonia*; Victuallers for the Squadron, and Store-ſhips for *Gibraltar*, &c. with other Services he himſelf was under Orders to perform. And that the Service might not ſuffer any Delay, he empowered the Commiſſioner whilſt he was abſent, to open all Orders and Letters that ſhould arrive from *England* from his Highneſs's Secretary; which he was to communicate to the Commander in Chief for the Time being at *Liſbon*, and diſpatch to him by a Felucca the firſt Opportunity.

Theſe previous Diſpoſitions being made, as well in relation to the Service he was going upon, as to what remained to be done at *Liſbon*; his Squadron being ready the 22d, he anchored in the Bay of *Wares*; here he waited, as uſual, for the *Dutch*, who did not join him till two Days after: Whereupon the next Day, being the 25th, early in the Morning he got under Sail, in order to proceed to *Cadiz*: But when he was near the Bar, to his great Surpriſe, St. *Julian*'s Caſtle and ſome of the Forts fired ſeveral Shot at them, which obliged him to anchor again, though with much Regret; being rather inclined to paſs, notwithſtanding their Fire; and he certainly would have done it; but conſidering he was upon ill Terms already with the Court of *Portugal*, upon account of the *Brazil* Convoy, ſuch a Proceeding, at this Time, would have been look'd upon as a direct Inſult, purpoſely done in Contempt to the King's Orders, and conſequently have further exaſperated his Majeſty, who had already threatened a Complaint to *England*. And beſides, had he done ſo, it may well be ſuſpected the *Dutch* would not have followed his Example,

ample, whereby the whole Odium would have been thrown upon the *Engliſh*, and the Service not in the leaſt forwarded by it. He therefore took the moſt prudent Meaſures, by ſending immediately a Lieutenant, to know the Reaſon; and had for Anſwer, that their Orders from the Duke *de Cadival*, were not to ſuffer either Man of War or Merchant Ship to paſs the Bar; though it was notoriouſly true, they ſuffered five Sail to go out the very Day after the Embargo, two of which were *Danes*. Upon this Anſwer, he diſpatch'd a Letter to his Excellency Mr. *Methuen*, deſiring him to apply inſtantly, to have Orders from the Court to clear up the Miſtake; but in the mean Time the Wind ſhifted, which was a Bar he could not remove; and the Fleet was thereby prevented ſailing that Day. The next Morning, Mr. *Methuen* having procured the King's Orders, they were diſpatch'd by Land to all the Caſtles; but for more Security, he ſent a Perſon to Sir *John* with the ſame Orders, that he might ſend them by Boats to remove the Embargo, which, it ſeems, they had made him lay upon himſelf; and as his Excellency obſerves in his Letter, was certainly the greateſt Negligence of the Port Miniſters that was poſſible, and could have happened no where elſe.

The Embargo being removed, he ſailed the ſame Morning, though too late; for the Loſs of 24 Hours, which he had been detained, proved the Diſappointment of the Deſign. But proceeding for *Cadiz*, the 27th, he got the Length of the Southward Cape; where he found the Wind Eaſterly; but towards Noon it fell calm, and then ſprang up Weſterly; and ſoon after veered to the Northward and N. by E. which carried him by the next Morning the Length of *Cape St. Mary's*; and it then veering to the N. E. and N. E. by E. he ſtood to the Southward, to lie in the fair Way to intercept the Galleons, if they got out before the Wind would let him go thither. At the ſame Time he ordered the *Hampton-Court*, *Grafton* and *Faulcon* Pink, which were the only clean Ships he had with him, to ſtretch a-head into the Station he intended to be in. But that ſame Night, about 10 o'Clock, he received a Letter from Vice-Admiral *Waſſenaer*, acquainting him, that a Privateer, called the *Middleburgh Gally*, had that Moment brought in a Prize, that left *Cadiz* that Morning; giving an Account, the Flota and Galleons ſailed from thence the Morning before, with a hard Gale of Eaſterly Wind, under Convoy of 10 or 12 *French* Ships, moſt or all of them Privateers, and were out of Sight of that Place by Noon. Upon this Advice, Sir *John* ſoon reſolved to purſue, and accordingly ſteered S. W. half South and S. W. all Night, though with little Hopes of overtaking them, unleſs the Eaſterly Winds ſhould have left them when they got the Length

of

of the Southward Cape, as he himſelf had often experienced. The next Morning he ſaw two Sail a-head of him, which they chaſed, the Wind ſtill continuing to blow freſh at E.N.E. By ſix at Night, both the Ships they chaſed were taken, being *Spaniards:* One of them a Ship of 24 Guns, bound to the *Canaries*, and thence to the *Weſt-Indies*; the Commander giving an Account, that he left *Cadiz* the Day after the Galleons ſailed from thence, agreeing in his Relation with the Advices they had received the Night before: And further, that they had certain Intelligence at *Cadiz* of Sir *John*'s Deſign, and had provided againſt it accordingly, both on Shoar and at Sea with their Gallies: And it was ſhrewdly ſuſpected, that this Intelligence was carried thither by one of the *Daniſh* Ships, that ſailed from *Liſbon* the Day after the Embargo, which did not a little increaſe the Suſpicion of foul Play in *Portugal*. Hereupon, it was the general Opinion, as well as Sir *John*'s, that it was to no Purpoſe to follow them any farther, but to proceed to *Gibraltar* purſuant to the Reſolution in the laſt Council of War. Accordingly he lay by all Night, and the next Morning being joined by all the Squadron (except the *Hampton-Court*, *Grafton* and *Faulcon*, who had loſt Company with him when he bore away in the Night, upon Advice of the Galleons being ſailed) he made Sail for that Place.

Theſe concurring Teſtimonies make it evident from whence all the Delays and Obſtructions at *Liſbon* to retard the ſailing of the Fleet did ariſe. It is notorious, that the *Dutch* Trade extends even to their Enemies for Advantage, and the *Portugueſe* acted upon the ſame Principle: Such were our noble Allies. No Wonder then the *Portugueſe* and *Dutch* ſhould combine againſt the *Engliſh* in this Expedition; when the Galleons contained more of the Wealth of thoſe two Nations than *Spain*. Nay, ſome of the Merchants at *Liſbon* openly declared, they hoped the *Engliſh* Fleet would miſs the Galleons, and others ſaid there was no Danger. But to effect this, they were forced to contrive one Difficulty to ſucceed another, till at length their whole Deſigns were too groſs to be concealed. I doubt not but the Propoſal for a Convoy for the *Brazil* Fleet was preſſed with ſuch Earneſtneſs, in order to divide the Squadron, and prevent a Number of Ships being got together time enough to ſurpriſe the Galleons; which muſt have happened, if the firſt eight Ships ready for the Sea, had been diſpatch'd, as the Court of *Portugal* demanded; the whole Squadron intended for the *Cadiz* Expedition being but 16. But when Sir *John* had declared, (notwithſtanding they threatened a Proteſt againſt them) that he muſt firſt comply with his Royal Highneſs's Orders to attempt the Galleons, they being poſitive; and after that diſpatch a Convoy; they were

were forced to make uſe of other Artifices to obſtruct his Deſigns: So that he had no ſooner procured an Embargo, to prevent Intelligence going to the Enemy, but the *Dutch* and *Portugueſe* diſpatch'd Ships directly to *Cadiz* to haſten the Galleons, and acquaint them with the Readineſs of his Squadron; the Certainty whereof was confirmed to Sir *John*, by a Letter from his Excellency Mr. *Methuen*, dated the 14th of *March*, N. S. acquainting him, that by an Expreſs from thence, he had certain Advice, that a *Genoeſe* from *Liſbon* had told them he was coming. After this, he was detained two Days waiting for the *Dutch:* And all not being thought ſufficient to ſecure the Galleons, they moſt abſurdly ſtopp'd him a Day longer, under Colour of the Embargo which he had procured, and which indeed ſeemed to have been complied with for no other End. By this poor Pretence, did they at laſt moſt baſely and treacherouſly accompliſh the Buſineſs: For if he had not been detained this laſt 24 Hours, in all Probability he muſt have fell in with them at Sea. It was a true Saying of a noble Lord in Parliament about this Time[a]: That let our Supplies be never ſo full and ſpeedy, let our Management be never ſo great and proper; yet if it be our Misfortune, to have Allies that are ſlow and backward, as we are zealous and forward, that hold our Hands and ſuffer us not to take any Opportunities that offer; I cannot ſee (ſays he) what it is we are reaſonably to expect; which was the preſent Caſe with reſpect to the *Dutch*, who, as the ſame noble Lord expreſſed it, had the Advantage of a trading War. This indeed appeared ſo flagrant to the whole Nation, that in the ſame Seſſions it was propoſed, in the Clauſe for adding 10,000 Men to act in Conjunction with the *Dutch*, to be added, Provided they [the *Dutch*] be obliged to leave off Trading with *France*; but this Propoſal, however reaſonable, paſſed in the Negative, and they continued as they begun. Nor were the *Portugueſe* at all honeſter, making every Thing ſubſervient to their own particular Intereſt; not only preferable to all other Conſiderations, but in direct Oppoſition to the general Intereſt of the grand Allies. It was therefore a hard Taſk to perform the publick Service, between the joint and ſeparate Intrigues of the *Portugueſe* and *Dutch*; which muſt ſome how or other interfere upon every Occaſion, and conſequently to act for the general Benefit, was to make them both Enemies. Two ſuch Allies therefore were enough to have ruined, and would have ruined any Admiral that had not been attended with ſuch extraordinary Succeſs as Sir *John* was. But to return to the Squadron, which having given over the fruitleſs Purſuit of the Galleons, were making the beſt of their Way for *Gibraltar*.

[a] Lord *Haverſham*'s Speech, 15 *Nov.* 1705.

The

The 3d of *March* the Fleet lay by, and a Council of War was called, to conſider about the Convoy for the *Brazil* Fleet, but came to no Reſolution; it being the Opinion of the Council of War, that as they had no leſs Ships than 70 Guns, they could not poſſibly be ſpared from the Service of *Catalonia*; they therefore deferred their Reſolution till the Arrival of four ſmaller Ships that were expected to join them at *Gibraltar*. The Wind continued Eaſterly without any remarkable Occurrence till the 15th, when Sir *John* diſpatch'd a Letter to Mr. *Methuen* at *Liſbon*. This Letter was dated from on board the *Ranelagh*, in the Latitude of 35 D. 4 M. *Cape Spartel* bearing Eaſt 25 Leagues. It was to deſire his Excellency to open any Orders that might come to him from *England*; and if they were of Conſequence, to forward them to him: Likewiſe to call for any Orders that might come to Commiſſioner *Wright*'s Hands, who had his Directions to open them: That the Wind continued Eaſterly, which made him very uneaſy, when he conſidered the ſeveral Services that were enjoined him, eſpecially that of *Catalonia*; for that it might be feared the Enemy might have a ſtronger Squadron before *Barcelona*, than he ſhould be able to make; and therefore he deſired all the Intelligence that could be got, before he proceeded to *Gibraltar*. Three Days afterwards he detach'd the *Berwick* to *Tangier*, to take on board ſome Captives, and then to make the beſt of her Way to *Gibraltar*.

Sir *John* had not in all this Time received any Letters from the Earl of *Peterborough* ſince he came from *Barcelona*, nor any Account of the Enemy's Proceedings in *Catalonia*. But on the 19th of *March*, being joined by the *Grafton*, her Captain acquainted him, that in his Cruize, he ſpoke with an *Engliſh* Runner from *Genoa*; who gave an Account, that Count *Thoulouſe*, with 17 Men of War, ſailed from *Toulon* the 23d of *February*, nine of which were Ships of three Decks; and that they were bound for *Barcelona* with Forces: That Monſieur *du Queſne* had been there with nine Sail more ſome time before, and that ſix more were daily expected to join them. The 23d, the *Grafton* was detach'd to cruize off *Cadiz*, whilſt the Eaſterly Wind laſted; and ſoon after the *Panther* and *Tyger* joined the Fleet, in 10 Days from *Denia*, where they had put the Money on Shoar, by Order of the Lord *Peterborough*, who was at *Valencia*, which is within 12 Leagues of that Place. The Captain of the *Panther* likewiſe brought an Account, that the Enemy had about 4000 Horſe and Foot betwixt *Alicant* and *Valencia*, but could get no perfect Account what Number of Ships were upon the Coaſt of *Catalonia*; nor whether the *French* intended to beſiege *Barcelona*.

The

The 24th, he ordered the *Faulcon* to *Liſbon* with Letters, and to clean: The ſame Day the *Leopard* and *Garland* joined him from *Gibraltar*, and ſoon after the *Pembroke* and *Roebuck* from the ſame Place.

The 26th, the Fleet being about three Leagues E. S. E. from *Cape Spartel*, a Council of War was called to conſider further concerning the Convoy of the *Brazil* Fleet; and it was unanimouſly their Opinion, that ſince the Eaſt Winds had detained them ſo long out of the *Streights*, and from being joined by the four Ships as they expected; that it was too late to ſend the eight *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Ships, formerly deſigned to meet the *Brazil* Fleet; as believing that they were by that Time, either arrived at *Liſbon*, or ſo near that Port, that the meeting with them would be very uncertain; and conſidering the preſent bad Poſture of Affairs in *Catalonia* required their ſpeedieſt and utmoſt Aſſiſtance, and that the other Service depended upon various Accidents; it was reſolved, that it might be of very ill Conſequence to the Allies in general, and the King of *Spain* in particular, to divide their Strength, by detaching any Ships to go upon the aforeſaid Service, till *Catalonia* ſhould be ſuccoured. The next Day the *Burford* joined him from *Lagos*; and the following, the *Hampton-Court* with a Prize. And at length, after a tedious Paſſage, by contrary Winds, the 29th, the Fleet arrived in *Gibraltar* Bay: The Officers, in general, being greatly incenſed againſt the *Portugueſe* for their Diſappointment in this fruitleſs Expedition, which had flattered them with golden Hopes.

CHAP. XII.

Sir John *receives Advice from King* Charles, *of his immediate Danger in* Barcelona, *being block'd up by Sea and Land. He concerts the Means for his Relief; proceeds thither. The* French *Fleet retires, and he relieves the Place at the laſt Extremity.*

UPON Sir *John*'s Arrival with the Fleet in *Gibraltar* Bay, he detach'd the *Leopard* to cruize to the Eaſtward of that Place, and gave immediate Orders for the Fleet to water; as well to ſupply their preſent Occaſion, as to be ready to ſail the firſt Opportunity. The principal Concern he had at this Time was for the Safety of *Barcelona*, whereon that of his Catholick Majeſty depended: It being to be feared, the Enemy might have a ſtronger Squadron before that Place than

than he ſhould be able to make for their Relief: For by the Intelligence he had received, Count *Thoulouſe* ſailed from *Toulon* for *Barcelona*, with a Squadron and ſome Land-Forces, with a Deſign, as it was apprehended, to beſiege the Place; and the Squadron, when joined by ſome others at Sea, would make 34 Sail of great Ships. But he had yet Hopes the Storm was not ſo bad as it threatened, not having heard from the Earl of *Peterborough* ſince he left *Barcelona*, and was confirmed in this Hope the 22d Inſtant, when he received an Order from his Lordſhip, of the 10th of *March*, O. S. directing him to repair with the Fleet as near to *Veneros* or *Alfraques* as he could, to diſembark the Men and Money; his Lordſhip being in *Valencia* at the Head of a good Body of Troops, and in very favourable Circumſtances, if joined by a freſh Body of Men, to march to *Madrid*; and there being a *French* Squadron of 20 Sail in *Barcelona* Road, the great Ships might proceed thither to ſurpriſe them in the Night. But by another Order of the ſame Date, which in other Reſpects is a Duplicate of the former; he was to land the Forces at *Denia* or *Altea*, if he thought it dangerous at the former Places. By theſe Orders it appears, his Lordſhip little conſidered, or knew the Circumſtances of the Confederate Fleet, or that of the Enemy, and never dreamt of *Barcelona*'s being beſieged.

The 3d of *April*, the *Graſton* came in from Cruizing; and in the Afternoon, the *Somerſet*, *Royal Oak* and *Ipſwich* arrived with their Convoys from *England*, but laſt from *Liſbon*; and likewiſe ſeven Sail of *Dutch* Men of War. By theſe Ships Sir *John* received ſome Letters of Advice and Orders. By the Orders, he was required to conſider, at a Council of War, of the moſt ſpeedy and ſafe Method for ſending the Troops to *Catalonia:* And by the Letters of Advice, he was informed, that there were 30 Ships of the Line at *Toulon*; 13 from 80 to 100 Guns; beſides five Frigates and 12 Gallies; and that 18 Ships would be fitted in *Weſt France* to join them; ſo that *Barcelona* was threatened with a terrible Storm by Sea and Land.

Beſides this, he had much later Advice, by the Maſter of a Cettee, who came in 10 Days from *Alicant*, that he was told by the Maſter of a *Tartan*, who came in four Days from *Barcelona*, with Letters from the *French* Conſul, that there were before *Barcelona*, when he came away, between 35 and 40 *French* Men of War; eight of them Three-deck'd Ships, and the leaſt of 36 Guns; that the Lord *Peterborough* was gone from *Valencia* to *Arzil'a*, and that the Enemy had ſome Forces before *Jeron*, but none before *Barcelona*. Upon theſe Advices and Orders, Sir *John* held a Council of War the next Morning; wherein it was their unanimous Opinion, that the Enemy's Squadron before *Barcelona*, by all Accounts, was

much ſuperior to that with him. And his Excellency the Earl of *Peterborough*, having earneſtly deſired that he may be reinforced as ſpeedily as poſſible; it was reſolved, that ſix *Engliſh* Ships of the Line and two Frigates, and three *Dutch* and one Frigate, with two Tranſports to carry the Baggage, all of them the beſt Sailers, ſhould be ſent to *Altea* or *Denia* with the Forces on board them, that lately arrived from *Plymouth*, or where they could be landed with moſt Conveniency; and after having landed them, or found the ſame impracticable, to make the beſt of their Way back to *Gibraltar*, hoping by the Time they ſhould return, the Convoy expected from *Ireland* would be arrived, and that they might be ſo far reinforced as to be able to go to *Barcelona*. The following Day he received Advice by a Letter from Mr. *Methuen*, that the *Iriſh* Convoy, by the laſt Accounts from *England*, were embarking the 15th of *March*, and were ordered to come away with the two Men of War, and not to expect the other three: And from *Portſmouth*, (the 18th,) that Sir *George Byng* was perfectly ready to ſail with his Squadron, and waited only for a Wind, which the Captain of the Packet aſſured him was Northerly in the Channel ever ſince the 24th: So that the Wind having been at *Liſbon* for four or five Days Northerly a very freſh Gale, he thought they might reaſonably expect both one and the other there in a Day or two, and he would endeavour to prevent their ſtaying at all there. My Lord *Peterborough*'s Order, (ſays he) of which you favoured me with a Copy, ſeems to give one Hopes that you will find Things in a tolerable Condition in *Catalonia*, and ſo indeed I believe they are, eſpecially in *Valencia*, where my Lord is: But I muſt confeſs, I tremble to think how our Forces are divided, and far diſtant from *Barcelona*; ſo that the King of *Spain* ſeems to be expoſed there to great Danger; and we hear from all Hands, that the Orders from *France* are to beſiege *Barcelona*, notwithſtanding all the Generals of the Duke of *Anjou* are of another Opinion. The Advice which this Letter brought of the *Iriſh* Convoy, and a Reinforcement from *England*, gave Sir *John* great Satisfaction, in hopes they might arrive timely, to enable him to drive the Enemy from before *Barcelona*; but he was ſomething dubious concerning the Condition of that Place, having received no certain Account from thence. But that very Day, by a *Tartan* in 10 Days from *Barcelona*, but laſt from *Valencia*, and the next Morning by the *Mary* Gally from *Denia*, he receceived the following Letters from his Catholick Majeſty and Prince *Lichenſtein*.

Admiral

Barcelona, March 26, 1706.

'Admiral LEAKE,

'WHEREAS the Enemy are on both Sides my Principality of *Catalonia*, and my City, *Barcelona*, is 'likely to be beſieged by Land, having been block'd up by 'Sea this ſeven Weeks paſt: I am willing to let you know 'the State of my Affairs; and to tell you my Deſire is, that you 'come to this Place with all poſſible Diligence (and without any 'Delay) with the Ships, Troops and Money, which the Queen 'your Miſtreſs has deſigned for my Service, and the Relief of '*Catalonia*. I rely on your Zeal and Diligence for my Royal 'Service, and that of the common Cauſe, that you will 'make all the Diſpatch poſſible to bring me the ſaid Succours, 'on which depends chiefly our Preſervation, and the Security 'of my Perſon. In the mean Time I aſſure you of my Royal 'Eſteem and Friendſhip, which I have always had for your 'Merits.

'CHARLES.'

Accompanying this Letter from his Majeſty, was another from the Prince *de Lichenſtein*, as follows.

'SIR,

'HIS Majeſty the King, my Maſter, finds at this Conjuncture, the Principality attack'd on both Sides by 'the Enemy's conſiderable Armies, one whereof is under the 'Command of the Duke of *Anjou*, and the other of the 'Duke *de Noailles*, and the City of *Barcelona* like to be beſieged. You may eaſily judge of the great Neceſſity there 'is to aſſiſt us ſpeedily with the Squadron, Troops and Money, 'which the Queen, your Miſtreſs, has deſigned towards the 'Security of *Catalonia*. I hope theſe will find you within the '*Streights*, nay, even on the Coaſt of the Kingdom of *Valencia*; and what confirms me in this Hope is, that the Enemy's 18 Men of War that have block'd up the City for 'this ſeven Weeks, are ſailed; but we know not whether they 'will return hither again or go to *Toulon*. 'Tis wiſh'd you 'could have the ſame Succeſs on theſe Ships, as you had laſt 'Year with thoſe of *Malaga*. All the Advices we have of 'the Enemy's Deſigns and Motions agree, that they reſolve 'to leave the Towns of *Lerida* and *Gironne* behind them, 'and to march with all their Forces directly for *Barcelona*; 'which Place, in the Condition it is in at preſent, is able to 'make but a very weak Defence, having no regular Troops,

'and

'and only guarded by its Inhabitants; and the Fort of *Montjuich* 'is found in the ſame Condition as when it was taken; the 'City being alſo without Stores, Proviſions and Money. I 'well know his Majeſty is confident of your Zeal and Appli-'cation for his Royal Service and the common Cauſe; and 'that you will uſe all poſſible Diligence to come hither with 'the Troops that are to be landed, without any Delay or 'Hindrance; without which the City, and all the Principa-'lity of *Catalonia*, which depends upon its Preſervation, will 'run the Riſque of being loſt, with as much Eaſe, and in as 'little Time, as the glorious Arms of the Queen your Miſ-'treſs, joined with thoſe of the Lords the States-General, 'conquered it. Beſides, the ſacred Perſon of his Majeſty will 'be expoſed to inevitable Dangers. Waiting the Honour of 'ſaluting you in a very ſhort Time,

I am, &c.

'*P. S.* Eight of the Enemy's Ships have weighed and an-'chored again nearer the City, which makes me more preſ-'ſing, that you will come ſpeedily with you Squadron and 'Forces.

'*Prince* DE LICHENSTEIN.'

The Deſign of the Enemy, as it was generally believed, was to open the Campaign with the Siege of *Valencia*, by the Duke of *Anjou*; whilſt the Duke of *Noailles*, who had entered *Catalonia* with about 8000 Men, was to attack *Gironne*, that they might afterwards, with more Eaſe, unite their Forces and lay Siege to *Barcelona*. But if this was a real Project, the ſame, it ſeems, was laid aſide, and the Enemy had fixed their Eye wholly upon this laſt City, by Reaſon King *Charles* was there; and being in Honour obliged to continue there, the re-ducing it would, at one Blow, decide the Competition about the Monarchy of *Spain*: And having a ſtanch Party in the City, that gave them ſecret Intelligence, and had informed them of the ill Condition of the Fortifications, they thought there would be no great Difficulties in the Enterpriſe, eſpecially if it was carried on at the ſame Time, both by Sea and Land. To amuſe the Court of *Barcelona*, they made a Feint, as if they would fall upon *Lerida*, *Gironne* or ſome other Place; whereby they drew almoſt all the confederate Forces, Engi-neers and Ammunition to the Frontiers: The *Engliſh* Guards, thoſe of his Majeſty's Perſon and *Watergate* only excepted. Indeed, theſe Meaſures were ſo well concerted, that had they taken Effect, *Barcelona* muſt have been loſt and the King taken Priſoner. But in the critical Minute, Providence inter-poſed, and by a Storm diſperſed the Troops and Fleet for a whole

whole Month; which gave the Confederate Fleet that happy Opportunity to come in Time to relieve it. But notwithſtanding this Diſappointment, they perſevered in their firſt Deſign, and as ſoon as the Fleet was ready, they ſailed thither; and the 1ſt of *April*, N. S. 12 Men of War of Count *Thouloufe*'s Squadron appeared before *Barcelona*; and ſoon after the Enemy inveſted the City by Land.

So ſurpriſing an Approach of the Enemy, very much daſhed the City, and eſpecially the Court; ſo that his Majeſty was over-perſuaded to make his Eſcape; yet when the Hour came he altered his Mind, and determined to continue in the Town; by which heroick Reſolution, he was the main Inſtrument of its Preſervation. This was the Condition of the King in *Barcelona*, the 2d of *April*, N. S. when the Enemy inveſted the City; and having ſecured all the Paſſes, put an End to all Hope of Deliverance by Land: So that there remained no Poſſibility of Relief but by the Sea.

Nevertheleſs, Sir *John* received a Letter from the Earl of *Peterborough*, dated but three Days before the Place was inveſted, *viz.* the 19th of *March*, O. S. incloſing an Order of the Day before, for landing the Troops, *&c.* without any Variation from the Order of the 10th Inſtant. The Fate of *Spain* (ſays he) depending upon the Support of that Kingdom [of *Valencia*] it is highly neceſſary, that all Ships or Fleets ſtop at *Altea*, it being every Way proper, ſince any Forces ſent towards *Barcelona*, in the preſent Circumſtances are ſent ſo far out of the Way. 'Tis plain his Lordſhip was under no Apprehenſions for *Barcelona*, the 19th of *March*, when he wrote this Letter, but thought that all depended upon landing the Forces at *Altea*, and ſupporting the Kingdom of *Valencia*; for which Reaſon (as he continues in the ſame Letter) he kept Barks out at Sea, with Orders to all Admirals and Commanders of Squadrons to make the beſt of their Way to *Altea*. But indeed, after they had diſembark'd the Troops, Money and Amunition there, the Order gave them Leave to go and ſurpriſe the *French* Squadron of 20 Men of War by Night, that lay in *Barcelona* Road, if they could. It is indeed very extraordinary, that the Enemy ſhould keep their Army ſo long Incognito from his Lordſhip, eſpecially if, (as his own Writer ſays [a]) he had the beſt Intelligence that any General ever had: And that King *Charles* likewiſe ſhould be ſo far wanting to himſelf, as not to ſend my Lord an Account of the Enemy's Motions, when the Communication was free, but keep him in ſo profound an Ignorance, even till the Duke of *Anjou* was at the very Gates of *Barcelona*. However that might be with Reſpect to his Lordſhip, it was not ſo with

[a] The Author of the Earl of *Peterborough*'s Conduct in *Spain*.

Sir *John*; to whom his Catholick Majeſty was pleaſed to communicate the Circumſtances he was in at *Barcelona*; firſt, when the City was block'd up by the Enemy's Fleet; and now by a ſecond Letter, upon the Approach of their Army; which though dated but the Day after the Lord *Peterborough*'s, ſhews *Barcelona* in as different a Light as poſſible from what his Lordſhip's Letter and Order ſuggeſt. His Majeſty's Letter was as follows.

'I the KING.

'Admiral LEAKE,

'I Am diſpoſed to take upon me this Occaſion, to adviſe you the high Riſque this Principality and my Royal Perſon is found in; for I make no Doubt, ere the Morrow, the Enemy will moleſt us. They have already block'd me up with a Squadron, and their Army is now almoſt in Sight of this City; and by their quick Marches have gained ſome Poſts, which if they might have been prevented, would very much have hindred their Deſigns. I am reſolved, although I find myſelf with ſuch a ſmall Gariſon, (as 1000 Men of regular Troops, and 400 Horſe) not to leave this Place; for in the preſent Conjuncture I have conſidered, that my going hence will be the Loſs of this City, and conſequently of all the other Places, which the happy Succeſs of the laſt Campaign hath reduced to my Obedience; for which Reaſon it is my Opinion to riſque all, and venture the Caſualties which a Siege is incident to; putting juſt Truſt and Confidence in your known Zeal, towards the great Forwarding the common Cauſe; making no Doubt, how much you have contributed towards the Succours Forwardneſs. I hope in a few Days you will appear before this Place; where your known Valour and Activity may meet with a glorious Succeſs; for which I ſhall again conſtitute you the Credit of my Royal Gratitude. Given in *Barcelona*, the 31ſt of *March*, 1706.

'*I the KING.*

'*By Command of the King my Maſter,*

'HENRY DE GUNTER.'

Upon the Receipt of this Letter, Sir *John* called a Council of War the 6th of *April*, to conſider of the ſpeedieſt and moſt effectual Way for the relieving of *Barcelona*; and they came to a Reſolution, that the whole Fleet ſhould proceed to *Altea*; and if they got certain Intelligence that the Enemy

had, no greater Strength than 27 Sail before the Place, (about the Number he had with him) to proceed thither and give them Battle (for to have attack'd them with leſs than an equal Force, would have been running too great a Hazard, in the critical Circumſtances of *Barcelona.*) And that they might be the better able to engage the *French* or throw Succours into the Town, it was further reſolved, to take the Soldiers that were with them on board the Men of War, and ſend the Tranſports back to *Liſbon*; leaving Orders at *Gibraltar* for the Convoy expected from *Ireland*, if they ſhould arrive in 15 Days after the Fleet was ſailed, to proceed after them to *Altea*, otherwiſe to remain there till further Orders. Upon theſe Reſolutions, the *Tyger* was detach'd to call in the Cruizers, which joined him the next Day; and the 9th, he ordered the *Mary* Gally and *Newport*, with ſome Convoys and Letters, the former to *Liſbon*, and the latter to *England*.

In the mean Time the Wind continuing Eaſterly, which was directly contrary; it was taken into Conſideration at a Council of War, the 11th Inſtant, whether it were adviſeable to put to Sea with ſuch a Wind, and it was reſolved not, for the following Reaſons. Firſt, that ſeveral of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Ships were very foul, that they could not expect to get any Thing by plying to Windward, but might ſplit their Sails and receive other Damages, which uſually happen in ſuch Caſes. Second, that they might gain Intelligence by lying there, which might be of Conſequence, both from *Catalonia* and *Liſbon*; which they could not ſo reaſonably expect when they were at Sea. Third, if the Squadron from *Weſt France* was not gone already into the *Mediterranean*, and joined with thoſe of *Eaſt France*, their lying there would prevent their Junction. But it was reſolved, that as ſoon as there was a Proſpect of a Weſterly Wind or Northerly Wind, they would proceed to Sea without a Moment's Loſs of Time, according to their Reſolutions of the 6th Inſtant: And the *Roebuck*, *Grafton* and *Ipſwich*, were detach'd to cruize to the Eaſtward. But the 13th, the Wind came about to the W. N. W. upon which Sir *John* immediately ſailed from *Gibraltar*, about two in the Morning, ſending the *Pembroke*, *Tyger*, *Leopard* and a *Dutch* Man of War, with Orders to proceed before the Fleet to *Altea* or *Denia*, to gain Intelligence of the Strength of the Enemy before *Barcelona*. Two Days after a *Dutch* Merchant Ship came into the Fleet in ſix Days from *Liſbon*, bringing the agreeable News, that the Convoy with the *Iriſh* Forces, conſiſting of ſix Men of War, and about 30 Tranſports, ſailed from *Liſbon* the Day before him.

The 18rh in the Morning, Sir *John* got the Length of *Altea*, and in the Afternoon was joined by the the *Pembroke* and *Leopard*, but they brought him no other Advice than what he

had received before, except one Letter from the Earl of *Peterborough*, of 11 Days Date, *viz.* the 7th of *April*, O. S. wherein his Lordſhip repreſents the particular Misfortune, that the King of *Spain* had never attended to the Advice of the Queen's Miniſters, or his, but had been governed by thoſe fatal Miniſters he had about him; whereby he had been prevented all that he was able to do for him, with Succeſſes almoſt miraculous; and a ſure Game made almoſt deſperate by a Repetition of ſuch unheard-of Follies, as no Hiſtory could produce. Having paid this Deference to his own Judgment and Actions, he goes on: The King is perſuaded, (ſays he) by the ſame Advice to ſend poſitive Orders, or what is very like them, to yourſelf and Admiral *Waſſenaer*. I ſend you a Copy of my Commiſſion, which ſome Circumſtances make me conceive neceſſary you ſhould look over. The Contents of one Order, they were pleaſed to communicate to me, but this laſt is a Secret. The firſt being an Order to bring immediately to *Barcelona* the Fleet, the Forces, and the Money deſigned for the Uſe of the King of *Spain*; I preſume this laſt may be a Repetition of the ſame with more Earneſtneſs. That having ſecured the Kingdom of *Valencia*, and being in Perſon there with a good Body of Troops; he had ſent ſeveral Orders by Boats and Ships, to ſignify his Deſire, that the Troops and all Things relating to the Land Service, might be landed at *Altea* or *Denia*; or if ſafe, the Weather ſettled and fair, at the *Grove* near *Valencia*: And had likewiſe ſent Orders to Lieutenant-General *Wyndham*, to land them accordingly. Theſe Orders, ſays he, were previous in Time to thoſe you may perhaps receive from his Majeſty, which I fear are the Produce of Land-Admirals.

By this Letter, it ſeems, his Lordſhip's Eyes were now opened, and the News had ſurpriſed him. He talks of the Relief of *Barcelona*, as a Matter deſperate, and it's poſſible might wiſh he had ſtaid in *Catalonia* to ſecure that Principality, rather than have endeavoured ſuch a diſtant Conqueſt with ſo ſmall a Body of harraſſed Troops. 'Tis certain, he could not but remember the ill Condition he left the Fortifications of *Barcelona* in, and that his Expedition to *Valencia*, had (as his own Author [a] ſays) been undertaken contrary, at leaſt, to the Opinion of great Part of the General Officers. But whatever his Catholick Majeſty's Opinion was, his Lordſhip ſtill continued of Opinion, that all the Forces, *&c.* ſhould be landed at *Denia*, *Altea*, or the *Grove* of *Valencia*; and to juſtify his own Conduct, very freely condemns that of the King and his Miniſters. What his Lordſhip mentions in relation to his Commiſſion, which ſome Circumſtances made neceſſary

[a] Earl of *Peterborough*'s Conduct in *Spain*.

Sir

Sir *John* ſhould look over, was to ſee, whether his Lordſhip was thereby fully inveſted with the Command of the Fleet, in the Manner he took upon him, which certainly he was not; but this will be diſcuſſed hereafter.

Together with my Lord *Peterborough*'s Letter of the 7th of *April*, abovementioned, I ſhall inſert another of Prince *Lichenſtein*'s, which ſeems to have been ſent to Sir *John* in the ſame Packet.

'SIR,

'FEARING the Letter his Catholick Majeſty ſent you 'ſome Days ſince, came not to your Hands, he ordered 'me to ſend you a Copy thereof, and to advertiſe you of the 'great Danger he finds the City of *Barcelona* and his Royal 'Perſon to be in; the Enemy about 14,000 in Number, not 'being above three or four Leagues diſtant from hence, on a 'direct March to beſiege the City; before which there ap-'peared, the Day before Yeſterday, about 50 Tartans and 'ſmall Veſſels, to join 17 Men of War which are here at 'Anchor; which being added to thoſe already on the Coaſt, 'will make 25 Sail for the Line. We are impatiently ex-'pecting you here, which will be the only Means to ſecure 'the City, and his Majeſty's ſacred Perſon, from the Dangers 'he is now in: The Paſſes being all cut off, we can expect 'no Relief any other Way. *I beg of you in the Name of God, 'to come to our Relief as ſoon as poſſible*, with what Ships and 'Troops you at this Inſtant have at Hand: The Danger of 'loſing *Catalonia*, and the Preſervation of his Majeſty's Per-'ſon, which is of ſo great Conſequence to all Chriſtendom, 'will not admit of any further Delays, in Expectation of 'the *Iriſh* Forces which are deſigned for *Liſbon*, and may fol-'low your Squadron without any Manner of Danger. His Ma-'jeſty ſalutes you very heartily, and aſſures you, he will not 'forget your Diligence; and I hope in a ſhort Time to have 'the Honour of ſeeing you.

'*I am very ſincerely, your affectionate*, &c.

'*Le Prince* DE LICHENSTEIN."

About the ſame Time he received a Letter, ſigned *El Conde del Fuentes Alferes*, Mayor *de Caſtillo*, to the ſame Purport with that of the Prince *de Lichenſtein*.

Upon this Letter, a Council of War was held on board the *Ranelagh* the ſame Day off of *Altea*, to determine, whether to ſtay till the *Iriſh* Convoy joined the Fleet, the Wind being then Weſterly; when conſidering they had proceeded as far as

that Place, purſuant to their Reſolution of the 6th Inſtant, and had received no other Intelligence of the Enemy's Strength before *Barcelona*, of a later Date than the 7th Inſtant; and being certainly informed by a *Dutch* Runner, (as before-mentioned) that the Forces from *Ireland*, under the Convoy of ſix Men of War, ſailed from *Liſbon* the Day before him, in order to join the Fleet, it was reſolved, and agreed, to cruize there till the next Day at Noon, in Expectation of being joined by the ſaid Convoy; which would give an Opportunity, without Loſs of Time, to four Frigates to go to *Vineroſa* to gain Intelligence, and meet the Fleet off of that Place; leaving a Frigate where they then were, with Orders for the Convoy with the Forces to follow, if they ſhould not join the Fleet in the Time limited; but if they did join them, then to diſpoſe of them according to the Advices they ſhould receive, and the Determination of a Council of War thereupon. Thus very providentially, the Council of War were not of Opinion to follow his Lordſhip's Advice, which if they had, in all Probability *Barcelona* had been loſt. That Night about Midnight, Brigadier *Gorge* from *Valencia* came on board the *Ranelagh*, bringing Sir *John* a Letter from the Earl of *Peterborough*, who had marched with Part of the Forces under his Command, and Miquelets, towards the Mountains near *Barcelona*, from whence he wrote it. In this Letter, after complaining of the Uncertainty of Sea Affairs, and that the Reinforcement of Ships from *England* were not arrived; I ſtill continue, ſays he, to think that the Men of War ſhould get rid of the Tranſport Ships, and all Incumbrance before they come near the Enemy; it being uncertain how their Numbers may increaſe every Day; ſo that a Deſcent at *Vineros*, a little beyond *Peneſcola*, or at *Tortoſa* to chuſe; or at leaſt no nearer than *Tarragona*, is what I have adviſed already, and continue in the ſame Mind. The only Alteration I propoſe ſince my laſt Letter, conſidering the Circumſtances of *Barcelona*, is, that about 1000 Men ſhould be received on board the Men of War, in order to be flung into *Barcelona* by Sea, if it be requiſite. It is obſervable in this Letter, we find his Lordſhip ſtill of Opinion to land the Forces no nearer than *Tarragona*, and ſeemed to preſer *Tortoſa*, except 1000 Men to be put on board the Men of War. But that Part of his Advice was needleſs, Sir *John* having diſpoſed of them in that Manner before.

During this Time the City held out to a Miracle. The Enemy numerous and indefatigable, preſſed them hard; and though the Gariſon made ſeveral ſucceſsful Sallies, it was not without ſome Loſs; whereby the regular Troops leſſened continually, and by the conſtant Duty they were put upon, were ſo fatigued, that they could not help ſleeping upon their Arms.

For

For the Service ſoon proved too hot for the Miquilets; ſo that little could be expected from them. In fine, the *Engliſh* were forced to ſtand the Brunt, and performed Wonders; but being few in Number, and worn out with Fatigue, the Enemy became Maſters of many advantageous Poſts. Firſt, by Treachery they gained the Fort on the Strand at the Foot of *Montjuich*, which commanded the Shoar on that Side; by which the Enemy ſecured a Communication between their Fleet and Army; and laſtly, ſurpriſed the Caſtle *Montjuich*; and with the continual Bombarding and Cannonading from their many Batteries, they had reduced the Place to a miſerable Condition, and made ſo large a Breach, that there only ſeemed Reſolution wanting to have mounted and become Maſters of it.

The Council of War of the 18th, having, as I obſerved, determined to remain off of *Altea* till the next Day at Noon, in Expectation of being joined by the *Iriſh* Convoy; Sir *John* detach'd the *Panther* to ply to Windward to look out for them; and in the Morning diſcovered three Sail, which in a few Hours joined the Fleet, and were the *Antilope*, *Wincheſter* and *Faulcon*; giving an Account, that they parted with Sir *George Byng*, with the Reinforcement from *England*, off of *Cape St. Vincent*, and ſaw him the Night before off of *Cape de Gat*, and did believe the *Iriſh* Convoy was with him. Upon this it was agreed to ſtay till he ſhould join them; which he did by 10 o'Clock the next Morning, with his Squadron, conſiſting of 13 Ships, but not with the *Iriſh* Convoy, as they had been adviſed. Upon this Junction of the two Squadrons, Sir *John* called a Council of War, to conſider whether they ſhould proceed directly to *Barcelona*, or continue there till joined by the Convoy with Forces from *Ireland*. But conſidering the Time of their Arrival was uncertain, it was agreed to proceed to *Tarragona*, and in their Paſſage to endeavour to meet with the Frigates that were ſent to *Veneroſa* for Intelligence, purſuant to the Reſolution of the 18th Inſtant: And if by any of them, or at *Tarragona* they were certain'd, that the Enemy's Ships before *Barcelona* were not very much ſuperior to them, to give them Battle, otherwiſe to be govern'd by a Council of War. That the general Rendezvous ſhould be at *Tarragona*; leaving a Frigate with Orders for the Ships expected from *Ireland*, with all the Tranſports, or whatever Ships elſe ſhould call at *Altea*, in order to join the Fleet, to repair thither. Accordingly the Fleet bore away for *Tarragona*, the Place appointed for their Rendezvous, leaving the *Faulcon* Pink to cruize off of *Altea*, with Orders for Captain *Walker*, with his Convoy to follow after. The 21ſt and 22d, they had hard Northerly Winds, which drove the Fleet back as low as *Altea*; where he was joined by Captain *Walker* with the Convoy and Tranſports, and the *Prince George*, Captain

Martin, which Ship had been left at *Liſbon* to be careened. All being now fortunately united, the Wind (which governs all Maritime Affairs) was the only Obſtacle to their proceeding to *Barcelona*, and a Council of War was held upon that Occaſion the 22d; the Fleet being then off of *Cape Martine*, and the Wind Eaſterly; and conſidering the Danger *Barcelona* might be in, the Queſtion was, Whether they ſhould endeavour to gain their Paſſage to the Northward of the Iſlands of *Ivica* and *Majorca*, or to the Southward of them? And it was reſolved to attempt to gain the Paſſage to *Barcelona*, to the Northward of the ſaid Iſlands. The 24th, Sir *John* removed his Flag from the *Ranelagh*, on board his former Ship the *Prince George*. The next Morning, about 10 o'Clock, being off of *Tortoſa*, about four Leagues diſtant, it proved ſtark Calm with a great Swell, that hove them upon the Shoar; whereupon the Fleet was obliged to anchor; but at Noon a ſmall Breeze ſpringing up, they weighed again. The Day after in the Morning, by the *Leopard*, he received the following Letter from the King of *Spain*.

'SIR,

'THIS with no ſmall Satisfaction, that I have been informed by the Earl of *Peterborough*'s Letters, of your happy Arrival upon the Coaſt of *Valencia*. I doubt not but you have heard of the Loſs of *Montjuich*, and of the Condition my Town of *Barcelona* is in; where I was willing to ſuffer myſelf to be beſieged, and to endure all the Hardſhips and Accidents of War, to encourage both the Gariſon and my Subjects by my Preſence, to make a long and vigorous Defence. It ſeems, by the Enemy's Motions, they have already received Notice of your Approach: But inſtead of thinking to retreat, they have redoubled their Efforts, and fire upon the Breach, which will be in a Condition to ſtorm after To-morrow at fartheſt; and in all Appearance they will make a deſperate Attempt, to render themſelves Maſters of this Town before the Fleet can arrive with the Succours. Hence you will judge of the indiſpenſable Neceſſity there is, that you ſhould do your utmoſt Endeavours; uſing all poſſible Diligence to relieve us without Loſs of Time, and bring the Fleet directly hither, together with the Troops to my Town of *Barcelona*, without ſtopping or diſembarking the Forces elſewhere, (as ſome other Perſons may pretend to direct you) for they can be no where ſo neceſſary as in this Town, which is at the very Point of being loſt for want of Relief.

'Where-

'Wherefore I pray God to have you in his holy Protection; 'and expecting the Pleaſure of ſeeing you as ſoon as poſſible; 'I aſſure you of my perfect Eſteem and Acknowledgment.

Barcelona, *May* 4, 1706, N. S. CHARLES.'

'*P. S.* Sir, You will ſee the Condition we are in by our 'Letters, and I hope you will come as ſoon as poſſible to ſave 'us; of which you alone ſhall have the Glory, for the reſt I 'refer you to Mr. *Stanhope*'s Letter.'

This Letter clearly ſhews his Majeſty's Deſire to have the Troops come to *Barcelona*, without diſembarking any Part of them elſewhere; and the Words following, *as ſome other Perſons may pretend to direct you*, as plainly relate to the Lord *Peterborough*'s repeated Orders to Sir *John*, for diſembarking them at other Places, contrary to his Majeſty's Intereſt and Deſire; for no other Perſon could pretend to direct him; and by the Manner, it's evident the King thought his Lordſhip aſſumed an Authority as Admiral, which he had not.

At the ſame Time, and by the ſame Conveyance that he received the King of *Spain*'s Letter, four other Letters were brought him from the Earl of *Peterborough*, of the 18th, and 30th of *April*, N. S. and of the 2d and 5th of *May*; all of them relating to the preſent Circumſtances of *Barcelona*, and the imminent Danger it was in: That *Montjuich* was taken, and the Town could not hold out above three Days: That he believed the Fleet would arrive as it did, at *Gibraltar*, in the utmoſt Neceſſity: That the ſaving the Place would be more than a Victory at Sea, without which the Crown of *Spain* was loſt: That the Rage of the People was ſuch, upon the Delays they pretended had been made, that he knew not what they might do with the King: But he doubted they would cut the Throats of all the Gariſon: But this latter Part of the Letter was abſolutely falſe; for the People in the City perſevered with the greateſt Reſolution and Conſtancy to the laſt, in the Defence of the Place; with a full Perſuaſion from Sir *John*'s known Zeal to promote his Majeſty's Service, that the Place would be effectually relieved, as ſoon as the Circumſtances of the Fleet and the Sea would admit. So that this Inſinuation, of a pretended Delay, with the Conſequence, ſeems artfully thrown in, as an ill-natur'd Reflection, becauſe he acted contrary to his Lordſhip's Directions. He then goes on: I have paſſed this Night, ſays he, (the 5th, N. S.) at *Sigeth*, five Leagues to the Weſtward of *Barcelona*; where I have Men in Boats ready, under the Countenance of the Fleet, to put into *Barcelona*. To theſe Letters of the Earl of *Peterborough*, Sir *John* returned an Anſwer immediately, to acquaint him of the happy Junction both of

the Reinforcement from *England*, and the Convoy from *Ireland*, being then off of *Tarragona*. And having received a Letter from Prince *Lichenſtein* at the ſame Time with that of his Majeſty, he returned the following Anſwer.

'SIR,

'THIS Morning the Bearer brought me his Majeſty, 'the King of *Spain*'s, and your Highneſs's Letters; and 'am extremely concerned that *Barcelona* is in ſo much Dan-'ger. I do aſſure your Highneſs, that had not contrary 'Winds prevented me, the Place had been relieved three Days 'ago; and if it pleaſe God ſuddenly to give us a fair Wind, 'I doubt not but I ſhall be before *Barcelona*, by the Time 'this reaches your Highneſs's Hands, with 48 Sail of Ships of 'the Line, and about 5000 Succours. I pray that Almighty 'God will preſerve his Majeſty and your Highneſs, and that 'he will make me happy, in being inſtrumental in ſecuring 'the City to his Majeſty.

'*I am*, &c.

'J. LEAKE.'

The ſame Day [26,] in the Morning, Sir *John* made a Signal for the Captains of the Fleet, to direct the Manner of going into *Barcelona* Bay, and falling upon the Enemy, if they ſhould be found there. For which Purpoſe, he ordered, that when the Fleet arrived within three or four Leagues of the Place, every Ship ſhould make the beſt of their Way thither, and attack the Enemy, by Boarding, Sinking, Burning, and otherwiſe Deſtroying them. The Signal appointed to know each other in the Night, was four Lights; one at the Enſign Staff, and three at the Mizzen Peak. This Diſpoſition being made, he continued to make all the Haſte that the Wind would permit, in Hopes to ſurpriſe the *French* Squadron in the Bay; which muſt have happened, had the Wind but favoured him that Day, or the *French* remained where they were till next Morning; but to their great good Fortune, having received Notice of the Confederate Fleet, by a *Genoeſe* Tartan that ſailed at the ſame Time with the Fleet, Count *Thoulouſe* retired that Night with great Precipitation, with his Squadron, conſiſting of 28 Sail of the Line, beſides Frigates and ſmaller Veſſels, and by that Means ſaved themſelves. For conſidering the Superiority of the Confederate Fleet with Sir *John*, and that the Enemy would have been imbayed, it is hardly probable any of them could have eſcaped. As it was, only one of the Enemy's Scouts was deſtroyed, being a Ship of 40 Guns,

Guns, which in his Paſſage up the *Streights*, was forced a-ſhoar and burnt near *Cape de Gat*.

The 27th, in the Morning, being fair Weather and little Wind, he got within three Leagues of *Barcelona*; and conſidering the Place was by this Time at the laſt Extremity; and that the Enemy, upon Sight of the Fleet, might make a deſperate Puſh to carry the Place, he detach'd Sir *George Byng* and Admiral *Waſſenaer*, with Orders to make Sail before with ſome Forces. They accordingly proceeded thither, anchored in the Bay, and landed a conſiderable Body of Men, who immediately marched to defend the Breach. Soon after, the Earl of *Peterborough* came off in one of the Country Boats, and about 10 o'Clock came into the Fleet, bringing with him ſeveral ſmall *Spaniſh* Barks, in which he had embarked 12 or 1400 Land Men, to throw them under the Protection of the Fleet into the City. His Lordſhip, though he aſſumed no Command, went on board the *Prince George* and hoiſted the Union Flag, Sir *John* keeping his Flag ſtill flying; and about two o'Clock they came into the Road of *Barcelona*; when my Lord ſtruck the Union Flag and went a-ſhoar, and ſoon after the whole Fleet anchored before the Town, in a lucky Time to reſcue it from falling into the Enemy's Hands, and to the inexpreſſible Joy of the Inhabitants, who reckoned but upon one Day's Life; for they expected to have been ſtormed the ſame Night; the Breach being capable for 40 Men a-breaſt to enter. And indeed, there only ſeemed Reſolution wanting to have mounted and become Maſters of it, even when the Fleet was arrived. Wherefore his Majeſty being in hourly Expectation the Enemy would make an Aſſault upon the Breach, deſired all the Forces might be immediately landed, and they were diſembarked together with the Marines of the Fleet. Thus was the City relieved and ſecured from the Power of the Enemy. If Sir *John* had acted with leſs Caution; if he had not joined the Convoys, and ſtrengthened him with Land as well as Sea-Forces; but purſuing his native Fire, ruſh'd impetuous to their Succour, he had carried a weak and inſufficient Force to relieve them, and loſt all. It had been reſolved to attempt their Relief at all Events; but a ſure and certain Relief (upon which all depended) could have been effected by no other Means than thoſe he took, ſo well conducted and happily executed.

Having given this Account, I ſhall ſubjoin a further Relation of this remarkable Event, from the Hiſtory of the Reign of Queen *Anne*, and the *Gazette* of the Time. The brave and fortunate Sir *John Leake*, ſays the Hiſtory [a], who with the Confederate Fleet was detained by contrary Winds, was

[a] *Boyer*'s Life of Queen *Anne*, Fol. p. 239.

with

with great Concern, informed of the ſad Condition the Beſieged were in, which was the more deſperate, in that they had no News from the Fleet. Count *Thoulouſe*, who with his Squadron kept the Town block'd up by Sea, had landed a prodigious Quantity of Artillery and Ammunition; and the Beſieged were reduced to defend their ruined Walls by Coupures; ſo that notwithſtanding their Reſolution, notwithſtanding the Zeal of the Inhabitants, the Valour of the Country People, who continually harraſſed the Beſiegers, and the Arrival of the Earl of *Peterborough*, with ſome Troops from *Valencia*; their falling into the Enemy's Hands ſeemed inevitable. All Things were ready for an Aſſault, when Providence, which was ever conſpicuous in Sir *John Leake*'s Expeditions, waſted the Fleet, with ſome Land-Forces into *Barcelona*, on the 8th of *May*, N. S. from whence Count *Thoulouſe* was precipitately retired the Night before. This is Mr. *Boyer*'s Account, to which I ſhall add ſome Part of the Account, as related in the *Gazette* of *June* the 6th, wherein the former is defective, *viz.* Sir *John Leake* having received Advice at *Gibraltar* of the Duke of *Anjou*'s being before the City [of *Barcelona*] with his Army, *&c.* he did with the ſame extraordinary Care and Diligence, with which he had fitted out the Ships that ſailed with him from hence, [*Liſbon*] about three Months ago; (after they had been much ſhattered in a long and tedious Paſſage from *Barcelona* hither) apply himſelf to carry the neceſſary Succours to that Town, *&c.* It is to be obſerved, that there had been an Account previous to this, in the *Gazette* of the 3d of *June*; but the Miniſtry being of Opinion Sir *John* had not Juſtice done him; no Notice being taken in that of the commendable Zeal and Application he had uſed to relieve the King in *Barcelona*; they directed a particular Relation of the whole Proceeding to be inſerted in the next Paper, a Part whereof the above is a Tranſcript.

The Afternoon of the 27th, when the Fleet arrived, all the Forces were landed; which being done, Sir *John*, attended by the Admirals of the Fleet, the ſame Evening waited upon his Majeſty, who for that Purpoſe had ſent his Coaches and Equipage to receive him at the Water Side: And being conducted with great Honour, and the univerſal Acclamations of the People to the Palace, he met with a moſt gracious Reception from his Catholick Majeſty, who told him he had been his Saviour; and embracing him with great Affection, expreſſed the higheſt Senſe of the Obligations he was under to him, for relieving him from the worſt Misfortune could befal him, at the critical Moment, when all was at Stake. And the next Day 12 of the principal Citizens of King *Charles*'s Party, on the Behalf of that Principality and City, came on board the *Prince George*, to compliment Sir

John

John upon ſo fortunately relieving his Majeſty and *Barcelona*; whereby, as they expreſſed themſelves, he had preſerved his Majeſty for the Kingdom, and the Kingdom for his Majeſty; and after a courteous Reception, they returned on Shoar, being ſaluted at going from the Ship with 11 Guns.

Notwithſtanding the Arrival of the Fleet and Forces, the Enemy continued their Attack the 29th and 30th, as if they intended to carry on the Siege; but this was only to amuſe the Beſieged; for they were in ſuch Confuſion, that no Orders their Commanders gave them, as to the blowing up of *Montjuich* and the deſtroying of their great Guns, Mortars, Ammunition and Proviſion, were well executed. The firſt of *May* their Fire very much abated; and the next Day, with a univerſal Conſternation, King *Philip* raiſed the Siege, and abandoned his well ſtored Camp. This remarkable Event was attended with a total Eclipſe of the Sun, which happening at the ſame Inſtant the Enemy were leaving *Barcelona*, did not a little increaſe their Conſternation, as if the Heavens concurr'd to defeat and put to ſhame the Deſigns of the *French*, whoſe Monarch had aſſumed the Sun for his Deviſe. At the ſame Time it was taken as a happy Omen to the Confederates, and added freſh Courage to the *Catalans*; who as ſoon as the Obſcurity was over, to the Number of ſome Thouſands, harraſſed and purſued the Enemy in their Retreat; taking from them two Field-Pieces and ſome Waggons.

Whilſt the Miquilets were thus employed, thoſe of the Town took Poſſeſſion of the Enemy's Camp; where they found 106 Pieces of Braſs Cannon, being 40, 30, and 24 Pounders; 27 Mortars; 5000 Barrels of Gunpowder; 500 Barrels of Muſket Shot; with great Quantities of Lead; 2000 Bombs; 10,000 great Royal Grenadoes; 40,000 Cannon Balls; 8000 Spades and Shovels; 13,000 Sacks of Meal; vaſt Quantities of Rye, Oats and Wheat; 10,000 Pair of Shoes; ſeveral Iron Mills, and other warlike Utenſils; beſides above 1500 Sick and Wounded, whom the Marſhal *de Theſſe* recommended to the Earl of *Peterborough* by a Letter.

Thus the *French* Army, which inveſted the City of *Barcelona* with ſo much Fury, on the 22d of *April*, with 22,000 Men; the 11th of *May*, N. S. following, when they actually thought themſelves Maſters of the Place, were forced to a ſhameful Retreat, with the utmoſt Confuſion; having left 2000 Men in the Trenches, and 6000 loſt in the Siege. But beſides the Loſs the Enemy ſuſtained, and their Retreat or rather Flight, (equivalent to a Victory) the Advantages accruing to the King of *Spain* and the common Cauſe are hardly to be eſtimated: If it was only the Preſervation of the Perſon of the Catholick King, and the faithful *Catalans*; it would have been truly glorious, and worthy the Confederate Arms. For without

without this Relief, all our Laurels in *Catalonia* muſt ſoon have withered, and that Country fallen under a ſeverer Slavery than before; and with the Perſon of the King, had ended the Contention for the Crown of *Spain*, and united it with that of *France*; a Circumſtance that would have ſhaken the Liberties of all *Europe*. But though the Downfal of the great Power of *France*, may with more Reaſon be dated from the Battle of *Blenheim*; yet we may fix here the Epoch [a] of the ill Fortune that generally attended the united Forces of *France* and *Spain*. For hereupon *Madrid* [b], and many other Cities acknowledged King *Charles* ſoon after; and the Way became eaſy and level to the Conqueſt of all *Spain*, if the Confederates had been as diligent to improve the Advantage, as the Occaſion was favourable. It is certain the Raiſing of this Siege caſt the Court of *France* into great Conſternation and Perplexity, and was one of the Cauſes that forced their haughty Monarch at this Time to make publick Advances towards a Peace.

The News of this memorable Relief, was carried to *England* by Captain *Delaval*, whom Sir *John* diſpatch'd for that Purpoſe; and this with our remarkable Succeſſes at that Time in *Brabant*, occaſioned an inexpreſſible Joy at Home; which her Majeſty ſolemnized by a publick Thankſgiving the 27th of *June* following. And his Catholick Majeſty (afterwards Emperor of *Germany*) annually commemorated this Deliverance by a publick Thankſgiving at *Vienna*, on the 27th Day of *May* as long as he liv'd. Her Majeſty likewiſe, the better to perpetuate the Memory of this Action, was pleaſed to direct a Medal to be ſtruck, one Side exhibiting her Majeſty's Head, and on the Reverſe, a Repreſentation of the City and Harbour of *Barcelona*; and over it the Sun in Eclipſe, with this Inſcription, *Barcelonâ liberatâ, Gallis Fugatis*; that is, *Barcelona relieved, and the* French *put to flight*.

Soon after the Enemy decamp'd, 1800 Forces were put into Tranſports, and ſent under Convoy of three Frigates to *Valencia*, and 500 by another Convoy to *St. Felix*, to the Eaſtward of *Barcelona*, to ſtrengthen the Gariſon of *Girone* againſt any Attempts of the Enemy in their Retreat. The 3d Inſtant, the *Hampton-Court* brought in a Prize laden with Corn, taken by the *Faulcon*, Captain *Delaval*, who ſailed the Day before with the Expreſs for *England*. Two Days after this, namely, the 5th Inſtant, being appointed by his Catholick Majeſty as a

[a] *Boyer*'s Hiſtory of the Life and Reign of Queen *Anne*.

[b] In the Lord *Gallway*'s Letter to Sir *John Leake* from *Madrid*, *July* 3, 1706, N. S. 'Tis with great Satisfaction, (ſays he) that I have the Honour to congratulate you from hence, upon the timely ſuccouring of *Barcelona*, to which in a great Meaſure we owe our being here.

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publick Rejoicing for the Relief of *Barcelona*, and the Retreat of the Enemy; the Guns of the City and three Volleys of ſmall Arms were fired round the Place, which was anſwered by the Cannon of the Fleet. The Admirals made their Congratulations, and met with a grateful Reception from his Majeſty; were nobly entertain'd at the Palace, and the Evening was concluded with Illuminations, Fireworks, and all other Demonſtrations of Joy.

Having now given a full Account of the Relief of *Barcelona*, I ſhould conclude this Chapter, but for one Incident, namely, the Earl of *Peterborough*'s hoiſting his Flag as Admiral, from whence ſome have attributed to his Lordſhip the Honour of relieving *Barcelona*; and therefore I think myſelf indiſpenſably obliged, in Juſtice to Sir *John Leake*, and for the Sake of Truth, to ſet that Affair in a true Light.

I obſerved, that the Earl of *Peterborough*, about three Leagues from *Barcelona*, came into the Fleet from the adjacent Shoar, with about 1400 Men he had put on board ſome *Spaniſh* Barks, with an Intent, as he ſays in his Letter to Sir *John*, to throw them into *Barcelona*, under the Protection of the Fleet: And going on board the *Prince George*, he hoiſted the Union-Flag, Sir *John* keeping his Flag alſo flying at the ſame Time: From hence I ſuppoſe his Lordſhip's Flatterers derive that Share of the Honour they attribute to him in this Enterpriſe; by that Act, inferring he commanded the Fleet, at the Time they actually relieved the Place; having likewiſe given ſome Orders previous to this Act, in order to promote, as they would have it, the Relief of the Place. Admitting then what is not true, that he was actually Admiral and Commander in Chief of the Fleet at that Time, I ſhall enquire, firſt, Whether his Lordſhip did any Act immediately, or by Conſequence, tending to promote the Relief of his Majeſty in *Barcelona*, to entitle him to any Share of the Reputation ariſing from it? And then examine, whether he was inveſted with the chief Command of the Fleet at that Time.

The principal Writer that has attributed to his Lordſhip this Honour not due to him, is his own Hiſtorian [a], who has upon as good Grounds, related many other fine Things done by him, which I believe my Lord himſelf was not conſcious of. But very unfortunately this Writer, by making all Miracle, has really imputed nothing to him: And an eminent Author [b] has with great Juſtice and Moderation obſerved, that the Methods his Lordſhip purſued, were ſo uncommon and extraordinary, that notwithſtanding all the Care a late

[a] The Earl of *Peterborough*'s Conduct in *Spain*, the Author Dr. *Freind*.

[b] Mr. *Boyer* in his Life and Reign of Queen *Anne*.

Writer

Writer has taken to relate what paſſed with the utmoſt Veracity and Exactneſs; the Account of them has more the Air of Romance than Hiſtory. This Romance would therefore hardly require an Anſwer; but becauſe his Lordſhip did in fact hoiſt the Union-Flag, by Virtue of his Joint-Commiſſion with Sir *Cloudſley Shovel*, from whence wrong Concluſions may be drawn, I ſhall for that Reaſon make ſome Inquiry, but more eſpecially in regard to what was inſerted in the *Gazette* of *June* the 6th, 1706; containing a particular Account of the Relief of *Barcelona*, inſerted by Direction of the Miniſtry, to do Juſtice, as it was ſaid, to Sir *John Leake*; which the Account in the *Gazette* preceding had not done. But though indeed the extraordinary Care and Diligence Sir *John* apply'd to bring the Fleet to *Barcelona*, is fully expreſſed in this ſecond Relation; yet the latter Part of it has manifeſtly the ſame Stamp as the firſt, and the ſame Account has likewiſe been followed by the exact Mr. *Lediard*. It runs thus: The 7th Inſtant, [N. S.] the Earl of *Peterborough* came on board, and took upon him the Command of the Fleet as Admiral. A Letter came that Day from the King of *Spain*, dated the 4th, in very preſſing Inſtances for Relief. Within two Hours after the Receipt of his Majeſty's Letter, aroſe a very fine and freſh Gale, and brought the Fleet with all the Forces and Recruits from *England* and *Ireland* to an Anchor before *Barcelona*, the 8th Inſtant in the Afternoon. What relates to his Lordſhip's taking the Command of the Fleet as Admiral ſhall be conſidered afterwards: What is ſaid of the King of *Spain*'s Letter is manifeſtly falſe; for this Letter of the 4th Inſtant, was received the Day before the Fleet arrived at *Barcelona*, and his Lordſhip did not come on board till the Morning of their Arrival, about three Leagues from the Place; ſo that this Letter is made to be received a Day later, to make it believed the ſubſequent Proceedings thereupon were concerted and executed, under the Command of his Lordſhip as Admiral; and the Relief therefore to be virtually his Act: Whereas he did not come on board till four Hours before the Arrival of the Fleet at *Barcelona*, and then aſſumed the Honour only of wearing the Union-Flag, but took no Command upon him, ſtriking it again in *Barcelona* Road, as ſoon as they came thither. This therefore was contributing no more to the Relief of the Place, than if his Lordſhip had gone thither with his Flag flying at the Head of his Barge. And if we conſider what Steps my Lord took antecedent to this, it will appear that *Barcelona* was relieved, if not directly contrary to his Method, at leaſt not purſuant to it.

It cannot be denied, but my Lord had got ſome Troops ready in ſmall Embarkations, off *Veneros* and *Mattero*; to take the Opportunity, as himſelf ſays, of throwing them into

into *Barcelona*, under the Protection of the Fleet; which ſhews his Lordſhip received the Benefit of the ſame Relief from the Fleet, as the King of *Spain* did; with this Difference only, that his Lordſhip was ſkulking in the Mountains, and his Majeſty was bravely defending the City. It is likewiſe true, that his Lordſhip hoiſted the Union-Flag four Hours on board the *Prince George*, and Sir *John*'s flying at the ſame Time. But all this was nothing to the Relief of the Place: His Coming to an Anchor before the Town in this Manner, did not in the leaſt facilitate the Motions of the Fleet: For all the Meaſures for their Relief had before been concerted, and in a Manner executed. For Sir *John* had detach'd Admiral *Byng* and Admiral *Waſſenaer* to make ſail before the Fleet; and they had anchored in the Road, and actually thrown a good Body of Forces into the Place, before one Half of the Fleet knew the Lord *Peterborough* was on board; who indeed, upon his Arrival, was pleaſed to approve of what had been done; and as he found the Fleet, ſo he left it, without taking upon him any Command: And as to the previous Orders which his Lordſhip took upon him to give for landing the Troops, they were happily ſo little regarded, that there is not the leaſt Notice taken of them in any of the Councils of War. Notwithſtanding then, that ſo great a Share of the Relief of *Barcelona* has been attributed to the Lord *Peterborough*, 'tis evident (by what I have mentioned in the former Part of this Chapter) that he knew nothing of the Enemy's Deſigns upon that Place three Days before they had actually inveſted it. Five Days after he knew the Town was beſieged, his Lordſhip was of Opinion for landing all the Succours in the Kingdom of *Valencia*, and 20 Days after, by no Means nearer than *Tarragona*. Now to ſay nothing of the Diſpatch [a] made by Sir *John Leake*, in bringing the Fleet and Succours to the Relief of *Barcelona* in ſo critical a Time, contrary to the Lord *Peterborough*'s Opinion; let any indifferent Perſon judge, whether the Place had ever been relieved, if his Lordſhip's Orders had been obeyed, which were directly oppoſite to his Catholick Majeſty's Intereſt and Deſire, as he expreſſed himſelf in his Letter [b] to Sir *John* of th 4th of *May*, N. S. and in other Letters of the 5th of *February*, 1707-8, 20th of *June*, and 30th of *July*, 1708, his Majeſty acknowledges his Deliverance in *Barcelona*, to be entirely owing to Sir *John* [c].

If

[a] Impartial Inquiry, p. 102.

[b] Ibid. p. 169. *ante*.

[c] In that of *February* 5, 1707-8.—The famous Teſtimonies which you have give me, *&c.*—Eſpecially in that of the Siege and Deliverance of this Capital City.

If this pretended Merit is derived from his being Admiral at that Time, and his coming on board, as the *Gazette* expreſſes it, and taking upon him the Command of the Fleet as Admiral, which only can be imply'd by his hoiſting the Union-Flag, for he did no other Act as ſuch; I muſt conſider the next Propoſition, whether his Lordſhip was *de facto* Admiral of the Fleet at that Time; for if he was not, all that can be ſaid for his Lordſhip falls to the Ground, as raiſed upon a falſe Foundation; and the Action will appear a baſe Affront to Sir *John Leake*, and a poor Attempt to ſteal away the Laurel. Had his Lordſhip been indiſputably Admiral of the Fleet, the hoiſting his Flag on board Sir *John*'s own Ship was an Action without Precedent; but was much aggravated, as his Lordſhip was conſcious his Authority was queſtioned; not only by the King of *Spain*, but by all the Officers of the Fleet; who muſt be ſuppoſed competent Judges of the Matter. Sir *John*, indeed, though he reſented this Affront, very prudently paſſed it over at the Time, being intent to promote the Service he was upon; and even in his Letter to acquaint his Royal Highneſs of the Relief of *Barcelona*, he takes no Notice of it, but let the Matter ſubſide till the next Opportunity, which was the 15th of *May*; when having Occaſion to give his Highneſs a further Account of his Proceedings, he ſpeaks of it; but as an Affair that had ſo little affected him, that he ſhould have mentioned it in his former Letter, but forgot it. He was not willing to lay too great a Streſs upon a Punctillio, which he did not think adviſeable to diſpute with his Lordſhip; therefore he takes no Notice at all of the particular Affront to himſelf and his Flag; he leaves that to his Highneſs's Conſideration, and only repreſents the Matter in general Terms, as relating to the publick Service. I forgot (ſays he) in my laſt to acquaint you, that my Lord *Peterborough* came on board me when I was within three Leagues of this Place, [*Barcelona*] and hoiſted his Flag for that Day, by Virtue of his former Commiſſion, which I was not willing to diſpute; though I cannot believe I ſhall be altogether diſcharged from my former Orders, till the Arrival of Sir *Cloudſley Shovell*, and ſhall take the beſt Care I can, as well of the Fleet, as not to have any Diſputes with his Lordſhip about that Matter. But his Buſineſs a-ſhoar has taken up his Time ſo much, that he has been pleaſed to leave every Thing to me hitherto; though now I believe, he intends to

In that of *June* 20, 1708.—As I owe the Obligation of the Deliverance of this Capital, to the Diligence which you uſed to come to my Relief in the Year 1706.

In that of *July* 30.—As you have gained the Glory of relieving this Capital, in the Siege which my Royal Perſon was expoſed to in the Year 1706.

hoiſt

hoiſt his Flag on board the *Somerſet*, to go by Sea to *Valencia*. This plainly implies, that he could have juſtified to have diſputed this Matter with his Lordſhip, but forbore it. As Sir *John* refers to my Lord's Commiſſion and his own Orders in this Caſe, I ſhall firſt examine one and then the other, to ſee if any Thing can be drawn from thence to juſtify the Lord *Peterborough*'s Proceedings.

Firſt, as to the Commiſſion; it only appointed his Lordſhip and Sir *Cloudſley Shovell*, Joint-Admiral of the Fleet. Now the Nature of a Joint-Office, implies they are to act jointly. How many ſoever are joined in ſuch a Commiſſion, it is ſtill but a ſingle Office, executed by their Joint-Council: And the Tenor of this Joint-Commiſſion was no more, than that of other Joint-Commiſſions formerly granted, which had always been executed jointly, and never otherwiſe: But a ſeparate Power in the preſent Caſe was inconſiſtent, and in the Abſence of Sir *Cloudſley* impracticable. Admiral *Peterborough* at the Head of the Army, perhaps at *Madrid*, or elſewhere in the Heart of *Spain*: Or ſay, General *Peterborough*, giving Orders and Inſtructions to the Flag-Officers; this muſt certainly intimidate the Enemy, and give the Allies great Hopes of Succeſs; be very grateful to the whole Fleet, and produce Unanimity in all their Councils. From theſe certain Conſequences, and the Nature of the Joint-Commiſſion, I think it never could be even meant, that his Lordſhip ſhould act otherwiſe than jointly, as being indeed incapable of acting ſingly.

Having conſidered his Lordſhip's Commiſſion, let us next examine Sir *John Leake*'s Inſtructions from the Earl of *Peterborough* and Sir *Cloudſley Shovell*; to ſee whether any Thing in theſe Joint-Orders, implies any diſtinct and ſeparate Power in his Lordſhip; or as the natural Conſequence of ſuch Power, puts Sir *John* under his Lordſhip's Command; for this was his own Act. But at firſt Sight, theſe Orders by being Joint, diſcover they could not be otherwiſe. If the Earl of *Peterborough* had Power to act as Admiral, after the Departure of Sir *Cloudſley*, to what End were theſe Joint-Orders, when my Lord was upon the Spot, and was to give all ſubſequent Orders? It is repugnant to Reaſon, and contrary to the Practice of the Navy. Sir *Cloudſley Shovell* could not be guilty of ſo egregious a Miſtake, or ſhew ſo little Regard to his own Flag: And theſe Inſtructions ſhew he was not; for inſtead of putting Sir *John* under his Lordſhip's Directions, (which, if he had continued Admiral when Sir *Cloudſley* was gone, they muſt have done) it is expreſly ſaid, that if the Earl of *Peterborough* ſhall adviſe, that it is neceſſary for a Part, or your whole Squadron to come to the Coaſt of *Catalonia*, and you have none of her Majeſty's or his Royal Highneſs's Commands to perform, you

are to comply with his Lordſhip's Directions, if it ſhall be thought adviſeable by a Council of War. Here it is obſervable, the Squadron is called yours, (Sir *John*'s) then it was upon ſome Caſe of Neceſſity, where his Lordſhip ſhould give Notice, and in Relation to *Catalonia* only; and even then only as the Council of War ſhould think adviſeable. As to the Words, complying with his Lordſhip's Directions; that is only in Relation to the Manner how they may beſt give their Aſſiſtance, and was no more than he was to do, upon any Propoſal he ſhould receive from my Lord *Gallway*, or the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador at *Liſbon*, who had no Power at all to command the Fleet. Theſe Inſtructions are ſo plain as to be obvious to the meaneſt Capacity, and his Lordſhip could not pretend ignorance of them, becauſe they were his own Act.

It appears likewiſe very clear from the Queen's Inſtructions, and his Royal Highneſs's Orders, after Sir *Cloudſley Shovell* returned to *England*, that the Lord *Peterborough* was not eſteemed to have any Command in the Fleet: Every one of them being directed to Sir *John Leake*, Knt. Vice-Admiral of the White Squadron of her Majeſty's Fleet, without any Notice of the Lord *Peterborough*; which is ſomething ſtrange, if they look'd upon him as Admiral. And the Orders Sir *George Byng*, and the Commanders of all Ships and Squadrons ſent to join the Fleet in the *Mediterranean*, in like Manner directed them, upon their Arrival there, to follow all ſuch Orders as they ſhould receive from Sir *John Leake*; and the very Ships which at any Time his Lordſhip had Occaſion for, were put under his Direction by Sir *John*'s Orders. And as a Demonſtration that his Lordſhip's Commiſſion was of no Effect, from the Time Sir *Cloudſley* ſailed, they ſoon after ſent out another Commiſſion; and then all Orders came directed to the Lord *Peterborough* as Admiral, if in the Fleet, but if on Shoar, to Sir *John Leake*. Upon the Whole, it appears undeniably, that the Lord *Peterborough* did not contribute by his Actions or Counſels to the Relief of *Barcelona*; on the contrary, that he aſſumed to himſelf a Power of directing the Fleet, without being duly authoriſed, and thereby put them upon Meaſures directly contrary to the publick Service, as well as to the Deſires of his Catholick Majeſty: That as he did not further the Relief of King *Charles* in *Barcelona*, ſo neither had he any Command as Admiral in the Fleet that brought the Succours to their Relief, and therefore can have no Pretence to any Share of the Honour ariſing from that glorious and fortunate Action. On the contrary, that his hoiſting the Union-Flag on board the *Prince George*, where Sir *John Leake*'s Flag was flying; and propoſing to have it ſtruck, was an Inſult, and a mean Attempt to deprive him of the Honour due to his Flag; under which the whole Enterpriſe had been ſo happily conducted.

ducted. It was indeed ſo unwarrantable a Proceeding, that can no Way be reconciled with any Character but that of his Lordſhip's, by comparing it with his Actions on Shoar, which were many of them equally ſurprizing; and which, that they ſhould (ſo ill-concerted and raſh) be attended with Succeſs, he himſelf ſeemed to think almoſt miraculous [a]: But much more ſo would it have been, for a much abler Man than his Lordſhip, to have reconciled the two different Characters of Admiral and General. It was almoſt as great a Difficulty for Sir *John* to maintain his Character, and keep upon tolerable Terms with ſuch a Competitor: But he knew it to be of the laſt Conſequence, and therefore ſuffered no particular Reſentments to break in upon the publick Service; wherein he ſhewed a Moderation and Greatneſs of Mind, worthy the Imitation of all Men, but particularly of the Military Gentlemen; by whoſe private Piques and Quarrels, many an Enterprize, that would otherwiſe have been crown'd with Succeſs, has come to nothing. It is indeed a rare Example, and does well in Theory, but very difficult to reduce to Practice. Of this my Lord himſelf gave an irrefragable Proof; who was ſo ready to uſurp the Command of the Fleet over Sir *John Leake*, by force of an obſolete Commiſſion; and yet himſelf would not ſubmit to the Command of the Earl of *Gallway*, who was an older Officer, though he was required by her Majeſty [b] to do ſo: And this unreaſonable and obſtinate Proceeding of his Lordſhip's, was the Cauſe, or at leaſt one of the Cauſes, that prevented his joining the Lord *Gallway* at *Madrid*, whereby we loſt the Kingdom of *Spain*.

I ſhould here have concluded this Chapter, but before I had put the laſt Hand to the Work, I obſerved a late Writer [c] had ſet up another Competitor, namely, Sir *George Byng*: And not ſatisfied with allowing him a Share of the Honour derived from this Action, he attributes the Whole to him, by aſſerting, *That in haſtening the Squadron, he uſed ſuch Diligence and Activity, and joined the Fleet with ſuch unexpected Diſpatch,*

[a] See his Lordſhip's Letter, inſerted, p. 196.

[b] Sir *Charles Hedges*'s Letter to my Lord *Peterborough* of *July* 23, 1706. Her Majeſty believes, that there can be no Ground of Diſpute between your Excellency and the Earl of *Gallway*, relating to the Command; ſince his Commiſſion, as General and Commander in Chief of her Majeſty's Forces, is of the older Date; and no Commiſſion given by any other Prince to her Subjects, can alter the Rank ſhe has given by her Commiſſion: And takes it for granted, your Excellency does not inſiſt upon any Superiority in Point of Command, upon Account of the Commiſſion you may have from the King of *Spain*, and which was given without her Majeſty's Participation. *Impartial Inquiry*, p. 163.

[c] In the Peerage of *England*, Vol. III.

that the ſaving the City was entirely owing to it. And therefore, I thought myſelf obliged to take particular Notice (which otherwiſe I ſhould not have done) of Sir *George*'s Proceedings upon this Occaſion. By Captain *Price*, who arrived at *Liſbon* with a Squadron of *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, the 3d of *April*, Sir *John* received a Letter, Dated the 24th of *February*, from Sir *Thomas Hardy*. *They are hurrying, (ſays he) what they can, to get* Sir George Byng *to come to your Relief; but he artfully got a Grant to go out in the* Royal Anne; *elſe, I believe, he had come with theſe Ships:* So that it ſeems, the Squadron was detained till the *Royal Anne* was equipp'd and mann'd to Sir *George*'s Liking: For he was always careful to have the biggeſt Ship he could get, and to have a choſen Ship's Company, that (as he expreſſed himſelf in a Letter to the Admiralty) would ſtand by him upon Occaſion: Circumſtances which all the Fleet took Notice of to his Diſadvantage; and was the more remarkable at this Time, when Diſpatch was neceſſary, and no other Flag had a Firſt Rate. This was the Haſtening, the Diligence and the unexpected Diſpatch. Had Sir *John* been in the ſame Situation, he would have gone in any Ship of the Squadron for Expedition's Sake; (as we have ſhewn in ſeveral Inſtances he did) and if Sir *George* had uſed the ſame Diſpatch, he had joined the Fleet when Captain *Price* did; and probably the *French* Fleet had been ſurprized in *Barcelona* Road: And when he came to *Liſbon*, he ſtaid three Days there, though the Wind was fair for ſailing all the Time. The *Iriſh* Convoy was what Sir *John* had moſt Occaſion for: Had they joined him ſooner he had relieved *Barcelona* ſooner: And as they joined him five Days before the Place was relieved, Sir *John* would have taken the ſame Meaſures, and have done juſt as he did, though Sir *George* with his Squadron had not joined him.

CHAP. XIII.

Sir John *ſails with the Fleet and Tranſports for* Valencia; *diſembarks the Land-Forces; reduces the City of* Cartagena, *and proceeds for* Alicant.

AFTER the late happy Succeſs, it was to be conſidered in what Manner the Fleet and Troops ſhould be employed. For this Purpoſe, the 4th of *May*, 1706, Sir *John* held a Council of War on board the *Prince George*, to conſider of their further Proceedings; and they unanimouſly agreed, that it was highly for the Intereſt of the King of *Spain* and the Allies;

Allies; that competent Forces being left for the Defence of *Barcelona* and *Girone*, the reſt ſhould be employed immediately in Conjunction with the Fleet, in ſecuring the Conqueſt of *Valencia*, and promoting his Majeſty's Intereſt all along the Coaſt of *Spain*. That it was apparent to the Council of War, that no Attempt could be made by the *French* in their Circumſtances againſt *Barcelona*; but that if any ſuch could be, the Fleet being within the *Streights*, and the Troops towards the Sea-Coaſt, no Enemy could prevent the ſending Succours to *Barcelona* in Caſe of Neceſſity. That nothing ſeemed to the Council of War of greater Conſequence, than the immediate putting in Execution thoſe Reſolutions that might be proper to be taken, (whilſt the Enemy were under a Conſternation) towards encouraging the favourable Diſpoſition in all the other Parts of *Spain*, even as far as *Madrid*. And the Council of War did farther humbly take the Liberty, to aſſure the King of *Spain* of their great Forwardneſs, to concur in all Meaſures poſſible for his Honour and Intereſt.

The 9th Inſtant, Prince *Lichenſtein* and the Earl of *Peterborough*, came on board the *Prince George*, to confer with Sir *John* upon the further Operations of the Campaign. The next Day his Catholick Majeſty ſummoned a grand Council of War, conſiſting both of Sea and Land-Officers, to be held in his Preſence, *viz.* the King; the Ambaſſador of *Portugal*; the Earl of *Peterborough*; Prince *Lichenſtein*; Count *Woyalles*, Marſhal de Camp; Count *Ulfelt*, Marſhal de Camp; Sir *John Leake*, Knt. Admiral *Waſſenaer*, Lieutenant-General *Wyndham*; Prince *Henry*, Landgrave of *Heſſe*; *Paul Methuen*, Eſq; her Majeſty's Envoy to the Duke of *Savoy*; *Milford Crow*, Eſq; Brigadier *Stanhope*, Vice-Admiral *Byng*, Vice-Admiral *Jennings*, Don *Franciſco Zinzerling*: Where his Majeſty having propoſed, that ſeeing God was pleaſed to bleſs his Arms with Succeſs, and it being neceſſary to purſue the Advantage, before the Enemy ſhould have Time to gather freſh Strength; he had called together the Perſons preſent in Council, to deliberate with them about the moſt important Operations, and the eaſieſt Method of putting them in Execution; deſiring all their Opinions in a Matter of ſo great Conſequence, as in the following Propoſal; which was; Whether the War ſhould be carried on in the Kingdom of *Arragon* or *Valencia*; and how the King's Perſon and Troops ſhould be diſpoſed of. Sir *John* declared, that the Diſpoſitions for the Operations of the Fleet were of a different Nature from thoſe by Land; but that he aſſured in the Name of the reſt, that they would comply with their Obligations and Services to his Majeſty, to the utmoſt of their Power, in what belonged to the Sea-Service: And having ſhewn his Majeſty their Opinion in a Council of War, held on board; he referred himſelf to that as his Sentiment, ſee-

ing no Room to alter his Opinion. It was at laſt reſolved the Horſe ſhould march by Land to *Valencia*; the Lord *Peterborough* to go by Sea with about 6000 Foot: The King was to follow after with all convenient Speed; and that as ſoon as the Forces were landed at *Altea* or *Denia*, Sir *John* to proceed with the Fleet to *Alicant*.

In Conſequence of this, a Council of War was held on board the *Prince George* the 13th, the Earl of *Peterborough* being preſent; and it was determined, that the Forces ſhould be received on board the Fleet and Tranſports, which the Lord *Peterborough* ſhould direct; and if Wind and Weather permitted, to ſail the *Thurſday* following; and having landed the Forces at *Denia* or *Altea*, (which of theſe Places the Wind ſhould render moſt convenient) to proceed to *Alicant*. Accordingly the next Day, all the Boats of the Fleet were employed to embark the Forces on board the Tranſports, as my Lord *Peterborough* had directed. But notwithſtanding they were embarked, and took up all the Tranſports, the next Morning his Lordſhip would have had four of them to receive the ſick Men of the Royal Regiment of Fuſileers, and to carry the Priſoners of War to one of the *French* Ports; which could not have been done, as Sir *John* repreſented to his Lordſhip, without removing the Forces again, and bringing a greater Sickneſs in the Fleet than there was, by having ſuch Numbers on board: For at that Time ſeveral of the 3d Rates had 100, and ſome of them 150 Men ſick on board, and the Fleet in general very ſickly; and therefore he propoſed, as his Opinion, to leave the ſick Men a-ſhoar at *Barcelona*, where better Care could be taken of them, and afterwards be tranſported by Frigates or other Embarkations to their Regiments, rather than crowd the Fleet with ſuch Numbers, as by Sickneſs might make it uſeleſs, if there ſhould be Occaſion for Action: And that it would be better to tranſport the Priſoners of War in Cettees than to take two Tranſports at that Time. However reaſonable this was, his Lordſhip did not think fit to approve of the Propoſal, being of a Temper not to be adviſed, and too apt to think every Thing that was not done with a ready Compliance, was done in Oppoſition to him. Conſidering indeed how lately and how groſly he had affronted Sir *John*, he might well think ſo, though wrongly. He did indeed adhere to his Opinion, not to infeſt the Men of War with ſick Soldiers, being too much peſtered already; but in Compliance with his Lordſhip, he appointed two Tranſports to receive the Priſoners on board. It was certainly a very difficult Taſk to act with his Lordſhip, when every Thing was taken in the worſt Senſe, and impoſſible to carry on the great Work they were upon, with that Harmony the general Good required.

The

The 18th, the Fleet ſailed from *Barcelona*, with the Tranſports and Forces for *Valencia*: The Lord *Peterborough* proceeded with them on board the *Somerſet*, having hoiſted the Union-Flag on board that Ship the Day before; being determined (it ſeems) to bear it, by Virtue of his Joint-Commiſſion; expecting ſhortly the Arrival of Sir *Cloudſley Shovell* to revive his Authority: And as I obſerved before, Sir *John* having repreſented the Matter to his Royal Highneſs, carried the Diſpute no further, but ſubmitted to his Lordſhip as Admiral; who thereupon ſigned Commiſſions, and did ſome other Acts incident to that Office; though Sir *John* did all other Acts as Admiral; convened the Councils of War on board the *Prince George*, and iſſued out all Orders; made all Signals, and the like; and on this Occaſion continued to tranſact all Matters in the Fleet as Admiral, though my Lord bore the Flag, and was nominally ſo.

Before they ſailed, Sir *John* had ordered the *Mary* and *Medway* to remain at *Barcelona*, in order to take on board *Paul Methuen*, Eſq; her Majeſty's Envoy to the Duke of *Savoy*, and to convoy a Ship with Powder to *Genova*, for the Service of that Prince; and having been cleaned at *Genova*, to receive 400 *Germans* on board, and return again to the Fleet. The *Antilope* he directed to remain there till the King of *Spain* took his Journey to *Valencia*; and two Tranſports were left to carry the *French* Priſoners of War to ſome Port in *France*, by the Earl of *Peterborough*'s Direction.

It was intended, the Troops ſhould have been put a-ſhoar at *Altea* or *Denia*; but the 22d, a Council of War being called (at his Lordſhip's Deſire) on board the *Prince George*, he acquainted them, that the Enemy being in Poſſeſſion of ſome Places between *Valencia* and *Denia*, there was an abſolute Neceſſity to land the Forces at *Valencia*, or as near as poſſible: Whereupon the Rendezvous was appointed in the Bay of *Valencia* to diſembark the Troops, and then to proceed with the Fleet to the Road of *Alicant*, purſuant to the laſt Council. That Evening my Lord *Peterborough* ſtruck his Flag on board the *Somerſet*, and going on board the *Panther*, made the beſt of his Way before to *Valencia*. The following Day Sir *John* detach'd three Sail to cruize off *Cape Martine*, to endeavour to meet Sir *Cloudſley Shovell*, who was expected from *England*, to command with the Joint-Commiſſion in the *Mediterranean*; and the next Day the *Pembroke* was diſpatch'd upon the like Service, to acquaint him where to find the Fleet; Sir *John* being impatient for his Arrival, to take the Command from him; pre-judging from the Lord *Peterborough*'s Behaviour hitherto, that ſome Diſputes might happen before the End of the Campaign, if they muſt act together; though he was determined to avoid it as much as poſſible.

The

The 24th, the Fleet arrived before *Valencia*, and the next Day all the Forces were diſembarked. Whilſt this was doing, a *Turkiſh* Half-Gally ſurpriſed a *Spaniſh* Boat, and would have carried her off; but one of the Squadron obſerving it, ſecured them both, and brought them to Sir *John*, who immediately re-inſtated the *Spaniards*; and having reprimanded the *Turk* for attempting ſuch an Action in the Face of the Fleet, he ſet them at Liberty. The 27th, in the Evening, the *Mary* Gally arrived from *Liſbon*, bringing Sir *John* the following Inſtructions from her Majeſty.

ANNE R.

Inſtructions for our truſty and well-beloved Sir John Leake, *Knt. Vice-Admiral of the White Squadron of our Fleet. Given at our Court at* Kenſington, *the ſecond Day of* April, 1706, *in the fifth Year of our Reign.*

'WHEREAS the Duke of *Savoy* has by his ſteady Adherence to the Intereſt of the Confederates, been reduced in his Affairs to very great Extremities, and thereupon has preſſed earneſtly for our further Aſſiſtance, with all poſſible Expedition; without which, he apprehends he muſt inevitably be overwhelmed and ſuppreſs'd by the Enemy: And we thinking his Support to be of ſo great Advantage and Importance to the Allies, that no proper Meaſures towards relieving and aſſiſting him ſhould be neglected, either by Sea or Land; and being deſirous to do all that lies in us, for ſending him Succours anſwerable to the preſſing Occaſions he has for them: Our Will and Pleaſure is, That in Caſe upon your Arrival on the Coaſt of *Catalonia*, with the Troops on board the Tranſports under your Care; you ſhall find by the King of *Spain* and Earl of *Peterborough*, or the Commander in Chief of our Troops in *Spain*, with whom you are to adviſe; that the King of *Spain*'s Affairs are not in Danger from the Enemy's Fleet or Troops; or that the King of *Spain* is in a Condition to ſpare three or more Regiments of our ſaid Troops, to be ſent to the Aſſiſtance of the Duke of *Savoy*; you are to deſire their Concurrence and Aſſiſtance, in giving the neceſſary Orders for ſending three or more of our ſaid Regiments with a Convoy, as ſhall be judged fit, to *Oneglia*, or ſuch other Port as ſhall be thought moſt proper to land them at. And in caſe they conſent to this Expedition, you are forthwith to take Care that Notice be given thereof to the Duke of *Savoy*; and that Meaſures be concerted with him, for landing the Succours that ſhall

'be

'be agreed to be ſent him, and for joining his Troops with 'them; which being done, you are with all poſſible Diſpatch 'to put it in Execution, according as ſhall be adviſed and re-'ſolved on by a Council of War.

'*A.* R.'

With theſe Orders, he received ſome Papers of Advice, of the Enemy's Preparations: That four Ships of 100 Guns each, were ſailed from *Toulon* to join the Count *Thouloufe*, which would make his Squadron 28 Ships of the Line, ſix Frigates, four Fireſhips, two Bomb-Veſſels, two Tartans and two Flutes: That at *Dunkirk* they were hard at Work in getting ready 10 of their biggeſt Ships: That at *Marſeilles* there were 12 Gallies preparing to ſail for *Catalonia*; and that they were loading at *Toulon* ſome Barks with Proviſion and Ammunition for the Army in *Catalonia*, which were to be convoy'd by ſome Ships of War. At the ſame Time, he alſo received an Order from his Royal Highneſs's, of the 13th of *April*, for encouraging Seamen to enter on board her Majeſty's Ships abroad, directing him to pay the Sum of 40 Shillings to every one that ſhould voluntarily enter at *Liſbon*, or any other Port.

Upon theſe Advices and Orders, Sir *John* held a Council of War the next Morning on board the *Prince George*, off of *Valencia*, the Earl of *Peterborough* coming on board upon that Occaſion. And it was unanimouſly reſolved, that what Land-Forces could be ſpared for the Service of *Savoy*, ſhould be received on board the Fleet, and proceed with them to ſuch a Place as ſhould be thought moſt convenient, for the ſpeedy ſuccouring his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *Savoy*; as likewiſe to ſpare to the *Dutch* Admiral, all the Proviſions neceſſary, to enable the Squadron of the States-General to aſſiſt in the Expedition. But no ſooner was his Lordſhip got on Shoar but his Mind altered: And the next Morning he acquainted Sir *John*, by Letter, that he had called a Council of War, [of Land-Officers] and it was obvious to all there, that the Queen's Orders were to be communicated to the King of *Spain*, and his Anſwer expected, which as ſoon as he received he would communicate. That that Road [of *Valencia*] being dangerous, and the Reſolution taken to proceed to *Alicant*, he had nothing to offer to the contrary, but to let him know, that he had Advice the Enemy were retiring from thoſe Poſts that they were poſſeſſed of between him and *Alicant*; ſo that unleſs the Service required his marching into *Caſtile*, he ſhould be in a Condition by Land to ſupport the Enterprizes of the Fleet on the Coaſt, towards *Alicant* or *Carthagena*. That he had nothing more to add, but to wiſh him a good Voyage, and he ſhould conſtantly communicate what he might think for the Service.

By this it appears, the Wind was changed with his Lordſhip: At once he takes his Leave of the Duke of *Savoy*, whom the Day before he was as ready to aſſiſt: Recommends the Expedition to *Alicant*; wherein he promiſes to join with the Land-Forces, and wiſhes Sir *John* a good Voyage, as if they were to ſail immediately, upon his Lordſhip's ſudden Change. But Sir *John* thought it requiſite to have his Lordſhip's further Sentiments upon the Matter; and therefore diſpatch'd a Lettter the following Day by an Officer; acquainting him, that ſince there could be no Reſolution taken about the Queen's Orders, till his Excellency had the King of *Spain*'s Opinion; there would be a Neceſſity of calling a Council of War, to conſider, whether he ſhould remain there with the Fleet till an Anſwer came, or proceed to *Alicant*: That he ſhould be very glad his Excellency would give them the Honour of his Company at it, at 10 or 11 o'Clock that Morning, or his Opinion by the Bearer. His Lordſhip, according to the latter Requeſt, returned Sir *John* an Anſwer in Writing, by the Officer that brought him the Letter: That having been indiſpoſed, he could not come on board; but as he was deſirous to know his Opinion, as if at the Council of War, he thought it was plain the King's Anſwer might as well be expected at *Alicant*, as in the Bay of *Valencia*; the firſt being a ſafer Road (as he apprehended) for the Fleet: Beſides, upon the Retreat of the Enemy, he had Hopes that Place might ſurrender upon Sight of the Fleet; and if not, he was then giving Orders, that Troops might march that Way, in order to countenance our Naval Efforts, and to induce them to expect a Siege, in caſe of Reſiſtance: That he had likewiſe ſent to raiſe the Country thereabouts, and to ſome of the Gentry to appear, in caſe he continued in the ſame Reſolution with the laſt Council of War, of ſailing to *Alicant*. As for his own Thoughts, they were for purſuing the Reſult of the laſt Council of War. Sir *John* having laid this, and the former of his Lordſhip's Letters before a Council of War, the 30th Inſtant; it was reſolved, to ſail the firſt Opportunity of Wind for *Alicant*; but in caſe they ſhould find on their Arrival, that they refuſed, on Summons, to declare for King *Charles*, that then they ſhould proceed to *Altea*, to wait for the Bomb-Ships, which they expected from *Gibraltar*, and the Ships from *England* and *Holland*, and to water the Fleet; remaining there or near that Station till they ſhould have Intelligence of the Land-Forces coming to co-operate with the Fleet for the reducing of *Alicant*; or for their proceeding with Land-Forces for *Italy*, if it ſhould be reſolved ſo to do. Purſuant to this Reſolution, the 1ſt of *June*, Sir *John* ſailed with the Fleet for *Valencia*, leaving the *Panther* to convoy the Cloathing, Corn and Ordnance Store-Ships, (when unladen) after the

the Fleet. And at the Lord *Peterborough*'s Deſire, the *Fowey* and *Garland* Frigates were appointed to proceed to *Algier* and *Liſbon* with his Lordſhip's Letters.

The 4th, in the Morning, the Fleet being got the Length of *Altea*, ſome *Spaniſh* Gentlemen came from the Shoar, and acquainted Sir *John*, that the People of *Carthagena* were ſo well diſpoſed for the Intereſt of King *Charles*; that upon the Appearance of the Fleet, they believed the City would declare for his Majeſty: That Major-General *Mahoni* was got into *Alicant* with 500 Horſe; and that there would be a Neceſſity of laying a formal Siege to it; and that two Gallies lay ready, with Money on board at *Carthagena*, to go over for *Oran* to pay that Gariſon. Upon this Intelligence, Sir *John*, in the firſt Place, detach'd the *Hampton-Court* and *Tyger* to make the beſt of their Way before, and cruize off of *Carthagena*, to hinder the Gallies from getting out, till he ſhould join them with the Fleet: And calling a Council of War the next Morning; it was reſolved, that ſince, by the aforeſaid Intelligence, the Town of *Alicant* was making all poſſible Preparations for their Defence, and had been re-inforced by Monſieur *Mahoni* with 500 Horſe; and they were ſatisfied the Town would not declare for King *Charles*, without a formal Siege both by Sea and Land, and a Bombardment; which the Want of Land-Forces and Bomb-Veſſels incapacitated them from undertaking; and of the favourable Diſpoſition of the People of *Carthagena* for King *Charles*; it was reſolved to proceed thither directly, and the Rendezvous was appointed there, and afterwards at *Alicant* or *Altea*. At the ſame Time Sir *John* diſpatched the *Leopard* to cruize off of *Altea*, to give Notice thereof to any of her Majeſty's Ships that ſhould want to join him; and a Letter to the Earl of *Peterborough*, acquainting his Lordſhip with their Proceedings; and that notwithſtanding theſe Reſolutions, he did not doubt but he ſhould come Time enough to *Alicant*, to aſſiſt him and the Land-Forces in their Attempts upon that Place.

Accordingly he made for *Carthagena*, and the next Day was joined by the *Hampton-Court* and *Tyger*, with the two Gallies they were ſent in Queſt of, having found them at an Anchor off of *Cape Paulos*. They were commanded by the Conde *de St. Crux*; who, as ſoon as he diſcovered our Ships to be *Engliſh*, weighed Anchor and joined them, being glad of the Opportunity to declare for King *Charles*. Nevertheleſs, the next Day having Occaſion to go to *Altea* to water; Sir *John* thought fit to order the ſame Ships that had brought them into the Fleet, to attend them thither, that they might not have the Opportunity to give them the Slip, if the Commanders ſhould change their Sentiments. By the Conde *de Santa Crux*, he was confirmed in his Reſolution of going to *Carthagena*:

Carthagena: The ſaid Conde further aſſuring him, that the Governor of the Caſtle, at the Entrance into the Port, was already in his Intereſt. In the mean Time, judging it neceſſary to have ſome Cruizers off of *Cape Paulos*, to give Notice to any Ships where to find the Fleet; the 7th Inſtant, he appointed the *Berwick* and *Burford* for that Service; and the following Day was joined by the *Roebuck*, with the Bomb-Veſſels from *Gibraltar*, which he had expected with ſome Impatience; as in all Probability they might be uſeful at *Carthagena* as well as *Alicant*, if the Place did not ſubmit upon the firſt Appearance of the Fleet.

The 12th Inſtant, being off of *Carthagena*, they diſcovered a Ship with *French* Colours under the Shoar at the Entrance into the Harbour, which ſome of the Squadron engaged, but could not prevent her getting in. About Noon the Fleet anchored five or ſix Miles off the Harbour's Mouth; whereupon Sir *John* immediately diſpatch'd two Letters, one to the Governor, and the other to the Magiſtrates of the City; ſummoning them to ſurrender the Place; and about ſix o'Clock received an Anſwer, that they deſired 24 Hours to conſider of it. Sir *John* by no Means thought it adviſeable to comply with their Requeſt, leſt in the mean Time they ſhould receive a Reinforcement; and therefore made the neceſſary Diſpoſitions for attacking the Place. Seven *Engliſh* Ships and three *Dutch* of the Line he appointed, under the Command of Sir *John Jennings*, to go into the Harbour, in order to cannonade the City. And 1000 *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Marines he directed to be landed, and to march as near to the Place as might be convenient; and, if they were willing to receive a Gariſon, to leave ſuch a Number of them (under the Command of a Senior Officer till further Order) as ſhould be thought neceſſary, by the Conde *de Santa Crux*, and the Magiſtrates of the City, and then return with the reſt to the Fleet: But in caſe they found them not inclinable to declare for King *Charles*, and that it was hazardous to force them to their Obedience, in that Caſe they were to return. At the ſame Time he ſent another Summons to the Governor and Magiſtrates to ſurrender the Place; ſignifying, that if they made any Oppoſition, and did not immediately ſend off Hoſtages in their own Boats, it would not be in his Power to ſhew them any Favour.

The next Morning, at 11 o'Clock, the Wind favouring the Deſign, he ordered the Signal for the Attack; when the Ships being under Sail, and the Forces on their Way in Boats rowing to the Shoar, they ſent off ſome of the chief Perſons of the City on board the *Prince George*, to offer their Submiſſion. Whereupon he ordered only four of the Men of War into the Harbour, ſtopp'd the Forces from landing, as they had

had been directed, and garison'd the Place with 600 Marines, under the Command of Major *Richard Hedges*, whom he appointed Governor *pro Tempore*. In the Harbour they found the *French* Ship above-mentioned, besides some others, and a great many smaller Vessels. The Conde *de Santa Crux* and the Magistrates of the City assured him, that if 1000 or 1500 Men were to march to the City of *Murcia*, all that Province would declare; but the Fleet being very sickly, and most of the Ships that had remained with Sir *John* in the Winter being ill-mann'd, he could act no further in that Place; but he took Care to acquaint the Lord *Peterborough* with this Circumstance, as well as with his Proceedings, that he might improve them to the best Advantage.

It was very much to the Reputation of the Fleet, that this important City of *Carthagena*, with the best and safest Harbour in the whole Kingdom of *Spain*, was reduced to the Obedience of King *Charles*, without any Assistance from the Land-Forces: And it was Sir *John*'s peculiar Happiness to arrive at the very Crisis, either to relieve or take a Place; for if the contrary Winds, which had made his Passage so tedious thither from *Valencia*, had kept him but 24 Hours longer, Major-General *Mahoni* with 500 Horse had got into the Town, and given him some Trouble, if not entirely disappointed his Design. But *Mahoni* finding himself too late to succour *Carthagena*, he went directly for *Murcia*, and from thence to *Alicant*.

The 15th, Sir *John* removed his Flag on board the *Revenge*, she lying more convenient than the *Prince George*. He ordered all the Transports into the Harbour; and having his Thoughts now upon *Alicant*, he detach'd the *Hampton-Court* with the *Exeter*, to proceed thither before the Fleet, to prevent the *Genoese* or others, carrying away the Effects of the *French* or of the *Spaniards* in the Duke of *Anjou*'s Interest. The next Day he called a Council of War on board the *Revenge*; and it was resolved to proceed to *Altea* and water, and put the Fleet into a Condition for further Service, and to leave Sir *John Jennings* at *Carthagena* with four Sail, to settle Affairs for the better Security of the City, and afterwards to join the Fleet at *Altea* or *Alicant*: That all the Transports, except two, should be sent into the Harbour, to remain there till further Orders; and that all the Queen's Provisions on board them should be put on Shoar for the Use of the Garison. Sir *John* having given Orders pursuant to these Resolutions, the 18th he re-hoisted his Flag on board the *Prince George*, and sailed with the Fleet from *Carthagena*; and the 20th, he came to anchor in *Altea* Bay. Here he was joined by the *Fubbs* Yacht, with a Letter from his Catholick Majesty, and another from the Earl of *Peterborough*, which we shall consider whilst the Ships are busy taking

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ing in Water. The Letter from the King of *Spain* to Sir *John Leake* was as follows; Dated from *Barcelona*, *June* 14, 1706, N. S.

'SIR,

'THE Earl of *Peterborough* having given me Part of the 'Orders that was ſent to him by her Majeſty of *Great* 'Britain, touching the Affairs of the Duke of *Savoy*, and the 'Reſolution that you have taken in Council of War to go 'and ſuccour him; I have repreſented to the ſaid Earl, by a 'Letter, (herein is a Copy) the Reaſons that make me be- 'lieve, that if he detaches any Battalions from hence, it will 'loſe the Affairs of *Spain*, and will be of ſmall or no Conſe- 'quence to the Duke of *Savoy*. When her Majeſty gave 'the ſaid Orders, ſhe could not be informed of the State we 'were in in *Catalonia*; and Affairs have ſo changed, particu- 'larly ſince the Siege of *Barcelona* is raiſed, that I am well 'aſſured the Queen would rather leave the Troops together 'here, and not expoſe the Provinces already conquered, nor 'ſtop the Succeſs of her Arms and of the Allies in *Spain*, than 'to ſeparate them to go to *Italy*, upon uncertain Hopes of 'Succeſs. So that I promiſe myſelf, that you'll juſtly diſcern 'and weigh the Loſſes that we might ſuſtain here, with the 'Advantages and ſmall Conſequence that the ſaid Succours 'could produce in *Savoy*. You'll eaſily judge, that the beſt 'Methods to take in theſe Circumſtances, is not to make any 'Separation, but to purſue the Operations of the Land and 'Sea with all the Force imaginable. I have been willing to 'communicate to you theſe my Advices; truſting in your 'Prudence, to judge, if a Squadron of Ships detach'd from 'the Fleet could be any Way ſerviceable to the Duke of *Sa-* 'voy; eſpecially, as the laſt Advice that came to me ſays, that 'the Enemy had laid up their Ships at *Toulon*, and have but 'eight that guard and cruize upon the Coaſt of *Naples*. I 'truſt in your Zeal and Attention for my Service, and that 'you'll ſoon begin the Operations of the Sea, remembring 'the Iſlands; particularly *Port-Mahon* is that which is moſt 'agreeable, and the moſt important for my Intereſt and the 'common Cauſe. It ſeems to me, that you'll find no Diffi- 'culty in the ſaid Expedition; there being but 100 *French* 'Soldiers which are ſhut up in the *Donjon*, and dare not come 'down to the Town for fear of the Inhabitants, who are 'well affected to me, as well as thoſe of *Majorca*. In all, I 'pray God to keep you in his holy Protection, and be aſſured 'of my conſtant and perfect Eſteem and Good-will.

Barcelona, this 14th
of *June*, 1706.

'CHARLES.'

The

The Earl of *Peterborough*'s Letter.

'SIR,

'YOU will find by the Account you receive in the Letters addreſſed to you, and thoſe to Admiral *Waſſenaer*, the Circumſtances of the Duke of *Savoy*. It will doubtleſs be the Opinion of every Body to contribute all poſſible to the Aſſiſtance of his Royal Highneſs. I ſhall always promote it wherever I have an Opportunity, either in Council of War at Sea or Land. If I could think the Fleet alone ſufficient, I ſhould offer ſome Opinion. This Affair is remitted to the Deciſion of the King of *Spain*; who has declared, in a Letter to me, that he thought three Regiments too little to relieve the Duke, and too much for him to ſpare. It will ſignify little what my Opinion may be in this Point in relation to the Troops; even our prodigious Victory obtained in the low Countries, which has given us all *Flanders*, will hardly be Weight in the Ballance againſt the Loſs of *Turin*, and the Ruin of his Royal Highneſs; the immediate ill Conſequence of which we ſhall feel in *Spain*. I have Notice that the *Dutch* ſailed out of *Holland* the firſt of *May*, which may guide us in the Expectation we may have of the grand Fleet. I wiſh we knew certainly what Forces, what Recruits, come along with them, it would then be more eaſy to give a Vote, or make ſome Propoſal: And it ſeems almoſt impoſſible to take any Reſolution, with any Satisfaction, about *Savoy*, without ſome Certainty in relation to the grand Fleet, which I hope we have Reaſon to expect every Day. The laſt Council of War ſufficiently ſhews a Diſpoſition and Willingneſs to aſſiſt in the Service of *Italy*; you will beſt know by the Letters you receive, what Anſwers you are obliged to make; if any to the King of *Spain*, or to the Duke of *Savoy*, I deſire Copies of them.

'*Sir, Yours*, &c.

Valencia, June 26, 1706. 'PETERBOROW.'

Sir *John* having communicated the King of *Spain*'s Letter above-mentioned to a Council of War the 21ſt Inſtant; it was unanimouſly their Opinion, that ſending a Squadron from the Fleet for the Coaſt of *Italy*, without Land-Forces to ſupport the Intereſt of the Duke of *Savoy*, would have very little or no Effect; but when Sir *Cloudeſley Shovell* and the Squadron of the States-General ſhould join them, the Fleet might then

be in a better Condition to make Detachments for *Italy*, and wherewith to purſue the King of *Spain*'s Intereſt in reducing the Sea-Coaſt of *Spain*; for in the Condition the Fleet was then in, being in general ſickly; and having landed 6 or 700 Men at *Cartagena* to gariſon that Place, they being Part of their Ships Complements, they could not reaſonably make any further Detachments out of the Fleet for reducing the Iſlands, nor indeed to leave Gariſons in them ſhould they declare for the King of *Spain*. But that having had Notice from the Earl of *Peterborough*, by his Letter of the 10th of *June*, N. S. of his ordering Troops to march towards *Alicant*, to induce that Town to ſurrender upon Sight of the Fleet; they reſolved, as ſoon as the Fleet was watered, to proceed thither, and uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to reduce that Place to his Catholick Majeſty's Obedience. The Reſult of this Council Sir *John* immediately diſpatch'd to his Catholick Majeſty and the Earl of *Peterborough*; that to the King being incloſed in the following Letter.

Prince George in *Altea Bay*, *June* 22.

'SIR,

'THE 20th Inſtant, I had the Honour to receive your 'Majeſty's of the 14th, and have herewith ſent your 'Majeſty a Copy of my Orders from the Queen my Royal 'Miſtreſs, about ſuccouring the Duke of *Savoy* with Forces; as 'likewiſe Copies of three Reſolutions of Councils of War; two 'upon that Occaſion, and the third upon your Majeſty's Letter 'and Propoſal about *Port-Mahon*, and ſending Part of the Fleet 'to *Italy*; and as the ſuccouring his Royal Highneſs is left to 'your Majeſty and the Earl of *Peterborough*'s Conſiderations, 'we could only offer our Readineſs to tranſport them to *Italy*, 'if they could have been ſpared from your Majeſty's Service: 'And ſince we cannot pretend to be Judges ſufficient, to give 'our Opinions in a Matter of ſo great Conſequence; I can 'only beg Leave to aſſure your Majeſty, that my Endeavours 'ſhall always be for promoting your Majeſty's Intereſt, unleſs 'otherwiſe commanded, and preſume the reſt of the Flag-'Officers have the ſame Reſolution. I have only to add, that 'it's my Hopes, when Sir *Cloudeſley Shovell* joins us with the 'Forces, I hear are to come from *England*, all Things will 'ſucceed to you Majeſty's Satisfaction; which is the hearty 'Wiſhes of,

'*SIR*,

'*Your Majeſty's moſt faithful*, &c.

'J. LEAKE.'

The

The 24th, the Ships having compleated their Watering, Sir *John* ſailed with the whole Fleet from *Altea* Bay, except the *Canterbury*, which he left to cruize off of that Place till further Orders. The next Day the *Enterprize* joined him from *Liſbon*, and the Day following the *Rye* from *England*. By the *Enterprize* he received further Inſtructions from her Majeſty, dated the 14th of *May*, for ſuccouring the Duke of *Savoy*, upon Intelligence her Majeſty had received, that the *French* Fleet were retired to *Toulon*, and that *Barcelona* was in no Danger; but that the Duke of *Savoy* was in very great Danger of being beſieged in his Capital, and reduced to the utmoſt Extremity. That therefore if *Turin* was beſieged, he was to concert with the King of *Spain*, and the Commander in Chief of her Majeſty's Forces, the moſt effectual Means for ſending him Aſſiſtance; Regard being had to the Circumſtances of the King of *Spain*, and the Number of Troops that could be ſpared: But theſe Inſtructions being ſubjected to the King of *Spain*'s Approbation, and Sir *John* having ſo lately received his Majeſty's Sentiments upon that Head, he deferred the Conſideration of them till the next Opportunity, when he ſhould call a Council of War. In the mean Time he diſpatch'd a Copy of this Order to his Catholick Majeſty; but I believe, ſays he, in his Letter to the Secretary of State, 'twill not reach his Majeſty, except it's ſent after him to *Madrid*, towards which Place my Lord *Peterborough* tells me he has taken his Journey. By the *Rye*, he likewiſe received ſome Orders from his Royal Highneſs, and ſome Letters from his Secretary, recommending to his Protection the homeward bound *Turkey* Trade, as far as could be done without interrupting other Services: And directing him not to moleſt any Ships of *Spain* laden with Goods, *&c.* of the Manufactures of her Majeſty's Dominions, going to, or coming from *Gibraltar*.

At the ſame Time he received a Letter from Mr. *John Fleetwood* and Mr. *Thomas Burrows*, Merchants in *London*, with a Petition from them to his Royal Highneſs, for Satisfaction for Damages received by their Ship the *Mary* Gally, in *December* laſt; when by Sir *John*'s Directions, ſome Rice and Oil were taken out of her for the Service of the Fleet; which having been upwards of 10 Weeks in their Paſſage from *Barcelona* to *Gibraltar*, the Companies were almoſt ſtarved, as has been related in the 10th Chapter. No doubt, the Action was ſufficiently warranted by the Neceſſity of it; and therefore I ſhould not think it material to make any Reply. But becauſe Merchant Ships have ſometimes been but indifferently treated by our Commanders Abroad, and this Complaint ſuggeſted no leſs of Sir *John*; which being both falſe in fact, and diametrically oppoſite to his Temper and Practice, who uſed the Merchant-Ships upon all Occaſions with great Regard and Tenderneſs;

I think I cannot in Juſtice (as ſome Clamour was made upon this Occaſion at Home) but ſay ſomething in his Juſtification; this I cannot do better, than by inſerting his own Letters to his Highneſs's Secretary, and to the Merchants the Complainants, dated the 29th and 30th of *June*, from *Alicant*, and therefore ſhould properly fall under Conſideration in the next Chapter; but being a Digreſſion, relating to an Incident which had happened ſix Months before, having no Connection with the Tranſactions of the Fleet we are now upon, and wholly out of Time; I conceive it more conveniently introduced at the End of this Chapter, than to make a Break in the next. The Letter to the Owners was as follows; being directed to Meſſieurs *Fleetwood* and *Burrows*, Merchants in *London*. Dated from on board the Prince *George* in *Alicant* Road, the 29th of *June*, 1706.

'GENTLEMEN,

'THE 25th Inſtant, I received your Letter of the 29th 'of *April*, and at the ſame Time your Petition to the 'Prince for Redreſs of Damages, pretended to be ſuſtained by 'my Detention of your Ship called the *Mary* Galley, *John* '*Cuthbertſon* Maſter; and take Leave to acquaint you, that as 'I found the ſaid Maſter to be a troubleſome knaviſh Fellow 'at firſt, ſo I perceive he has abuſed you with a falſe Information. His telling you he loſt the Opportunity of ſailing 'with the reſt of the Ships that came with him from *Genova* 'is falſe; not having any Ships in Company, when he joined 'me off of *Cape de Gatt*, which was in the Night; at which 'Time he made me lie by with the Fleet ſome Hours to ſtay 'for him, by his firing of Guns, which made me believe the 'Ship was diſtreſſed. The next Morning, when he came a'board of me, he told me, he had ſpoke with the *Dutch* 'Admiral and the Ships under his Command the Day before; 'and that the ſaid Admiral would have given him Bills or 'Money for his Cargo, at any Price; but that he rather choſe 'to come to me to aſſiſt the *Engliſh* in their Neceſſities, which 'I took very kindly; and knowing that the Queen's Price was 'much ſhort of what the *Dutch* might give, I offered to ſend 'a Ship down to Leeward with him to the *Dutch*, that he 'might make the beſt of his Market; which he declined, tel'ling me, that he had no Power to diſpoſe of Part of the 'Ship's Cargo; but that if I pleaſed, I might take any Quan'tity out of him; ſo believing his Owners would be ſatisfied, 'if they were allowed the Price then current in *London*, (by 'his own Conſent) I ordered the *Panther* to take her in Tow, 'if ſhe could not keep Company with the Fleet. This was 'accordingly done; and I ſent a Boat to him for two Buts of

'Oil,

'Oil, for the Uſe of a Ship that had not one Drop aboard. 'Whereupon the ſaid Maſter called all his Men upon Deck, and 'acquainted them that his Ship was taken from his Command, 'and that it ſhould not be with his Conſent, that any Part of 'the Goods ſhould go out of her. I was ſoon informed of 'this Matter, and ſent for the Maſter to know his Reaſon; 'his Anſwer was, that he had no Power to diſpoſe of the 'Cargo, and could do no leſs; but that I might take out 'what I pleaſed by my own Power. I then offered a ſecond 'Time to ſend him to the *Dutch*, where he might probably 'have the better Uſage, as being their half Countryman, (a '*Rotterdam Scot*) but he refuſed that likewiſe, which gave me 'ſo much Diſſatisfaction, that if I had not been privately 'told, that Mr. *Timewell*, one of the Commiſſioners of the 'Navy, was one of the Owners, I had left him to the Mercy 'of the Sea, as I found him; but that Conſideration en-'gaged me to order the Captain of the *Panther* to take Care 'of him; to whoſe Letter I refer you, for your more particular 'Information, how the Damages happened, which he pre-'tends the Ship got, by the *Panther* running aboard her.

'It was the 14th of *December* when this Ship came into 'my Company, and the 27th I got to *Gibraltar*; partly with 'the Help of a fair Wind, and turning the reſt; and am ſure, 'if the *Panther* had not had your Ship in Tow, it would 'have been impoſſible for her to have got thither in twice the 'Time: For as we were obliged to turn into *Gibraltar* Bay 'with a Weſterly Wind; it continued ſo till the Minute of 'my Departure from thence, which, if you'll look into the 'Maſter's Journal (if he does not impoſe upon you) you'll 'find to be true, or elſe mine's falſe. It rarely happens, that a 'Frigate can turn out of the *Streights* in the Summer, but I 'never heard any did it in the Winter; if it had been poſſible, 'our Wants were ſo great, that I ſhould have endeavoured it. 'By this Account you may plainly ſee no Time was loſt, and 'the Minute the Wind came Eaſterly, which was on the 6th 'of *January*, I left *Gibraltar*, and ordered a Frigate to keep 'a-ſtern to protect your Ship and two others that I found at '*Gibraltar*, as far as the Southward Cape. As to the Goods 'you ſeem to mention is wanting, I cannot tell what you 'mean; for the Maſter was ſatisfied with the Quantity of 'both Rice and Oil that was taken out: And I am ſure they 'are much honeſter Men whom I entruſted to ſee the Goods 'weighed and gauged, than the Maſter of yours is; and if 'contrary Winds, after he left me, made his Paſſage long, 'and the Maſter has cheated you of any of the Loading, I 'don't ſee why the Queen ſhould be at the Loſs.

'As for my Part, ſince I am ſo unfortunate to have dealt 'with a Raſcal, to preſerve her Majeſty's Subjects alive, I

'ſhan't trouble myſelf about what you can ſay to me; for I 'did you Juſtice whilſt the Ship was under my Care, and have 'made Report to the Admiralty accordingly; wherein I have 'mentioned, that Part of the Lemons might happen to be 'damnified, becauſe it rained ſome Part of the Time that the 'Oil and Rice were taking out; but I am rather apt to be-'lieve that 'twas the Length of the Voyage that made them 'periſh; for I was perſonally preſent when they were hoiſted 'upon Deck, and cauſed them to be carefully covered with 'the Ship's Tarpaulins.

'*I am, Gentlemen*, &c.

'*Your humble Servant*,

'J. LEAKE.'

Sir *John*'s Letter to the Prince's Secretary was to the ſame Effect, only with regard to the Damage the Ship received, he ſays, I beg leave to refer you to Captain *Smith* of the *Panther*'s Letter, that comes herewith, which I dare be poſitive is very true, and that ſhe was refitted, and within a Trifle put in as good Condition as ſhe was at firſt, at the Queen's Charge; and I am ſure, if the Ship and Cargo had entirely belonged to me, I could not have taken more Care of her than I did.

Theſe Letters contain a candid Relation of the whole Matter; and that to the Owners, ſhews a more than common Pains, to convince them of the Injuſtice of their Complaint; which plainly gave him ſome Uneaſineſs; knowing with how much Care he had conducted that Affair, and ſeen it perſonally executed, which perhaps no other in his Station would have done. And conſidering the Affairs of Moment he had always in his Mind, and the Multiplicity of Buſineſs attending the Management of ſo large a Fleet as he had under his Command, it was ſomething extraordinary, he was able to give ſo circumſtantial an Account as he did, which he was willing to do, to give all the Satisfaction that poſſibly could be expected from him. If he expreſſes himſelf ſomething warmly in his Letter, it is no more than any Perſon in his Station might well ſhew upon ſuch an Occaſion, (being otherwiſe ſufficiently perplexed in his Command) to be interrupted in his ſteady and glorious Purſuit of the publick Service, to anſwer a trifling Complaint of a ſorry Raſcal, in Relation to an Act done ſix Months before; and wherein it was obvious, the Owners had been cheated by the Maſter, who, nevertheleſs, joined with him in the Pretence of Damages ſuſtained, to cheat the Publick of ſo much, as might make amends for the Fraud of the Maſter and a bad Voyage. Indeed it ſeems to be a Maxim

in

in Trade, that to take all Advantages of the publick Neceſſity is juſtifiable, as being no Injury to any Particular, and therefore the Government ought to pay an extraordinary Price for every Thing; and unhappily any one acting otherwiſe, is reckoned very ſcrupulous; ſo by force of Cuſtom, the very beſt Actions are inverted. This, no doubt, is one Cauſe, that deters every honeſt Man from engaging ſo chearfully in publick Affairs as otherwiſe they would do. There is another Obſervation, which I cannot help making likewiſe upon this Occaſion, and that is, how impoſſible it is for a Commander to give Satisfaction to the Merchants. For Gain being the firſt mercantile Principle, every Thing becomes ſubſervient to it. They may extol themſelves as uſeful Members of Society; (the meaneſt Offices are moſt uſeful) and that they bring Wealth to the Nation, (the Source of Vice and Luxury.) But no Honour can be derived from Wealth or from Trade; both ariſing from the ſordid Deſire of Gain, diametrically oppoſite to publick Spirit, as proceeding wholly from the Motive of Self-Intereſt, the *Alpha* and *Omega* of all their Actions: How impoſſible therefore muſt it be to give Satisfaction to ſuch Men? Who, without knowing or conſidering the Circumſtances of Fleets, or of the publick Affairs, which direct their Proceedings, are ſure to raiſe a Clamour upon the leaſt Surmiſe, if they ſuſtain a Loſs; judging every Thing by the Touchſtone of their private Intereſt. This has appeared to be the Caſe in almoſt all the Complaints of the Merchants: No Wonder then, if they have ſo ſeldom met with Redreſs upon their Complaints; and that our Admirals and the Traders, have ſo little affected each other.

CHAP. XIV.

The City of Alicant *beſieged and taken by the Bravery of the Seamen, and the Caſtle obliged to capitulate; with Proceedings in Relation to the Duke of* Savoy.

AFTER the Surrender of *Carthagena*, the Fleet having watered at *Altea*, proceeded the 24th of *June* for *Alicant*; and in their Way thither the next Day they were joined by the *Enterprize* from *Liſbon*, and the 26th, by the *Rye* from *England*; bringing Sir *John* Letters, and ſome Orders from the Queen and his Royal Highneſs, as has been related in the laſt Chapter. The ſame Day, about three in the Afternoon, he arrived with the Fleet in the Road of *Alicant*. This famous

City, and noted Port of *Spain*, is in the Kingdom of *Valencia*, and maintains a great Commerce for Wine and Fruits. The Town lies at the Bottom of the Bay, at the Foot of a rocky Mountain, whereon ſtands a Caſtle, by its Situation almoſt impregnable. Immediately upon his Arrival, Sir *John* ſent a Summons to the Governor of the City, and another to General *Mahoni*, who, as we obſerved before, having been diſappointed in his Deſign of ſecuring *Carthagena* with 500 Horſe, had thrown himſelf into *Alicant*. The Summons to the Governor was as follows.

'SIR,

'I Am come into this Bay, with the Fleet under my Command, to give your Excellency an Opportunity to ſhew your Loyalty and Zeal to King *Charles* the Third, by delivering up the City and Forts under your Command, to the Forces I bring with me, to protect and keep the ſame for the Uſe of his Catholick Majeſty; and am in hopes your Excellency will conſult your own Good, that of the Inhabitants of the City, and the Repoſe of your Country ſo far, as to embrace this Propoſal, and not oblige me to uſe thoſe Treatments, that muſt be expected from the Fleet: And if you ſtay till the Place be inveſted with the Army under the Command of the Earl of *Peterborough*; it may be then out of my Power to treat your Excellency, and the Inhabitants with that Reſpect which I have always had for the *Spaniſh* Nation; and ſhall in particular for thoſe, that will, without Compulſion, ſhew their Loyalty and Affection for King *Charles* the Third, their undoubted Monarch, whom God preſerve.

'J. LEAKE.'

The Summons to General *Mahoni*.

'SIR,

'SINCE my coming with the Fleet to be ſo near a Neighbour to you, you may eaſily judge the Occaſion; and therefore have only to acquaint you, that it's yet in your Power to make ſuch Terms with me, for yourſelf and the Inhabitants of the City, as may be agreeable to you both; but if it's deferred till the Army under the Earl of *Peterborough* ſits down before the Place, it may then be out of my Power to ſave either of you.

'*SIR*,

'*Your humble Servant*,

'J. LEAKE.'

About

About five o'Clock, the Boat that had been with theſe Summons returned with a Meſſage only, that they would ſend off an Anſwer by one of their own Boats, which accordingly was brought about ſeven at Night, *viz.*

'SIR,

'I Have juſt now received the Letter you honoured me with 'this Day. I give you many Thanks for the Concern you 'ſeem to be in for me and for this City. As for our being ſo 'near Neighbours, I am nothing at all ſurpriſed at it, having 'expected you ſooner. As for what you propoſe, I think I 'cannot give you a more ample Idea of my Reſolution, than 'that what you may ſee in my Anſwer to the Earl of *Peter-borough*, whereof I ſend you incloſed a Copy: Whereupon 'you may take your Meaſures. If there be any Thing agree-'able to you in this Town, you may command it, *&c.*

'DANIEL MAHONI.'

The incloſed Copy of the Letter to Lord *Peterborough*, was as follows.

'My LORD,

'I Have received this Moment, the Letter your Lordſhip did 'me the Honour to write to me the third of this Month 'from *Valencia*. There is a Change in the Affairs of *Spain* ſince 'we met in *Monviedro*, but not in me in the leaſt; neither 'can any Reſolution of State in any Kingdom, produce the 'leaſt Alteration in my Principles. The King of *Spain* has 'confided to my Truſt, the Defence of theſe Frontiers, with 'much better Circumſtances than your Lordſhip ſeems to be 'informed of. I have very good Troops and faithful Militia. 'I have diſtributed them in Poſts, commanded by experienc'd 'and gallant Officers; moſt of them Subjects to the King my 'Maſter, who I am ſure will follow my Example; which 'ſhall be to diſpute the Ground from Poſt to Poſt, from *Mon-teſa* to *Cadiz:* And if Fortune of War will have it ſo, (as 'we muſt ſubmit to ſuperior Power) I would neither have 'them nor me to fall into the Hands of a more generous 'General than your Lordſhip. *Villena*, and all other Poſts, 'have Orders from me to reſiſt to the laſt Extremity; which 'done, they do but their Duty, which entitles them to the 'uſual Treatment commonly given to Men of Honour by 'ſuch Generals as your Lordſhip. The King of *Spain* is not 'the firſt Monarch that has been forced to abandon his Capi-'tal for a Time, in order to return more glorious; which he

'will

'will do in leſs Time than his ill-affected Subjects are inclined 'to believe: But I am ſure your Lordſhip is not of that Opi- 'nion; being better informed of the State of Affairs in *Eu- 'rope:* And though it were otherwiſe, I am reſolved to die, 'or if it be poſſible, to be the laſt Man in *Spain* in Arms for 'him. I can aſſure your Lordſhip, there is no Man in or out 'of it, that is with a more perfect Eſteem and Reſpect, than,

'*I am*, &c.

'DANIEL MAHONI.'

The next Day Sir *John* called a Council of War, to conſider of the preſent Situation of Affairs before *Alicant*, and the Orders he had received from the Queen and his Royal Highneſs. Upon this Occaſion her Majeſty's repeated Orders of the 14th *ultimo*, for tranſporting Succours into *Italy*, for the Service of the Duke of *Savoy*, having been read and conſidered; as alſo Mr. *Burchet*'s Letter to Sir *John*, of the 13th *ultimo*, intimating, that the Ships of the *Turky* Merchants trading to *Smyrna* and *Scanderoon*, would probably be all that Month coming from thoſe Places; and that his Royal Highneſs recommended it to him, to give them what Aſſiſtance and Protection he could, without interrupting the other Services under his Care: And Sir *John* having repreſented the Summons he had ſent to the City of *Alicant*, and their Anſwer; it was reſolved by the Council of War, on the Subject of the Duke of *Savoy*, that the Reſolution they had taken at their Councils, of the 28th and 30th *ultimo*, were all they could anſwer in that Caſe; unleſs they ſhould receive a ſecond Reſolution of the King of *Spain* and the Lord *Peterborough*, upon this laſt Order, for ſparing of Land-Forces for the Aſſiſtance of the Duke of *Savoy*; Sir *John* having ſent Copies of the late Order to his Majeſty and the Lord *Peterborough*. With Relation to the *Turkey* Fleet, it being uncertain where to meet them, not knowing their Orders, or where they had appointed their Rendezvous; it was reſolved, that when they ſhould have Notice where they were, or if they ſhould join the Fleet, to come to a further Reſolution, what Number of Ships might be convenient to ſtrengthen their Convoy, to ſee them out of the *Streights* Mouth, or further, if there ſhould be Occaſion: And having conſidered what Service the Fleet could do towards reducing the City of *Alicant*, ſince the Troops and Militia were not yet come, which the Earl of *Peterborough* gave them Hopes he would ſend to co-operate with the Fleet; it was their Opinion, that there were not Forces ſufficient in the Fleet, of themſelves to land and beſiege the Town; who, they found upon Summons, were reſolved to defend it to the laſt Extremity; and

by all Intelligence were prepared accordingly: And that to cannonade and bombard the Town, with a few Shells they had, (in two Bomb-Veſſels) until ſome Forces ſhould appear to inveſt it by Land, would be of little Effect; and therefore it was not thought reaſonable to ſpend the Ammunition, which they might want for a better Service; And reſolved not to undertake the Town as yet, but to continue in the Bay, or off of the Place, till they ſhould receive the Earl of *Peterborough*'s Reſolutions; and that a Frigate ſhould be ſent immediately to his Lordſhip, with a Copy of this Council of War; which was accordingly done.

The Fleet remained in this inactive State, waiting for the Land-Forces and the Lord *Peterborough*'s Reſolution. The 28th, Sir *John* received a Letter from his Lordſhip at *Valencia*, dated the 7th of *July*, N. S. in Relation to the other grand Affair under Conſideration; that is, for the Succouring the Duke of *Savoy*. In this Letter, he ſays, the King of *Spain* had been pleaſed to write him very uncertain and undeterminate Letters, recommending in general the Service of the Duke of *Savoy*, and expreſſing his Deſires, that he ſhould be relieved; if it could be done without expoſing his Service in *Spain*.—That his Lordſhip deſired their Opinion; Whether in the preſent Uncertainty of Affairs, they thought it proper the Fleet ſhould ſend a Squadron, or ſail in a Body up the *Streights*, with a weak, and perhaps inſignificant Relief, or wait a little till the Arrival of Sir *Cloudeſley Shovell*, till they knew what Certainties were to be depended upon from *Madrid*, and what Forces or Orders Sir *Cloudeſley* ſhould bring from *England*. I do not in the leaſt doubt, ſays he, but my Opinion will concur with that of the Council of War upon this Occaſion; and as ſoon as I receive it, if it be any Satisfaction to you, I ſhall remit in writing my Thoughts; which I am ſure cannot but agree, in all Probability, with yours.

By this it ſeems his Lordſhip, who had been ſo zealous in all Characters and Capacities to aſſiſt the Duke of *Savoy*, now the King of *Spain* had in ſome Meaſure conſented to it, was for poſtponing that Service till the Arrival of Sir *Cloudeſley*, whom [a] his Lordſhip had declared ſome Time before he did not expect, and private Letters aſſured, was upon another Service. But his Lordſhip, however, would have his Opinion to come

[a] In his Letter to Sir *John*, *July* 13, N. S. I have no authentick Accounts of any Forces with Sir *Cloudeſley Shovell*, and by what I hear from private Letters, I have Reaſon to believe theſe Ships and Forces with him are deſigned for other Services. And I am apt to believe, we ſhall ſee no more Ships of Force in theſe Seas this Campaign; as I told you when I ſaw you aboard, (which was a Month before.)

from

from the Admirals, rather than appear to be his own; and when that was done, probably he might agree to it, or make what other Uſe of it he pleaſed. But this Propoſition was as weak as it was treacherous. For how could he hope to betray the Admirals into ſo unadviſed a Reſolution, when they had all along acted in this Affair with the greateſt Caution, avoiding any Thing that might influence either Way? Wherefore the Council of War, which Sir *John* called the ſame Day, upon this Letter, very juſtly ſhew'd their Reſentment to his Lordſhip's Propoſals, by coming to the following Reſolutions: That if the Forces could be ſpared to ſuccour his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *Savoy*, the whole Fleet ſhould proceed with them; but ſince ſo much Time had been loſt in ſuccouring his Highneſs, and the Earl of *Peterborough* not having been pleaſed to give his Opinion clearly, in any of his Letters upon that Subject; it was their Opinion, that the Relieving the Duke of *Savoy* was of the greateſt Importance; and as they had in their late Councils of War on that Subject, expreſſed their Readineſs to go with the Fleet, to tranſport ſuch Forces as could be ſpared from the King of *Spain*'s Service; yet are of Opinion, that if the Relief ſent now to the Duke of *Savoy*, be, as the Lord *Peterborough* ſays in his Letter, weak and perhaps inſignificant; that they wait a little Time till they know what Certainties are to be depended upon; or till the Arrival of Sir *Cloudeſley Shovell*, or the Squadron from *Holland*, which is hourly expected: And the ſame Day theſe Reſolutions were ſent to his Lordſhip.

The next Day the *Exeter* was ordered to cruize off of the Place; the *Wincheſter* ſailed for *Valencia*, and a *Dutch* Frigate to *Cartagena*; and Sir *John* diſcharged ſeveral *Genoeſe* Ships, that had been detained, on Suſpicion of having *French* Effects on board: And the 30th, he diſpatch'd the *Enterprize* for *Liſbon*, with his Letters to Mr. Secretary *Hedges*, the Prince's Secretary, and his Excellency Mr. *Methuen*. That Day he received a Letter from the Earl of *Peterborough*, of the ſame Date with the former; loaded, as his Lordſhip ſays, with good News, and none bad, but the Reſolution he feared the King was taking, of being two Months in going to *Madrid* by *Arragon*, which every Body oppoſed to their utmoſt. I am in doubt, ſays he, whether ſomething might not be offered from the Fleet to the King; if any Thing come from the Admirals or Council of War, you may depend I will concur in it, and ſign it. As to the Affairs of *Alicant*, he only ſays, I have left full Powers with *Gorge* to concur with Councils of War. To this Letter Sir *John* returned the following Anſwer.

'My

Prince George, July 3, 1706.

'My LORD,

'I Have communicated your Excellency's of the 7th Inſtant, N. S. to the Flag-Officers and Captains; who are of Opinion, that nothing can be offered from us to the King, to make him alter his Meaſures from his Journey to *Madrid*; not knowing what ſecret Reaſons his Majeſty has to induce him to the ſame. I have wrote to Brigadier *Gorge*, but have had no Anſwer as yet; nor is it poſſible for us to go forward with the Siege of this Place with thoſe few Marines we have left, (which are not 600) unleſs he comes to our Aſſiſtance. None of the Letters I have received, mention any Thing of Sir *Cloudeſley Shovell*, or Admiral *Allemonde*; but ſure it cannot be long before they arrive, or ſend us ſome Advice.

'*I am*, &c.

'J. LEAKE.'

The ſame Day a *Genoeſe* was ſent in by the *Canterbury*, on Suſpicion of having *French* Effects on board; and the 4th the *Hampton-Court* ſailed for *Cartagena*, and the *Antilope* to cruize off of *Alicant*.

In the mean Time a Party of Militia took Poſſeſſion of the Convent of St. *Facie*, without the Town, and block'd up the City by Land; whilſt Major-General *Mahoni* was preparing for a vigorous Defence; and for that Purpoſe, cleared the City of all the uſeleſs Perſons; and encouraged by the Delays on our Part, for want of Land-Forces to beſiege the Place, he reſolved to attempt to plunder the Convent of St. *Facie*, in the Poſſeſſion of the Militia only, which ſhut him up; being no doubt informed how few Marines were in the Fleet to aſſiſt them. But Don *Alvaro Scorcia*, the Commanding Officer of the Militia, having got Intelligence of his Deſign the 4th Inſtant, ſent Notice to Sir *John*, deſiring he would reinforce him with ſome Marines, to prevent the Miſchief that might attend it; not only by robbing the ſaid Convent, but the Inhabitants near that Place: And that he had 200 good Men that were in want of Fire-Arms, which he deſired to be ſupplied with from the Fleet. This was done the next Morning; and likewiſe 300 *Engliſh* and 100 *Dutch* Marines were landed, in Expectation of the Arrival of Brigadier *Gorge* with the Troops that were drawing that Way. But this would not have had the good Effect to prevent Mr. *Mahoni*'s Attempt; if Sir *John* had not upon the Receipt of the Letter, at Mid-

night

night given Directions for the Boats of the Fleet, manned and armed, to row along Shoar the next Morning, as if ſomething was intended on that Side; whereby *Mahoni*, who was even then in Motion to put his Deſign in Execution, was obliged to ſtay in the Town, (which had taken the Alarm) to keep all quiet there.

July the 7th, the *Wincheſter* came into the Fleet from *Valencia*, having 150 diſmounted Dragoons on board for the Service of *Cartagena*, which Sir *John* diſpatch'd thither that Evening. By this Ship he received a Letter from the Earl of *Peterborough*, of the 13th, N. S. in Anſwer to the Reſolutions taken in the Council of War of the 28th of *June*, which had nettled his Lordſhip. He complains, that the Affair of ſuccouring the Duke of *Savoy*, was referred back from the King to him, in ſuch a Manner as plainly deſigned to make him accountable to the World, and to the Duke of *Savoy*. And as a convincing Proof the King depended upon it, he could not think it adviſeable; the Count *de Zavillac* was coming from Court to ſollicit the Admirals to an Expedition againſt the Iſlands of *Majorca* and *Port-Mahon*. That for himſelf he was in all Characters and Capacities for aſſiſting his Highneſs. That by the Detachments he had made, there remained with him at *Valencia* but 2500 *Engliſh* Foot [a]. That a leſs Number would be very inſignificant for *Italy*, the remaining Part very inſignificant there; for which Reaſon he deſired the King that he might embark the Whole. That to give a clear Opinion as to what related to the Subject Matter of this late Council of War; he was entirely of Opinion with thoſe Gentlemen that compoſed it in every Point; as likewiſe of the other, not to waſte Bombs, Powder and Shot, till the Admirals could be appriſed of the Land-Forces; and in what Condition they and the Country were to act in Conjunction with them for the Siege of *Alicant*. That in what related to the Expedition to *Italy*, he entirely agreed with the laſt Clauſe of the Council of War; and left it to their Conſideration, whether, as he had repreſented it, the Whole was not perhaps a weak and inſignificant Succour for the Duke of *Savoy*; and whether that Country was in a Condition to be left without Troops. As to what related to the preſent Services upon the Coaſts; Brigadier *Gorge* with four Regiments of Foot and 200 Horſe, was marching towards *Alicant*. That he ſhould be very well ſatisfied if we could have the Town; doubting, whether it was a proper Time or Seaſon to expoſe Men. That he was informed the Caſtle did not command the Town, and if ſo, the

[a] Though his Lordſhip had then actually under his Command in *Spain*, 13 *Engliſh* Battalions and four Regiments of Dragoons. *Impartial Inquiry*, Fol. 139.

Enemy

Enemy being block'd up and kept from pillaging the Country, was almoſt of as much Advantage as the Caſtle. That he was afraid of expoſing the Men in thoſe intolerable Heats. That theſe were the beſt Precautions he could take, being obliged to march with the Horſe towards *Madrid* [a]; but ſhould be ready to return to the Sea-Coaſt, when either a Fleet arrived, or any other Service required his Preſence.

This clear Opinon of his Lordſhip's, made the Matter juſt as doubtful as before; he concurs with the Opinion of the Council of War; but inſtead of giving his own, propoſes a Queſtion; which manifeſtly diſcovers his Inclination for not going to *Italy*; though he at the ſame Time declares, how much he was for going thither; only to amuſe the Admirals, and extort from them an Opinion agreeable to his own, and thereby to make them accountable for that Undertaking: And becauſe, as he complains, the King had thrown the Difficulty upon him, he was willing to throw it upon Sir *John*. As to the Siege of *Alicant*, he does not ſeem to approve of that, for fear of expoſing the Men: And though he was going himſelf to *Madrid*, he would come back on the leaſt Occaſion: So that if his Opinion was not clear, the Caſe was very clear, that his Lordſhip did not intend to go to *Italy*, nor do any Thing in *Spain*; and had taken Meaſures to preſerve the Fleet in the ſame inactive State. The Day after the Receipt of this extraordinary Letter, Sir *John* having called a Council of War; it was their unanimous Opinion upon the Propoſition, (Whether the Whole of the 2500 Men with him, be not perhaps a weak and inſignificant Succour for the Duke of *Savoy*, and whether this Country be in a Condition to be left without Troops?) That the Country was not yet in a Condition to be left without Troops, the Enemy being ſtill in Arms, and in Poſſeſſion of ſeveral Places: And as for ſending Troops to the Succour of the Duke of *Savoy*; they were of Opinion, that no leſs Forces, than what her Majeſty appointed by her Orders of the 2d and 14th of *April* laſt, (which was three or more Regiments) could be of any Service to his Royal Highneſs of *Savoy*. This Opinion of the Council of War, he incloſed in the following Letter of the 8th of *July*.

[a] Theſe Obligations however did not make him march to *Madrid*, neither could the Catholick King prevail with my Lord to join him, in order to go directly thither. At length he joined the *Portugueſe* Army at *Guadalaxara*, but not till the ſixth of *Auguſt*; ſo that the Succouring the Duke of *Savoy*, and the March to *Madrid* were made uſe of to fruſtrate each other.

'My Lord,

'YESTERDAY the *Wincheſter* arrived, and brought me your Excellency's Letter of the 13th Inſtant, N. S. the ſame Evening I diſpatch'd her with the *Dragon* to *Cartagena*; next Morning I laid your Excellency's Letter before a Council of War; the Reſult of which I ſend here inclos'd by the *Monk*, who convoys the two Ships with Officers, Baggage, *&c.* that came this Morning from *Gibraltar:* And there's likewiſe come by the ſame Convoy from that Place, four Corn and Ordnance Storeſhips. I ſhall be glad to know (as I have already deſired in two Letters) what your Excellency will pleaſe to have done with them; for the Corn is almoſt periſhed already. If there be no Occaſion for it at *Valencia*, I believe it may not be amiſs to unlade at *Cartagena*; for that Place may have Occaſion for it, if we don't ſucceed here; and as for the Ordnance Storeſhips, if there be no Occaſion for any Part of their Loading at *Valencia*; I believe they may remain with the Fleet till we ſee how the Campaign ends. I am very ſorry the Corn Ships, *&c.* have been detained ſo long at *Valencia*, being a Place, in my Opinion, not ſafe for any Ships to remain at, unleſs upon abſolute Neceſſity. For there is neither Safety from the Enemy, if they ſhould attempt to come with a ſmall Squadron that Way; nor good Anchorage; which moſt of them that were lately with me there have experienced, by their Loſs of Anchors and ſpoiling of Cables; and therefore you'll give me Leave to beg, that your Excellency will not only let the Ship that comes now, but thoſe that have been there ſo long, be diſpatch'd and ſent from thence as ſoon as poſſible. I have received two Letters from Brigadier *Gorge*, who is within four Leagues of this Place, and expect him hourly; but thoſe Ships that came from *Gibraltar*, bring no News either of Sir *Cloudeſley Shovell* or Admiral *Allemonde*.

'*I am*, &c.

'J. LEAKE.'

The Land-Forces being now arrived within four Leagues of *Alicant*, Brigadier *Gorge* who commanded them, advanced before, in order to conſult with Sir *John* upon the Operations of the Siege; and the 9th he came on board the *Prince George*, and acquainted him with the State of the Troops under his Command, which were not above 1300 Foot, and 150 *Spaniſh* Horſe; and that it was his Opinion, that the Siege was not to be undertaken with leſs than 3000 Men of regular Troops; for

for the Militia which were about 2000 he had no Dependance upon for any Service they could do him: And the Brigadier doubted, whether his Orders were ſufficient to warrant his undertaking the Siege. Whereupon Sir *John* ſummoned a Council of War, to conſider, Whether with the Forces the Brigadier had, and the Aſſiſtance the Fleet could give, it was practicable to undertake the Siege of *Alicant*? But the Brigadier not being willing to give his Opinion upon this Occaſion; but in Concert with the Field-Officers, they could not come to a final Reſolution. The Fleet were not able to ſupply them with Forces to make up the Number required: So that after having waited 14 Days for Troops to beſiege the Place, it ſeemed impracticable to attempt it till the Lord *Peterborough* ſhould ſend an additional Number to reinforce them.

The 10th, Brigadier *Gorge* held a Council of War, of Land-Officers, upon the Siege of *Alicant*; and it was their Opinion, that as by all Accounts, the Gariſon of *Alicant* conſiſted of 2500 Men, whereof between 700 and 1000 were regular Troops, they could not attack the Town with thoſe Forces they had at preſent, being but 1300 effective Men; but that if the Fleet could make up 3000 *Engliſh* and *Dutch* in Rank and File, beſides Gunners, Matroſſes, and other Artificers to work in the Batteries, and ſupply them with all Neceſſaries requiſite for the Siege, they would undertake it; notwithſtanding they had no Engineer but Colonel *Petyt*, nor Money to pay the Workmen.

The next Day Sir *John* going on board the *Leopard*, went to *Luga Nova*, for the better Opportunity of conſulting with the Land-Officers. Here he held a Council of War on board the *Leopard*, upon the Opinion of the Field-Officers the Day before. And it was unanimouſly reſolved to reinforce them with all the Marines in the Fleet, which were about 800 Men; as likewiſe with Guns, Gunners, Matroſſes, Artificers, and all other Neceſſaries the Fleet could furniſh them with; and 500 Seamen to do Duty with the Army for carrying on the Siege. And that when my Lord *Peterborough* ſent the Regiment of Foot, which he deſigned for *Cartagena*, the Marines ſhould be withdrawn from thence, and joined to the Troops that ſhould beſiege *Alicant*; but for Money there was none in the Fleet. As ſoon as the Council of War had made theſe Reſolutions, and Sir *John* had communicated the ſame to the Land-Officers, he weighed from *Luga Nova*, and returned to the Fleet the ſame Night.

The 13th, the *Exeter* and *Leopard* came in from Cruizing, in order to put their Marines on board other Ships, to aſſiſt at the Siege of *Alicant*; the former whereof ſailed the next Day to cruize off of that Place: The *Hampton-Court* and a *Dutch* Man of War likewiſe arrived from *Cartagena*; and the *Royal Anne*

ſailed in order to put her ſick Men a-ſhoar at *Altea*, and bring back thoſe that were recovered. The 15th, Sir *John* held a Court-Marſhal on Lieutenant *Brierwood*, for fighting Captain *Moneypenny* his Commander; whom he had challenged, becauſe he confined him for Neglect of Duty; and likewiſe to enquire into the Occaſion of a Seaman's Death, drown'd at *Liſbon*: The Perſon accuſed to have been the Occaſion of it was acquitted, and the Lieutenant diſmiſſed the Service. The next Day the *Canterbury* arrived from Cruizing, and the *Panther* from *Valencia*, with the unladen Tranſports, and a Regiment of Foot for *Cartagena*: But the *Panther* being in Want of Proviſions, Sir *John* directed the *Leopard* to proceed immediately with them to that Place; with Orders to Sir *John Jennings* upon their Arrival, to come from thence, and bring with him the Marines that were in Gariſon there, to aſſiſt at the Siege of *Alicant*; with further Directions to the Captain of the *Leopard*, as ſoon as he had ſeen the Convoy in Safety to *Cartagena*, and delivered theſe Orders; then to proceed to *Valencia*, to bring ſome Money from thence, to ſubſiſt the Forces under Brigadier *Gorge*. The next Day Sir *John* ſent for the Brigadier, who coming on board the 18th, to conſider with him further concerning the Siege, he acquainted him, that it was all the Admirals Opinions as well as his own, that the Siege ſhould be carried on directly; whereupon the Brigadier held a Council of Land-Officers the ſame Day, and agreed to undertake the Siege. The following Day, the *Royal Anne* returned from *Alicant*, and the *Monk* and *Fubbs* Yacht arrived in the Fleet from *Valencia*; the latter bringing Sir *John* ſome Letters from the King of *Spain* and the Earl of *Peterborough*. Thoſe from his Catholick Majeſty were as follows.

'SIR,

'I Wiſh the Expedition of *Alicant*, wherein you are at 'preſent engaged, according to your laſt Letters, may 'end as well as that of *Cartagena*. And whereas that Affair 'of *Italy*, particularly of the Duke of *Savoy*, has been moſt of 'all at my Heart; I ſhould have been very willing that my 'Intentions, which I heretofore declared to the Earl of *Peter-* 'borough, had been effectually put in Execution: But as the 'Miniſters at preſent with me are of Opinion, that the ſaid 'Succours would now be either uſeleſs or too late, they judge 'it to be more for my Service and the common Cauſe, that 'without going for *Italy* and embarking a Part of the Troops, 'the Fleet continue to act on the Coaſt of *Spain*. Above 'all, the Enemy are going to join all their Forces; that my 'Lord *Gallway* deſires us to come and join him with what

'Troops

'Troops we can get together in theſe Parts, there being ſome 'Apprehenſions that the Enemy deſigns to wait the Succeſs of 'a Battle, before they will leave me in quiet Poſſeſſion of '*Spain*. My former Declaration, that the Fleet ſhould go 'with a Detachment of the Troops embarked towards the 'Coaſt of *Savoy*, was alſo made upon the Hopes of the Arri-'val of Sir *Cloudeſley Shovell* into the *Mediterranean*; and thoſe 'Troops which he had on board his Squadron, ſhould have 'made good ſuch as had been deſtin'd to ſuccour the Duke of '*Savoy*. But the laſt Letters from *England*, leaving me un-'der an Uncertainty, whether that Squadron may come into 'the *Mediterranean*, or undertake ſome other Expedition on 'the Coaſt of *France* in the Ocean; the ſaid Miniſters have 'judged, that under theſe Circumſtances I ought not to ha-'zard my Affairs in *Spain*, to ſend a ſmall Succour to the 'Duke of *Savoy*; which notwithſtanding, would either be 'too late or of very little Uſe. After you have happily fi-'niſhed the Expedition of *Alicant*, I promiſe myſelf from your 'Zeal, that you will undertake that of the Iſlands; reſerving 'the Action of *Cadiz* for the laſt: In which Port it ſeems to 'me the Fleet may continue the Winter, more commodiouſly 'than at *Mahon*. When I arrive at *Madrid*, my firſt Care 'ſhall be to be beforehand with all ſuch Diſpoſitions, as may 'facilitate the Conqueſt of that important City, if by that 'Time it does not of itſelf ſubmit to me. Whereupon I 'pray God have you under his holy Protection, and be aſſured 'of my perfect Eſteem and Acknowledgment.

Saragoſſa, July 20, N. S. 1706. 'CHARLES.'

The other Letter received at the ſame Time from his Catholick Majeſty.

'SIR,

'HAVING this Morning writ you the annexed Let-'ter, an Officer came to me this Moment, being with 'all Diligence ſent from my Lord *Gallway*; who brings me 'the good News, that the Army of the Allies are advanced as 'far as *Guadalaxara*; having obliged that of the Enemy to 'retire towards *Alença*. The ſame Officer alſo reports, that 'the Siege of *Turin* is raiſed. I thought good to impart to 'you this agreeable News, to the End that being free from 'any Apprehenſions for the Affair of the Duke of *Savoy*, you 'might with better Aſſurance undertake the Expedition of 'the Iſlands; as I recommend to you in this and in all other 'Things a prompt Execution of your Deſigns; becauſe it is

'reported, the Enemy will make a great Detachment from 'Italy to ſuccour Spain: 'Tis therefore of the laſt Conſe-'quence to endeavour to become Maſters of thoſe Iſlands and 'the other Places, before the Enemy may be able to throw in 'any Succours. Whereupon I pray God have you under his 'holy Protection, and be aſſured of my perfect Eſteem and 'Goodwill.

'CHARLES.'

The Earl of *Peterborough*'s Letter received with theſe, was dated from *Valencia*, the 26th of *July*, N. S. I ſend you incloſed (ſays he) the Letters which give you to underſtand, that the King expects I ſhould bring more Forces from the Sea Side, when 'twere highly neceſſary to ſend more thither. That in his own Opinion and Deſires he was very much for the Attempt upon *Alicant*, and had inclined that Way perhaps to a Fault, had the King leſs plainly declared againſt it; but the cruel Delays had given the Enemy ſuch Hopes and Heart, that it was plain our Troops would meet with the utmoſt Reſiſtance, and *Alicant* was abandoned by all that would be their Friends; and was become the Refuge of all thoſe that *Baſſet*'s Cruelties had made deſperate. That when he ſent the Troops towards *Alicant*, it could only be with a Deſign to try if the Sight of Troops could incline them to give it up; for the Letters from the Queen, and thoſe repeated ones he had from the King, left no Room for other Thoughts than thoſe of embarking the Troops for *Italy*; ſo that the Road of *Valencia* being ſo very bad, it was reaſonable to ſend them towards *Alicant* or *Altea*, in order to the Safety of the Ships and better Embarkation of the Men. That he thought of ordering a Regiment to march immediately to *Caſtile*, if the Siege of *Alicant* was judged for the preſent unſeaſonable. And for the Iſlands, no Land-Forces could be expected, but thoſe only to be reſtored which belonged to the Fleet. That the King preſſing ſo much for Troops, if the Siege of *Alicant* was not reſolved on by a Council of War, he would ſend Orders for *Montjoy*'s Regiment to come to *Caſtile*: He deſired Sir *John* would tranſport them by Sea in what Veſſels he thought fit. The Letters incloſed, were one from his Catholick Majeſty to the Earl of *Peterborough*, of the 20th Inſtant, N. S. and Copies of three Letters from Mr. *Stanhope* to the Lord *Peterborough*, of the 17th, 19th, and 20th, the Subſtance of which are contained in thoſe of his Majeſty and his Lordſhip above-mentioned.

Though his Lordſhip in his laſt Letter of the 13th Inſtant, N. S. had propoſed to the Admirals, that the Whole of the Forces he had with him were a weak and inſignificant Aſſiſtance

tance to ſend to the Duke of *Savoy*, and that *Valencia* was not in a Condition to be left without Troops; (the ſtrongeſt Reaſons he could make uſe of to prevent an Expedition to *Italy*) yet by this Letter it ſeems, he had ſent the Forces to *Alicant* for no other Purpoſe, but to be embarked for *Italy*; and had only amuſed the Fleet with the Deſign upon *Alicant*; and accordingly (ſuppoſing the Admirals would lay it aſide as impracticable) diſpoſes of Part of the Troops. Notwithſtanding his Lordſhip concurred with the Admirals in the Council of War for proceeding to *Alicant*, promiſed to order Troops to march that Way to countenance our naval Efforts, and induce them to expect a Siege in caſe of Reſiſtance; and unleſs the Service required his marching into *Caſtile*, encouraged them to hope he ſhould be in a Condition by Land to ſupport them himſelf. But how impracticable ſoever his Lordſhip made the Attempt on *Alicant* to be, the Admirals were of a different Opinion; and Sir *John* having laid all theſe Letters before a Council of War the ſame Day he received them, they unanimouſly agreed, that conſidering the Zeal ſome Thouſands of the *Valencians* had ſhewn by appearing in Arms, and their Readineſs to expoſe their Lives for the Service of King *Charles*, which if abandoned, and no Attempt made towards the Reduction of *Alicant*, they would unavoidably be expoſed to the Fury of their Enemies; as likewiſe all that Province: That purſuant to the late Reſolutions taken in Councils of War held at Sea and Land; they would uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to reduce the Place to the Obedience of King *Charles*; and after it was reduced, to conſider about the Meaſures neceſſary to be taken, in relation to *Majorca* and *Minorca*: And that the Marines at *Cartagena* ſhould be immediately ſent for to aſſiſt at the Siege; but this latter Part Sir *John* had given Orders to be done three Days before. The ſame Day five *Dutch* Men of War with ſome Victuallers arrived; and the next at another Council of War, it was further reſolved to cannonade the Town with eight Sail of the Line, and to re-inforce the Army with 300 Seamen more, (if there was Occaſion) which would make 800.

Purſuant to theſe Reſolutions, the 21ſt, Brigadier *Gorge* marched from *Elche*, and advanced within two Miles of the Town; at the ſame Time Sir *John* ordered the Signal to be made for landing all the Marines in the Fleet, which was a Blue Flag hoiſted at his Main-top-maſt-head; whereupon each Ship landed their Marines, purſuant to the Diſpoſition that had been made the Day before; and he ſent Orders to thoſe that were encamp'd to the Eaſtward of the Town, to march the next Morning and join the Brigadier, who encamp'd that Night within a Mile of the City. At the ſame Time 800 Seamen were landed; 500 whereof were formed into a Re-

giment, and commanded by Captain *Littleton*, whom Sir *John* appointed Colonel for that Expedition; Captain *Billingſly*, Lieutenant-Colonel, and Captain *Fotherby*, Major. At Night, the *Faulcon* ~~Fleet~~ Frigate arrived in the Fleet from *England*, with a Copy of her Majeſty's Inſtructions, of the 19th of *June*; referring to ſome former Inſtructions from her Majeſty, of the 12th of *June*; directing five Regiments to be ſent for ſuccouring the Duke of *Savoy*, (in caſe the Siege of *Turin* was carried on) to be landed at *Oneglia*, or other Place the Duke of *Savoy* and he ſhould agree upon: And to make a Detachment of the Fleet to *Naples*, according to Inſtructions from his Royal Highneſs; which Sir *John* had not yet received, neither was there any Copy thereof incloſed. This Order therefore of the 19th, was to inſtruct him, that the Siege of *Turin* was puſhed on with the utmoſt Vigour, and that it was neceſſary he ſhould preſs the King of *Spain* to ſend three Regiments, or ſo many more as he could ſpare, to be joined by a proportionable Number of the *Dutch*, purſuant to Orders they would receive from the States-General by the ſame Packet: And though he ſhould receive Advice *Turin* was taken; he was nevertheleſs to proceed with the ſaid Succours, in caſe the Duke of *Savoy* ſhould ſtand upon the Defenſive. Accompanying theſe Inſtructions, was a Letter from Mr. Secretary *Hedges*, of the 12th of *June*, and another from Mr. *Burchet*, his Royal Highneſs's Secretary, incloſing a Commiſſion, appointing the Earl of *Peterborough*, Joint-Admiral of the Fleet, and deſiring Sir *John* would deliver the ſame to his Lordſhip, when he had a convenient Opportunity ſo to do; after he had adminiſtred to him the Oaths and Teſt. By the ſame Conveyance he received a Letter from Sir *Cloudeſley Shovell*, acquainting him, that he ſhould not come abroad that Campaign.

That no Time might be loſt in communicating theſe Orders to the King and my Lord *Peterborough*; the very next Morning he diſpatch'd the ſame Ship to *Valencia*, with a Letter to Prince *Lichtenſtein*, and Copies of her Majeſty's Inſtructions, and of ſome late Councils of War, *&c.* which he deſired his Highneſs would communicate to his Majeſty: And acquainting him of his Proceedings before *Alicant*: The Earl of *Peterborough*, (ſays he) can give the beſt Reaſons why the Siege was not reſolved on before; for we were 14 Days at this Place before the Forces, conſiſting of about 1300, came and then the Brigadier that commanded them had not Orders ſufficient, (as he believed) to warrant his going on with the Siege, which has occaſioned the Loſs of ſo much Time. To this Letter he ſoon after received an Anſwer from his Highneſs; that he had communicated the ſame to his Majeſty, who was very well ſatisfied therewith; and that he was commanded to ſignify to him

him his Majeſty's entire Approbation, that he had by him, ſo clearly and fully acquainted him of the Affairs of the Fleet, and the Orders he had received from the Queen, in relation to future Expeditions; referring him to the King's own Letters to underſtand his Intentions more particularly.

By the *Faulcon* he likewiſe diſpatch'd a Letter to the Lord *Peterborough*, acquainting him with the Proceedings of the Fleet before *Alicant*, and incloſing her Majeſty's Inſtructions, *&c.* I have likewiſe received (ſays he) a Commiſſion from his Royal Highneſs, appointing your Lordſhip Joint-Admiral of the Fleet, but cannot forward it to your Lordſhip, as you'll ſee by a Copy of Part of the Secretary's Letter that accompanies this. I have received a Letter from Mr. Secretary *Hedges* likewiſe, which acquaints me, that his Royal Highneſs has ſent Inſtructions relating to an Expedition to *Naples*; which I don't well underſtand, not having received any ſuch. If your Lordſhip has, you'll pleaſe to ſend me a Copy thereof, having ſent your Lordſhip a Copy of the Secretary's Letter. I ſhall be glad to receive your Lordſhip's Orders about the Tranſports, they being at a conſiderable Charge; and if your Lordſhip believes there's no Occaſion for them, 'twould be better to ſend them away with proper Convoys to the Places they are to be diſcharged at: And the *Edgar* and *Pembroke* being both very leaky, eſpecially the former, there will be a Neceſſity of ſending them Home; ſo that they may take the Tranſports under their Convoy, if your Lordſhip approves of it. Notwithſtanding the Directions I have from the Secretary to detain your Lordſhip's Commiſſion, I ſhall forward it by Brigadier *Hamilton* when he leaves this Place, if your Lordſhip deſires it; though I could rather wiſh your Lordſhip's Affairs would give me Leave to come to the Head of the Fleet, eſpecially, ſince I have not the good Luck to pleaſe. I ſend this by the *Faulcon* to *Valencia*, with Orders to wait there for your Lordſhip's Anſwer. *P. S.* I deſire your Lordſhip will give Directions, what Service the Fleet ſhall undertake after this is over: If it be to the Iſlands, though *Majorca* may declare, upon the Appearance of the Fleet, *Port-Mahon* is not to be got with our Marines only.

This was all he could do in Compliance with her Majeſty's Inſtructions, relating to the Duke of *Savoy*; and in the mean Time to keep the Fleet in a Condition to proceed upon that Service, when he had his Catholick Majeſty's and the Lord *Peterborough*'s Anſwer; who he believed by that Time to be at *Madrid*, as he acquainted Mr. Secretary *Hedges*, in his Letter which he ſent him by the *Faulcon* to *Valencia*, in order to be forwarded from thence to *England*.

Before I proceed any further, it will be neceſſary to ſay ſomething in Regard to the Earl of *Peterborough*'s new Commiſſion,

appointing him Joint-Admiral, which was brought from *England* by the *Faulcon*, and Sir *John*'s Letter to his Lordſhip thereupon. It may be remembered, when Sir *John* arrived ſo fortunately to relieve the King of *Spain* in *Barcelona*, the Earl of *Peterborough* came off and hoiſted the Union-Flag on board the *Prince George*, by Virtue of a Joint-Commiſſion to him and Sir *Cloudeſley Shovell*. Though as I have ſhewn, his Lordſhip had no Power as Admiral, from the Time Sir *Cloudeſley* left the *Streights*: But as his Lordſhip valued himſelf not a little upon the Honour of being inveſted with the Command both of the Sea and Land-Forces, he embraced every favourable Opportunity to diſplay the Flag of his Authority. It was, no doubt, a great Mortification to him, to have his Authority, as Admiral, called in Queſtion; and to ſee how little Regard the Fleet had ſhewn to the Orders his Lordſhip had taken upon him to give. This perhaps excited him, at the Relief of *Barcelona*, to aſſume the Authority in Queſtion. After the Affair of *Barcelona*, we may remember, his Lordſhip again hoiſted the Flag in his Paſſage to *Valencia*, though Sir *John* conducted the Whole. In the Affair of *Savoy*, it cannot be forgot, how much his Lordſhip was for and againſt ſending the Fleet with Succours to his Highneſs; and at laſt would have drawn the Admirals in, to have determined the Queſtion upon that important Affair, to make them anſwerable for any ill Conſequences to the King of *Spain*: But when the Admirals reſolved, they could not determine that Affair, and that his Lordſhip had not given his Opinion clearly in any of his Letters upon it; and thereby threw the Whole upon him, his Lordſhip was very angry to be paid in his own Coin. As he lay ſtill in *Valencia* as General; ſo as Admiral he embarraſſed every Attempt of the Fleet, to render them as inactive and uſeleſs as the Land-Forces: Therefore he agreed upon their going to *Alicant*, as he meant that nothing ſhould be effected; ſent Troops (after the Fleet had waited 14 Days) without ſufficient Orders to act; and was greatly diſappointed at Sir *John*'s good Fortune, (by the Way) at *Cartagena*, without any Aſſiſtance from the Land-Forces, and feared he might have the ſame Succeſs at *Alicant*; wherein at laſt he hardly concurred, but from the Apprehenſions, that if that Expedition miſcarried, the Blame would be wholly imputed to his Lordſhip. In fine, Sir *John*'s Succeſſes were ſo diſtaſteful to him, and his Lordſhip's Infidelity to the King of *Spain* had been laid ſo open, by his hearty Zeal for his Majeſty's Service, that he was exaſperated againſt Sir *John*, and publickly ſwore he would ruin him. It was for this Reaſon, upon the Arrival of the new Commiſſion, that he wiſhes his Lordſhip would come to the Head of the Fleet, ſince he had not the good Luck to pleaſe. This was a modeſt Rebuke,

though

though a ſevere one. For the firſt was reflecting upon him for his Ignorance and Folly, in ſolliciting for, and taking upon himſelf an Office he was incapable of executing; and the latter reproached him with his Treachery to the King of *Spain*; for whoſe Succeſs under the Fleet, he would have been pleaſed, had he been in his Majeſty's Intereſt.

The Arrival of this new Commiſſion ſeems, however, to have been ſome Diſappointment to Sir *John*, who flattered himſelf, that they would not have ſent it abroad till the Concluſion of the Campaign; having received private Information to that Effect; which rendered the Diſappointment the greater. Indeed our Miniſters at home, after having committed ſuch a monſtrous Error at firſt, in appointing his Lordſhip Joint Admiral, could not now revoke it; for that, no Doubt, would have incenſed him, whom they well knew would ſacrifice all to his particular Reſentment. For he would not even ſubmit to his ſuperior Officer, my Lord *Gallway*, though her Majeſty ſignified her Pleaſure to have it ſo; and the Secretary of State, by the ſtrongeſt Reaſons ſhewed it ought to be ſo: But his Humour prevailed; he would not join the Lord *Gallway*; and the Conſequence was the Loſs of *Spain*. But they knew Sir *John* to be of another Diſpoſition, and that he would ſuffer nothing to come in Competition with the publick Service: And as he had already ſubmitted to the Lord *Peterborough* as Admiral, under, at leaſt, a doubtful Commiſſion, they thought they might venture to ſatisfy his Lordſhip's Humour, without any Danger, eſpecially as the Situation of Affairs then were in *Spain*. They knew the Campaign would draw towards a Concluſion by the Time this new Commiſſion arrived; and they apprehended, as they well might, that his Lordſhip was at *Madrid*, for every Body thought ſo; and in that Caſe he would not have been able to have aſſumed his Poſt as Admiral that Campaign, nor indeed have received his Commiſſion. It ſeems likewiſe to have been ſo ordered, by ſending the Commiſſion to Sir *John*, with Directions to deliver it to the Lord *Peterborough*, when he had a convenient Opportunity, after he had adminiſtred the Oaths to him: So that his Lordſhip muſt have come to the Fleet to receive it: And it is obſervable, that Mr. Secretary *Hedges*, in his Letter of the 12th of *June*, accompanying her Majeſty's Orders of the ſame Date in relation to the Duke of *Savoy*, touches this Affair very tenderly. You will obſerve, ſays he, that her Majeſty's Inſtructions are directed to the Earl of *Peterborough*, and yourſelf, or either of you on board the Fleet; and ſince the Earl of *Peterborough*, is in all Probability on Shoar with the King of *Spain*, and it is not certainly known in what Place he is; and he being the proper Perſon to conſult with the King of *Spain*, for all that relates to the Land-Forces, you'll pleaſe to ſend her Majeſty's Inſtructions to him. By this it ſeems, though they had ſent the

the Lord *Peterborough* the Commiſſion of Admiral, they thought it not expedient he ſhould be conſulted as ſuch, but as General only; and were under ſome Difficulties for fear Sir *John* ſhould reſent it and injure the publick Service, by referring every Thing to his Lordſhip as Admiral: And therefore they took Care after this, that all Orders ſhould be directed, For our right truſty, &c. *Charles*, Earl of *Peterborough* and *Monmouth:* And for our truſty and well-beloved Sir *John Leake*, Knt. or the Commander in Chief for the Time being, of our Sea and Land-Forces in *Spain* and in the *Mediterranean.* And the Lord-High-Admiral's Orders run: To the Right Honourable, *Charles*, Earl of *Peterborough* and *Monmouth*, Joint-Admiral and Commander in Chief of her Majeſty's Fleet, if in the Fleet: But if on Shoar, To Sir *John Leake*, Knt. Vice-Admiral of the White Squadron of her Majeſty's Fleet. But his Highneſs's Orders of *Auguſt* 13, for ſending a Squadron to the *Weſt-Indies*, are directed to Sir *John* only.

But however, as I have obſerved, the Miniſtry might think his Lordſhip was far from the Fleet, and even at *Madrid*; and conſequently that no Inconvenience was likely to happen under this new Commiſſion; it happened unluckily, that his Lordſhip was not at *Madrid*, nor did intend to go thither; ſo he readily embraced the Opportunity to come to the Fleet, and triumph with his new Commiſſion; though he had thereby no greater Influence than before; the executive Power ſtill reſting in Sir *John*; whoſe Opinion, as to the Invalidity of his Lordſhip's former Commiſſion, was ſufficiently confirmed, by the Neceſſity of this new one. But at the ſame Time it diſguſted him, to ſee ſuch Partiality in favour of a Man, that had not, during the whole Campaign, taken one Step agreeable to the King of *Spain*'s Inclination or Intereſt, for fear a bad Man ſhould become worſe. This widened the Breach, and chagrin'd the whole Fleet, who were much attach'd to Sir *John*; and had it been the Beginning of the Campaign, it would have been impoſſible to have prevented ſome ill Effects. For the Caſe with Sir *Cloudeſley Shovell* was very different: Who being equal in Power, my Lord could do nothing of himſelf, and was Admiral but nominally, and till the Arrival of this Commiſſion he was no other. But that made him Principal; for tho' called Joynt-Admiral, he was thereby empowered to act ſingly; an Example that it is to be hoped will never be drawn into Precedent hereafter.

But to return to the Siege of *Alicant*. The Marines of the Fleet, and 800 Seamen having been landed the 21ſt Inſtant, as has been mentioned, joined the Land-Forces, and encamp'd that Evening within a Mile of the Town; and at Night Sir *John* ordered the Bomb-Ships to bombard the City. Accordingly

ingly they took their Station, and between nine at Night and two the next Morning, threw in 89 Shells. The next Day he appointed Sir *George Byng*, with the *Shrewſbury*, *Somerſet* and *Dorſetſhire*, Ships of 80 Guns each; and the *Revenge*, *Hampton-Court* and three *Dutch* Ships, of 70 Guns each, to anchor in a Line before the Town, in order to cannonade it; which they did accordingly, with the Loſs only of the third Lieutenant of the *Shrewſbury*, who was killed, and ſome few wounded, before they could bring their Broadſides to bear. About two o'Clock they began to cannonade, and continued it till the Cloſe of the Evening, with ſo good an Effect, that they diſmounted moſt of the Cannon upon the Batteries next the Sea, and drove the Enemy from them; ſo that the Enemy's Firing ceaſed in all Places, except from the Caſtle, which the Ships could not elevate their Guns to reach, the Situation being ſo much above them. That Day the Cannon, Gunners and Carpenters were landed; and in the Night the Bombs threw in 66 Shells. The 23d, the Enemy began again to fire from their Batteries, and the Ships continued the cannonade till Night; when the Bombs began, and threw 59 Shells into the Town. The next Day in the Morning, Sir *John Jennings* arrived with the Detachment from *Cartagena*, and the Marines which had been in Gariſon there, and they were immediately landed to re-inforce the Army: The Fleet now before *Alicant*, conſiſting of 55 Sail of the Line, according to the Line of Battle; which was one of the greateſt Fleets that had been commanded during the War; and I think a larger, than had ever been commanded by a Vice-Admiral; but as to the particular Circumſtances of the Ships, many of them were in a bad Condition and ill manned. That Night only 10 Shells were thrown into the Place. At one in the Morning a Detachment of the Army attack'd a Windmill, being an advanced Poſt of the Enemy, and had upwards of 100 Men to defend it, which our Party ſoon drove from thence and took Poſſeſſion of, with the Loſs of about 25 Men killed and 30 wounded: But the Loſs was attributed in a great Meaſure to our own Party in the Confuſion, with the Hand-Grenadoes, it being very dark; but in the Afternoon, the Enemy having raiſed a Battery of two Guns to play againſt the Windmill, obliged our Party to quit that Poſt. The ſame Day five *Dutch* Men of War ſailed for *Altea* to water; and Sir *John* ordered the *Monk* to *Cartagena*, to take on board two Companies of Soldiers and carry to *Valencia*; and the *Northumberland* to *Cartagena*, to bring from thence to the Fleet, the Queen's Proviſions, which were remaining on board the Tranſports there.

The 26th, in the Morning, a Battery of ſix Guns being ready, was opened and played againſt the Enemy's Batteries; at

at the ſame Time the Ships cannonaded the Batteries next the Sea, which they continued till Night; when the Bomb-Veſſels hove in 36 Shells. About Midnight, the Enemy having deſerted the Mill, a Serjeant with 12 Firelocks took Poſſeſſion of it. The 27th, the *Panther* arrived from *Cartagena*; the *Antilope* and *Tyger* from *Valencia*, and the *Mary* and *Medway* from *Genova*; the latter bringing with her a Prize of 22 Guns; and likewiſe her Majeſty's Orders of the 12th of *June*, for ſuccouring the Duke of *Savoy*; mentioned in the ſubſequent Orders of the 19th, which were received ſome Time before; and his Royal Highneſs's Orders likewiſe therein mentioned of the ſame Date, relating to an Expedition to *Naples*. At Night the Bomb-Ships hove 43 Shells into the Town.

The 28th Inſtant, early in the Morning, the Land-Forces having gain'd the Suburbs, Sir *John* went on board the *Shrewsbury*, one of the Ships that cannonaded the Town, and which lay moſt convenient for obſerving their Motions; having ordered all the Boats in the Fleet mann'd and arm'd, under the Command of Sir *John Jennings* to repair along-ſide that Ship, in order to ſuſtain the Land-Forces, or to make an Attack upon the Place if an Occaſion ſhould offer. About nine a Clock, the Ships by their continual battering the Wall next the Sea, having made a Breach at the round Tower, at the Weſt End of the Town; and another in the Middle of the Curtain, between the Mote and the Eaſtermoſt Baſtion, and the Land-Forces that were in Poſſeſſion of the Suburbs, advancing towards the Wall of the Town; about 15 Grenadiers with an Officer and a Serjeant at the Head of them, advanced before the reſt to the Breach of the Round Tower, without Orders for ſo doing: Sir *John*, who could very plainly ſee what paſſed on Shoar immediately ordered Sir *John Jennings* to land, in order to ſuſtain them: But before that could be done, the Party that firſt advanced were driven back by the Enemy. Notwithſtanding which, the Boats put on Shoar, and landed all their Men near the Round Tower. Captain *Evans* of the *Royal Oak* mounted the Breach directly, and got into the Town with two or three Boats Crews; Captain *Paſſenger* of the *Royal Anne* went after him, and Captain *Watkins* of the *St. George* next to him, with a Party of Seamen; and ſoon after Sir *John Jennings*, with the reſt of the Seamen and Forces that were in Poſſeſſion of the Suburbs, followed to ſuſtain them, and led them into the Town, ſecured the Poſts, and made proper Diſpoſitions till the main Body of the Forces got into the City by the Gates, which were opened to them by the Seamen. Major-General *Mahoni*, who deſpiſed our ſmall Number of Land-Forces, and laughed at beſieging a Town by Sea, was glad to ſcour up the Caſtle with a Party of Horſe, to avoid being ſurpriſed by the ſudden Attack of our Seamen, leaving them entire

entire Poſſeſſors of the City. In his Way to the Caſtle he was plainly diſcovered going up the Hill from the Ships, and was ſaluted in his Retreat thither by ſeveral Shot, whereby he narrowly eſcaped, ſeveral of his Horſemen being killed about him. In this Attack we loſt very few Men on our Side; and our People were ſo good-natur'd, that it was believed there was not one Perſon killed when they were in Poſſeſſion of the Town; which rarely happens upon ſuch Occaſions. Lieutenant *Story* of the *Shrewſbury* was killed aboard three Days before, and ſome Seamen wounded, few in the other Ships. Colonel *Petyt* was killed in the Suburbs by a Shot out of a Window, as he was viewing the Ground for raiſing a Battery againſt the Wall of the Town. By all Accounts not above 30 Men by Sea and Land were killed, nor above 80 wounded. This was perhaps the moſt regular Attack that ever was made upon a fortified Town by Sea. For it was inveſted, bombarded, cannonaded, ſtormed and taken, by the Bravery of our Seamen, who mounted a Breach thought impracticable; and all this without any Aſſiſtance from the Soldiers. 'Tis true, the Forces on Shoar block'd up the Town by Land, and by their Countenance were of Service; but they could advance very little by Way of Siege to reduce the Place, during the intolerable Heats of that Seaſon: And even the Bulk of theſe Forces were compoſed of Marines and Seamen from the Ships. It is therefore to the everlaſting Honour of the *Engliſh* Fleet and Sir *John Leake*, that this Enterpriſe was ſo happily conducted, and ſo bravely executed. But it encreaſed the Envy and ill Will of the Earl of *Peterborough* to Sir *John*; more eſpecially as it was done contrary to his Lordſhip's Opinion, and even when he had judged the Siege impracticable; and this, with the Deſire his Lordſhip had to appear as Admiral with his new Commiſſion, was the Occaſion of bringing him very ſoon to the Fleet.

The following Day, after the City of *Alicant* was taken, a Summons was ſent to the Caſtle; but Major-General *Mahoni* returned Anſwer, he would defend it to the laſt. Whereupon the Ships began to batter it, firing now and then a Shot, with a good Effect againſt the Walls next the Sea, though with ſome Difficulty, by reaſon of the high Situation. The Bomb-Veſſels likewiſe played with good Succeſs, and in the Night of the 28th and 29th, threw at the Caſtle 167 Shells; which now growing ſcarce, the next Day Sir *John* detach'd the *Winchester* and *Leopard*, to the Commiſſary of the Ordnance Stores at *Barcelona*, for a Supply of 19 Inch Shells with Fuſees. In the Evening he diſpatch'd the *Fubbs* Yacht, with Brigadier *Hamilton* for *Valencia*, by whom he ſent the following Letter to Brigadier *Stanhope*, Envoy Extraordinary to his Catholick Majeſty, and another to the Earl of *Peterborough*, relating to the

the Duke of *Savoy*, and the further Operations of the Fleet.

'SIR,

'THE *Mary* and *Medway* arrived here laſt Night in 19 'Days from *Genova*: The Captains of them acquaint 'me, that the Siege of *Turin* is continued; and I ſhall be im- 'patient to know what Reſolution is taken at Court about 'ſuccouring that Place, purſuant to her Majeſty's Inſtructions 'to the Earl of *Peterborough* and myſelf, which were brought 'lately from *England* by the *Faulcon*, who I have ſent to '*Valencia*, to forward the ſaid Inſtructions from thence to 'his Lordſhip, and Copies thereof to Prince *Lichtenſtein*. I deſire 'you'll pleaſe to aſſure his Majeſty, that if the Fleet is not em- 'ployed to go for *Italy*; the next Expedition we ſhall under- 'take, ſhall be for the Iſlands; if the Earl of *Peterborough* 'can ſpare the Forces that are under Brigadier *Gorge*'s Com- 'mand at this Place; for the Marines that are in the Fleet 'are not ſufficient to undertake the Siege of *Port-Mahon*; but 'am in Hopes *Majorca* may declare upon Sight of the Fleet, 'without any Trouble.

'*I am*, &c.

'J. LEAKE.'

That to the Earl of *Peterborough* was as follows.

Prince George in *Alicant Road*, *July* 28, 1706.

'My LORD,

'THE 21ſt Inſtant, the *Faulcon* arrived here with Let- 'ters for your Lordſhip, and her Majeſty's repeated In- 'ſtructions for ſending of Succours to *Savoy*, which I did be- 'lieve there might be no Occaſion for, after his Majeſty had 'done me the Honour, to write me, that he had had Advice 'that the Siege of *Turin* was raiſed; but your Lordſhip's Son 'in the *Medway* and Captain *Hopſon* in the *Mary* arriving 'here laſt Night in 19 Days from *Genova*, give me a quite 'contrary Account; the Siege being continued and the Place 'in great Danger; therefore it muſt be left to his Majeſty 'and your Lordſhip, to conſider of that important Affair, the 'Fleet being in a Condition to proceed upon that Service, or 'any other your Lordſhip ſhall direct. The next Morning 'after the *Faulcon* arrived, I diſpatch'd her to *Valencia*, with 'the original Inſtructions, &c. to be forwarded to your Lord- 'ſhip,

'ſhip, and hope they are received. The Town of *Alicant* 'was this Morning about nine o'Clock, ſtormed and taken; '*Mahoni* and his Party retiring into the Caſtle, which, I hope 'will not be in his Hands long. For the Particulars of the 'Siege, your Lordſhip will pleaſe to give me Leave to refer 'you to Brigadier *Hamilton*, who brings this to your 'Lordſhip.

'*I am*, &c.

'J. LEAKE.'

In the mean Time the Siege of the Caſtle was vigorouſly carried on, and the Bomb-Veſſels continuing the Bombardment, on the 30th and two following Days hove in 153 Shells. And it having been reſolved at a Council of War held by Brigadieer *Gorge* and the Field-Officers of the Forces a-ſhoar, that all the Seamen be taken off on board the Fleet, except the Gunners, Matroſſes and Marines; to avoid their Plundering; Sir *John* ordered them to be withdrawn according to their Requeſt, to prevent any Miſ-underſtanding and Confuſion that might happen; and it was agreed at a Council of War, the firſt of *Auguſt*, that whilſt the Fleet continued before *Alicant*, the Marines, Gunners and Matroſſes that were left a-ſhoar, ſhould remain there, to act in Conjunction with the Land-Forces for reducing the Caſtle; and that they would give what further Aſſiſtance of Cannon and Stores from the Fleet they ſhould have Occaſion for, that nothing might be wanting to carry on that Service with all poſſible Diſpatch. Soon after this Council was over, he was obliged to call another, upon a Letter he received from the Conde *de Santa Crux*, Governor of *Cartagena*, intimating the King of *Spain*'s Order, to deliver over to Captain Don *Franciſco Maria Levento*, the Ship of 36 Pieces of Cannon, lately taken by Sir *John Jennings*, and the Squadron under his Command. But it appearing, this Ship had a Commiſſion, and Paſſes from the King of *France* and the Count *de Thouloufe*, and was fitted out at *Toulon*; manned with *French* and *Iriſhmen*; and actually the Day before ſhe was taken, was engaged with ſome of our Men of War, but made her Eſcape and got into *Cartagena*, where ſhe was taken by Sir *John Jennings*; the Council of War thereupon were unanimouſly of Opinion with Sir *John*, that ſhe was lawful Prize of the Queen of *England*, and as ſuch they could by no Means deliver her up but by the Order of her Majeſty. The next Day having Notice from Brigadier *Gorge*, by a Letter from the Vice-Roy of *Valencia* to him, that two *French* Men of War and a Storeſhip were at *Peniſcola*; and as he believed had Succours on board, and Stores for that

that Place, he detach'd the *Antilope* and *Panther* to proceed and cruize off of that Place; and the next Day ordered the *Monk* and *Eſſex* for ſix Days upon the ſame Service.

The third of *Auguſt*, Sir *John* believing he might annoy the Caſtle by a Ship to the Eaſtward of the Town, ordered the *Berwick* thither to cannonade them on that Side; but ſhe was obliged by the Enemy's Shot to warp further from the Shoar, they having diſabled her Main and Fore-Maſt. Notwithſtanding which, the Ships continued to batter the Caſtle with good Succeſs, having diſmounted the greateſt Part of their Cannon, and beaten down the Wall towards the Sea.

The 4th, the *Northumberland* arrived from *Cartagena* with a Tranſport, and the remaining Part of the Proviſions which had been left in the Tranſports at that Place. The ſame Day Sir *John* received further Information from Brigadier *Gorge*, that 10 or 12 Sail were off of *Peniſcola*: Whereupon ſummoning a Council of War, he laid before them both the Brigadier's Letters; and having acquainted them, that upon the Contents of the firſt Letter, he had diſpatch'd away two Ships, and the next Day two more to cruize off of that Place; it was unanimouſly their Opinion, that if they made a further Detachment to go upon that Coaſt, they muſt take off Part of the Marines to man them; and ſince it was uncertain, whether they were Ships or Veſſels (the latter having often alarmed the People of this Country) and being in hourly Expectations of Orders from *Madrid*, to take on board Forces to ſuccour the Duke of *Savoy*, which Service they thought of the greateſt Conſequence, and to which the making a Detachment would put a Stop till their Return; it was therefore agreed and reſolved to ſend no more Ships, till they received a more certain Account of the Enemy being upon that Coaſt, which they might expect from the Ships that were there. In the Evening and the following Days ſeveral of the Ships ſailed to *Altea* to water, two or three at a Time, that they might be ready in caſe of any ſudden Orders to proceed to *Italy*, or upon Surrender of the Caſtle, to go without Loſs of Time upon any further Service.

The 9th in the Morning, a new Battery was opened and played againſt the Caſtle; and Sir *John* thinking that a favourable Opportunity, to make another Attempt with ſome Ships to batter the Caſtle on the Eaſtward of the Town, ordered the *Burford* and *Grafton* of 70 Guns each, to go near the Shoar for that Purpoſe, which they performed with good Succeſs; the Bomb-Veſſels having been directed to throw in ſome Shells at the ſame Time. The following Day the *Mary* and *Medway* were ordered to cruize off of the Bay of *Alicant*; and the *Exeter* was diſpatch'd to *Tunis* for a Horſe to carry to *England*

for

for his Royal Highneſs, purſuant to an Order he had received ſome Time before.

The 12th, at 11 at Night, the *Enterprize* arrived from *Liſbon*, bringing his Royal Highneſs's Order of the 12th of *June*, to the Earl of *Peterborough* and Sir *John Leake*, directing them (if it ſhould be the King of *Spain*'s Pleaſure) to go with, or ſend a Detachment of the Fleet before *Naples*. Upon which a Council of War was held the next Morning; when having maturely conſidered theſe Orders, and likewiſe reconſidered her Majeſty's Inſtructions of the ſame Date, which were brought from *England* by the *Faulcon* on the 21ſt, *ultimo*; alſo a Paper of Intelligence, concerning the Preparations and Motions of the *French* at *Toulon*; it was unanimouſly their Opinion, that nothing could be reſolved on in that Matter, till Sir *John Leake* received an Anſwer from the King of *Spain* and my Lord *Peterborough*, what Reſolutions they would take, in Compliance with her Majeſty's Inſtructions of the 12th of *June*, about ſuccouring the Duke of *Savoy*, *&c.* It was therefore reſolved, to remain there till the Anſwer came, which they might hourly expect by the *Faulcon* from *Valencia*, where ſhe was ſent the 23d, *ultimo*, with the ſaid Inſtructions, to be forwarded from thence to his Majeſty and my Lord *Peterborough*: And that whilſt they remained there, they would give all poſſible Aſſiſtance to the Land-Forces in reducing the Caſtle of *Alicant*. This Reſolution, with a Copy of the Orders, Sir *John* diſpatch'd to the Lord *Peterborough* the ſame Day, by the *Enterprize*, to *Valencia*, and Copies of the ſame to Prince *Lichtenſtein*: In theſe Letters, acquainting them with the Death of Mr. *Methuen*, her Majeſty's late Ambaſſador at *Liſbon*, (which he was informed of by a Letter from Mr. *Milner*) and that the Caſtle of *Alicant* held out ſtill; though he hoped in a few Days, that Matter would be determined, all the Deſerters agreeing they had not Water for above eight Days; and likewiſe acquainted his Lordſhip that the Fleet was victualled but to the 10th of *November* at ſhort Allowance.

The 15th, the *Mary* and *Medway* returned from Cruizing, with two Cettees they had taken. Two Days after Sir *John* received the following Letter from the Earl of *Peterborough* by Land from *Valencia*.

Campo Robles, Auguſt 25, 1706.

'SIR,

'THOUGH the fatal Management of Affairs has loſt 'us *Spain*, at leaſt for the preſent, which we might 'have had without a Blow, Expence or Hazard: Though 'the whole Country round roſe up againſt us; yet one lucky 'Letter came to my Hands from you, with ſome from the

'Queen, which will bring me with all Expedition poſſible to 'the Fleet. I am glad of your Succeſs at *Alicant*, and the 'more, becauſe it was owing to the extraordinary Mettle of 'the Seamen; who, as I am informed by Major *Rapin*, 'mounted a Breach which was thought impracticable, and 'forced the Soldiers upon ſupporting them. I have given 'Admiral *Waſſenaer* ſome Particulars of our Circumſtances, 'which would have made this Letter too long, which he will 'communicate to you, *&c.*

'You mention in your Letter ſome Thoughts of going 'home; and I think your Expreſſion is, ſince you find you 'can't pleaſe. I can aſſure you, Sir, I always had a particular 'Eſteem for you, and a Deſire to pleaſe you and ſerve you, if 'twere in my Power, and for that Reaſon freely own, I was 'a little ſurpriſed at ſome Orders of yours, and ſome Diſ-'courſes I was informed of in the Fleet[a]: But I aſſure you, 'Sir, I lay very little Weight upon them, and ſhould be very 'ſorry that ſuch Trifles ſhould create any Uneaſineſs to you, 'or occaſion the Abſence of ſo good an Officer from the 'Fleet, and deſire you to depend upon it, there is nobody 'more your Servant.

'I thought ſo little of it, that it was quite out of my 'Head, till the laſt Captain you ſent with Letters to *Va-'lencia*, told me, if I had any Anſwer to write, I muſt write 'them preſently, for he could ſtay for them but eight Hours, 'having Orders to wait for my Diſpatches no longer. I 'thought it a little abrupt to one who had a Commiſſion to 'command the Fleet, and knew another was coming to ob-'viate ſome Difficulties I was told were made. The Orders, I 'was informed, given to thoſe Captains that came with the 'Money to *Valencia*, was, to follow mine as far as they ſhould 'judge it reaſonable; the Orders of an Admiral ſubmitted to 'the Judgment of private Captains, was new, and they were 'not pleaſed to obey my Orders; which perhaps might have 'ſecured us *Spain*; for in thoſe dangerous Circumſtances, 'when the King's Perſon was in *Barcelona*, I deſired him to 'come for *Valencia*, aſſuring him, I had five clean Ships 'ready that ſhould carry him to *Pharoe*, and from thence he 'might go directly to the Head of the *Portugal* Army, which 'had he done, he would not have committed this fatal Fault 'that has endangered all, but would have been now in *Ma-'drid*. The *Fowey* was clean from *Argier*, the two Ships from

[a] Theſe Diſcourſes were concerning his Lordſhip's Joint-Commiſ-ſion, whether it was in Force after Sir *Cloudeſley Shovell* ſailed: And all the Officers of the Fleet agreed it was not, and conſequently that he had no Power as Admiral, and blamed Sir *John* for ſubmitting to it.

'*Italy*,

'*Italy*, and the two from *Liſbon* would have made five; theſe 'were my Motives for thoſe Orders to return to *Denia*, 'which they did not think fit to obey. But as I told you 'before, Sir, this was quite out of my Thoughts, *&c.* The 'Orders I have received are very poſitive, and require, that 'the Fleet ſail as high as *Genova*. And I believe Meaſures are 'taking for the Fleet's wintering in the *Mediterranean*, of 'which we ſhall have ſpeedy Advice.

'*SIR*,

'*Your humble Servant*,

'PETERBOROW.'

To this Letter of his Lordſhp's, I ſhall ſubjoin that of Sir *John Leake* to his Royal Highneſs's Secretary, in order to juſtify himſelf againſt the Charge laid againſt him, which ſhewed a Deſire, rather than a Power to hurt him, by aggravating Things of ſmall Moment for want of greater. This Letter, with a Copy of his Lordſhip's he diſpatch'd to *England* the 19th, by a *Dutch* Man of War.

'SIR,

'I Hope you received my Letter of the 31ſt, *ultimo*, which 'I ſent by the *Rye* Galley to *England*, giving an Account 'of the taking of this Place, but the Caſtle holds out ſtill, 'though I hope in a few Days they'll be obliged to ſurrender 'for want of Water. He then acknowledges the Receipt of 'their Orders and Letters by the *Enterprize*, and that he has 'ſent Copies of the Councils of War thereupon, *&c.* ſince 'his laſt Letter. He then goes on.

'On the 17th Inſtant, I received a Letter from the Lord '*Peterborough*, a Copy of which comes herewith, as likewiſe 'of another that was ſent to Admiral *Waſſenaer*; and believe 'it neceſſary to ſay ſomething in Anſwer to ſome Part of his 'Lordſhip's Letter to me; (concerning which he was never 'pleaſed to take Notice of to me before.) His Lordſhip ſeems 'to complain of the *Monk*'s ſudden Departure from *Valencia*. 'I think fit in my own Juſtification to aſſure you, that when 'I ſent that Ship with Letters to his Lordſhip, I did not in 'the leaſt doubt but his Lordſhip was upon his March [a] to '*Madrid*,

[a] Sir *John* might well believe my Lord was upon his March to *Madrid*, when the King of *Spain* had uſed ſuch preſſing Inſtances to his Lordſhip to go thither: His Majeſty, ſo long before, as the 26th

'*Madrid*, believing then her Stay would be unneceſſary; gave 'her Captain, *Morris*, no Orders for ſtaying; for beſides the 'Conveniency of a ſafe and ſpeedy Conveyance by Land, 'Ships are conſtantly going to and from that Place to the 'Fleet. I likewiſe ſend you Copies of the Orders, that I 'gave to the Captains of thoſe Ships that were ſent with the 'Money in *February* laſt from *Liſbon*; and though they did 'not poſitively direct them to obey my Lord, yet you'll find, 'if any ſuch Services as his Lordſhip mentions had been pro-'poſed to them, they had Power enough to have complied 'therewith, as well as to go, after the Money was landed, to '*Algier*, with a Letter from his Lordſhip, and the Reaſons the 'Captains gave me, when they joined me, why they did not 'call at *Denia* as his Lordſhip had directed them, were; that 'when they got over upon the Coaſt, they met with ſtrong 'Eaſterly Winds, that put them by their Sails, and drove them 'to Leeward of that Place, and knowing that I had not two 'clean Ships beſides themſelves, they thought it would be moſt 'for the Service to make the beſt of their Way to me, 'which they did; and joined me at a Time when I had moſt 'Occaſion for them; which was after I had been diſappointed 'of meeting the Galleons, and was going towards *Gibraltar*, 'in order to proceed to the Relief of *Barcelona*.

'I ſhall always have an Eſteem for his Lordſhip's 'Friendſhip, and have endeavoured for it as much as 'poſſible; and to avoid all Diſputes, have ſubmitted to ſeveral 'Things which I think I was not obliged to, having always 'been rather willing to ſuffer myſelf than that the Service 'ſhould. But when I was credibly informed, that his Lord-'ſhip threatened my Ruin (for what Reaſon I cannot imagine) 'I could not avoid ſaying leſs than I did in my Letter to 'him of the 22d, *ultimo*, a Copy of which comes herewith. 'I could ſay a great deal more; but I ſhall give you no fur-'ther Trouble at this Time, only tell you, that I ſhall al-'ways be very ready to anſwer any Complaints his Lordſhip 'can make againſt me: And hope his Royal Highneſs in-'tends me the Favour to order me home this Winter, my 'own private Affairs very much requiring my Preſence 'there, *&c.*

'J. LEAKE.'

of *June*, being on his Way thither, and my Lord perfectly at Liberty to have joined him. But being abandoned by the ſaid Lord, was forced to take the Way to *Saragoſſa*. And his Lordſhip did not join the *Portugueſe* Army till the 6th of *Auguſt*, at *Guadalaxara*. *Impartial Inquiry*, p. 147, 149; and Count *Gallas*'s Memorial to the Queen, *Auguſt* 31, 1706.

This

This Letter contains a full and modeſt Reply to his Lordſhip's Charge, who ſeems to have forgot that he was not Admiral at that Time, or at leaſt, that his Authority was queſtioned as ſuch by the King of *Spain* and the whole Fleet; and that Sir *John* permitted his Lordſhip to act under his Joint-Commiſſion, till her Majeſty's Pleaſure was known. He ſurely forgot this, when he ſtood ſo much upon his Punctillio as Admiral. It is true, in the Orders to the *Monk*, there is no particular Directions to follow his Lordſhip's, neither was there any Occaſion; for if he was Admiral, he could command any Ship, notwithſtanding any former Orders. And as to the other two Ships, what his Lordſhip urges was untrue, for they had a Power to follow his Orders, and he did give Orders to the *Panther* accordingly; which her Captain purſued as far as he was able; and by the ſame Authority he gave thoſe Orders, he might have given others; ſo that the Ground of the Complaint ſeems only to have been, that they were not particularly directed to follow his Lordſhip's Orders; which, for want of knowing the Practice of the Navy, and Jealouſly of not having a due Reſpect paid him as Admiral, under his doubtful Commiſſion, he piqued himſelf upon. But had theſe Orders been indeed, as his Lordſhip repreſented, he might have remembered they were agreeable to the Inſtructions himſelf and Sir *Cloudeſley* gave to Sir *John Leake*, which were to follow his Lordſhip's Directions, no further than ſhould be adviſeable, which would have been very abſurd, if it had been adviſeable to put all Ships under his Lordſhip's Directions; and to general Inſtructions, all particular Orders, as far as may be, are to correſpond. As to the Loſs of *Spain*, which his Lordſhip would inſinuate as the Conſequences of this, it is ſo ridiculous, that it hardly deſerves a ſerious Anſwer. It may with more Truth be aſſerted, that had ſuch a Deſign as his Lordſhip propoſed to execute with theſe Ships, taken Place, it would have been the Loſs of *Spain*; and will appear very abſurd, when we may remember, (in what has been related of the Relief of *Barcelona*) the King of *Spain* could not be prevailed upon to leave that City, by the Perſuaſions of his beſt Friends; much leſs by his Lordſhip, who, upon that Occaſion, his Majeſty ſeemed to have had very little Regard to. As Sir *John* therefore had not diſputed the Command with his Lordſhip, he declined any further Controverſy, and very prudently tranſmitted all the Letters and Orders relating to it to *England*, as the moſt effectual Means to juſtify himſelf and expoſe his Lordſhip; and he took this favourable Opportunity to deſire to be ordered home.

The 19th, the *Eſſex* and *Monk* returned from their Cruize off of *Peniſcola*, not having heard any Thing of the 12 Men of War, ſaid to have been off of that Place. And the *Canter-*

bury was ordered to cruize off *Cape Martine* for ſix Days. During this Time the Siege of the Caſtle continued, and the 22d the Ships and Batteries on Shoar, having entirely diſmounted the Enemy's Cannon, and the Gariſon being in want of Water, Sir *Daniel Mahoni* ſent to capitulate. Whereupon all Hoſtilities ceaſed, and Brigadier *Gorge* having conſulted with Sir *John Leake*, the Capitulations were agreed upon and ſigned by General *Mahoni* and Brigadier *Gorge*, the 24th. By theſe Capitulations it was agreed, that the Caſtle ſhould be delivered up four Days after, if competent Succour did not arrive before: That the Gariſon ſhould march out, Drums beating and Colours flying, with four Pieces of Braſs Cannon and two Mortars; the Soldiers to carry what they could upon their Backs, and no Officers Baggage to be ſearched; and ſome to be allowed to march out with the Gariſon diſguiſed: Deſerters on both Sides to be treated as the reſt: That the Gariſon ſhould be tranſported to *Cadiz*, or *Roſes* in *Catalonia*; and if the Ships ſhould not be ready at the End of the fourth Day to tranſport them, the Gariſon to ſtay in the upper Part of the Caſtle till they were ready; after which Sir *John Leake* gave his Word to ſend them away to the Place appointed without Delay, and the Sick and Wounded to be taken Care of and tranſported when they were able. The Priſoners taken on either Side, to be ſet at Liberty without Ranſom. The Officers and particular Perſons in the Caſtle to be allowed 30 Days to diſpoſe of their Effects, with Carriage and Paſſports if neceſſary; and that two General Officers were to have Paſſports by Land. That Perſons of whatſoever Degree ſhould have Liberty to go with the Gariſon, or to return to their reſpective Homes without Moleſtation, except to the City of *Murcia*.

There were found in the Caſtle, (notwithſtanding what Deſerters had declared) one Month's Water and two Months Proviſions; and it might have held out till the former had been expended, if they had not diſagreed amongſt themſelves. For all the Batteries that were raiſed, had no Effect upon the Wall to make a Breach; the Situation of the Place rendering it almoſt impregnable. But the continual Cannonading from the Ships, as well as from the Batteries, and the Cohorn Mortars playing upon them Day and Night, killed and wounded them a conſiderable Number of Men; and the beſt Part of the Gariſon being *Neapolitans*, of which a conſiderable Number were Officers, they preſſed Mr. *Mahoni* to ſurrender, and at laſt ſpoil'd the Water, in order to oblige him to do ſo.

Purſuant to the Articles of Capitulation, the Forces of the Allies the ſame Day took Poſſeſſion of the Gate and Covert-Way; and the Gariſon being to be tranſported to *Cadiz*, it was reſolved at a Council of War, the 26th Inſtant, that a convenient Number of Tranſport-Ships ſhould be provided

to

to carry them thither, and that two Men of War ſhould be ordered to convoy them without the *Streights*, to prevent any Attempts that might be made by the ſaid Forces, to oblige the Tranſports to land them at any other Port, more to the Eaſtward of that Place, as likewiſe to protect them from the *Algerines*. It was alſo reſolved, that the Convoy to the Tranſport-Ships that had the Priſoners on board, ſhould take with them all the empty Tranſports, Store and Victualling Ships, that were to be diſcharged at *Liſbon*; and after having ſeen the former out of the *Streights*, that they ſhould proceed with them to that Place, in order to their being diſcharged; and there to take the Trade that was ready under their Care and Protection, and convoy them to *England*. And further, that the Tranſports, *&c.* that were to be diſcharged in *England* and *Ireland*, ſhould remain at *Cartagena* and *Alicant*, till the Lord *Peterborough* came or ſent Orders about them, as Sir *John Leake* had deſired him to do ſome Time ſince: And as ſoon as the Caſtle was evacuated by the Enemy, and they were embarked, to ſend for the Marines and Gunners that were on Shoar; and alſo the Guns, if Brigadier *Gorge* had no Occaſion for them for the Defence of the Town: And after that Service was performed, to proceed with the Fleet to *Altea* to water. And at another Council of War, held the ſame Day, upon the State of *Cartagena*, it was agreed, that ſix Guns of the lower Tier, and four of the upper Tier of the *Edgar* in that Harbour (ſhe being leaky and under Orders for *England*) ſhould be put a-ſhoar, and mounted in the two Forts, to defend the Entrance into that Harbour; the Cannon that were in thoſe Forts having been taken away to fortify the City againſt any Attempt of the Enemy by Land. Theſe Diſpoſitions being made for the Security of *Cartagena* and *Alicant*, ſo happily reduced to the Obedience of his Catholick Majeſty, we ſhall leave the further Proceedings of the Fleet for the Subject of the next Chapter.

CHAP. XV.

Proceedings at Alicant *after the Surrender of the Caſtle. Sir* John *goes with the Fleet before* Ivica, *which ſubmits. From thence to* Majorca, *which he obliges to capitulate; and leaving a Squadron Abroad for the Winter Guard, returns to* England.

AFTER the Surrender of *Alicant* Caſtle, it was to be conſidered what Expedition the Fleet ſhould next proceed upon. To give Aſſiſtance to the Duke of *Savoy* was of the greateſt Moment, and agreeable to the poſitive Orders from *England*; and therefore it had been reſolved at a Council of War, the 13th of *Auguſt*, to remain at *Alicant* till Sir *John Leake* ſhould receive an Anſwer from the King of *Spain* and the Earl of *Peterborough*, in relation to that Service, and the Expedition to *Naples*. But not having received any Anſwer the 26th, nor any Expectations of ſeeing the Lord *Peterborough*; it was determined in another Council (beforementioned) that as ſoon as the Caſtle was evacuated by the Enemy, and the Gariſon embarked, they ſhould proceed to *Altea* and water; Sir *John* believing it would be better to wait the Arrival of an Anſwer at that Place, whilſt in the mean Time they might compleat their Watering, and put the Fleet in a Condition to proceed directly to *Italy*, or on any other Service which ſhould be reſolved upon. The following Day he received a Letter from Count *Leon Ulfelt*, Vice-Roy of *Catalonia*, propoſing the ſending of a Squadron of Ships before *Ivica*, which Place he had received Aſſurances would declare for King *Charles* upon Summons; and theſe Propoſitions were brought by Don *Francis Balançat*, an Inhabitant of the City of *Ivica*, whom the Vice-Roy recommended to him as a very fit Perſon to promote his Catholick Majeſty's Intereſt in that Iſland. Whereupon having ſummoned a Council of War; it was reſolved, that 11 *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Ships ſhould be detach'd upon that Service, as ſoon as the Fleet had watered at *Altea*, conceiving (no doubt) they ſhould be aſcertained in that Time concerning the Duke of *Savoy*. Soon after Sir *John* received the following Letter from his Catholick Majeſty.

'SIR,

'MY Lord *Peterborough* having given me Part of the 'poſitive Orders he hath received from the Queen, to 'go immediately with the Fleet and ſome Troops to *Italy*, to 'ſuccour

'succour his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *Savoy*; and having 'at the ſame Time deſired to hear my Sentiments and thoſe 'of the Generals of the Army, of the Service the Fleet 'could do the Publick in the preſent Conjuncture; a Coun-'cil of War was called; wherein it was found neceſ-'ſary to repreſent to the ſaid Fleet, the Matters contained in 'the Copy herewith annexed: And I judge the ſame to be of 'great Importance in the preſent Conjuncture. My Lord 'hath engaged himſelf, on his Part, to have a particular Care 'that his Demands may be executed; and knowing with how 'much Zeal you ſupport the Intereſt of the common Cauſe; 'I hope you will not fail to contribute with your good Offi-'ces, to the End that on one Side the Queen may be obeyed, 'and on the other, that many Conqueſts may be maintained in '*Spain*, by your proper Care and the happy Succeſs, wherewith 'God hath been pleaſed to bleſs our Arms. We being at 'preſent in the Middle of theſe Kingdoms, I promiſe myſelf 'that you'll neglect nothing that can be deſired of you, to 'facilitate the Operations of the Army, from which depends 'not only the Re-eſtabliſhment of my Monarchy, but alſo 'the Fortune of *Europe*, and the glorious Concluſion of this 'preſent War. I vow to you an Acknowledgment and par-'ticular Obligation, and do aſſure you of my conſtant Love 'and good Will.

Guadalaxara, *Aug.* 11, 1706. 'CHARLES.'

The Copy of the Council of War, referred to in his Majeſty's Letter, was as follows, *viz.*

A Council of War held at the Palace of Guadalaxara, *the 9th of* Auguſt, 1706.

THE Earl of *Peterborough* having communicated to the Council the poſitive Orders which he had received from the Queen his Miſtreſs, to attend the Fleet with ſome Troops to *Italy*; and offering at the ſame Time to contribute of his Part, all that could conduce to the Benefit of the common Cauſe; and deſiring every body ſhould explain his Opinion in a Caſe of ſuch Importance; they executed it accordingly, all of them giving the Intimations which they thought moſt proper, and the Opinions were generally alike the ſame, all agreeing, that my Lord ſhould go with the Fleet to *Italy*; procuring that the Admirals ſhould have a competent Number of Ships on the Coaſt of *Andaluſia*, to hinder, by that Diverſion, the Enemy's Troops deſigned for the Defence of *Cadiz* and other Frontier

Frontier Places, from joining with the Duke of *Anjou*'s Army, to the very great Prejudice of the common Cauſe. That my Lord *Peterborough* having put in Execution the Queen's Commands in *Italy*, return with the Fleet, and attempt the Taking of *Port-Mahon*, judging this Conqueſt of the very higheſt Importance in the preſent Poſture of Affairs; the Coaſts of *Catalonia* and *Valencia* remaining ever expoſed to the Invaſion of the Enemy, unleſs protected by the Neighbourhood of the Fleet. For which End it is indiſpenſable, that the Fleet be ordered to continue during the Winter in the ſaid Port, and that the neceſſary Inſtances be repeated to the Queen of *England*, that ſhe would pleaſe to command that her Fleet have ſuch Orders for the enſuing Winter; without which, the Conſervation of *Catalonia* and *Valencia* muſt be deſpaired of.

The Earl of *Peterborough* charges himſelf with the Care of ſending light Frigates to *Liſbon*, to tranſport the Money which may have been provided in that Court for the Pay of the Army, as well as to bring the Intelligences that may be important to the Succeſs of the preſent Engagements.

Preſent. Marquis *das Minas*; Lord *Gallway*; Ambaſſador of *Portugal*; Count *Noyalles*; Her Majeſty's Envoy, Mr. *Stanhope*; Prince *Antonio de Lichtenſtein*.

The better to underſtand the above-mentioned Letter of King *Charles*; it is neceſſary to obſerve, that the Lord *Peterborough*, notwithſtanding the preſſing Inſtances of his Majeſty to join the Army at *Madrid*, did not arrive at *Guadalaxara* [a] near that Place till the 6th of *Auguſt*, and then with a very inconſiderable Force [b], though he had 13 Battalions of *Engliſh* Foot and two Regiments of Dragoons in ſeveral Places, which he had left behind him: And as his Lordſhip had diſputed the Command with Lord *Gallway* his ſuperior Officer, contrary to the Queen's Command and to Reaſon; that Lord preferring the publick Service to all other Conſiderations, generouſly offered the Lord *Peterborough* the Command of the Queen's Forces upon his Arrival. But becauſe the Marquis *das Minas* would not do ſo too, the Lord *Peterborough* choſe to leave the Army; yet had ſo much Inclination to command, that the eighth Inſtant he propoſed a Method for that Purpoſe, whereby the Generals might be independant of each other as to Command, and receive all Orders from his Majeſty. Theſe Propoſals not being approved of, his Lordſhip deſired a Council of War might be called the next Day, and there ſtarted his

[a] Impartial Inquiry. [b] Earl of *Gallway*'s Narrative.

indiſpenſable

indiſpenſable Inſtructions to go to *Italy*; which in all Probability had never been thought of, if his Propoſal about the Command had been approved. The Council of War having come to the Reſolutions before-mentioned, his Lordſhip ſoon left the Army to take upon him the Command of the Fleet, and go for *Italy*; and as his Majeſty by fatal Experience had Reaſon to ſuggeſt ſome ill Effects, ſo he ſeems to be under ſome Apprehenſions (by his Letter before-mentioned to Sir *John Leake*) as if he might draw off the Troops and Fleet, and thereby leave the Conqueſts expoſed; for which Reaſon he deſires Sir *John*'s good Offices in the Fleet againſt any Attempts the Lord *Peterborough* might make to his Diſſervice.

The 28th at Night, the *Garland* arrived from *Liſbon*, bringing his Royal Highneſs's Orders of the 16th of *July*, for ſending a Squadron of nine Sail of the Line to the *Weſt-Indies*, to bring the Galleons to *Spain*; which Squadron he was to put under the Command of a Flag-Officer, and to communicate theſe Orders immediately to the King: And accompanying theſe Orders were Copies of her Majeſty's Inſtructions to the Earl of *Peterborough* and Major-General *Stanhope*, in Relation to the ſaid Expedition. As this Detachment from the Fleet was to be made directly to the *Weſt-Indies*, if poſſible; Sir *John* called a Council of War immediately thereupon; and it was agreed, that two Ships of 80 Guns, four of 70, three of 60, two Frigates and a Fireſhip, ſhould be manned out of the Fleet and ſent directly to *Liſbon*, in order to their being victualled and provided with Naval Stores, to enable them to proceed on their Voyage, the Fleet not having ſufficient to ſupply them. And accordingly he appointed the *Devonſhire*, *Cumberland*, *Northumberland*, *Eſſex*, *Reſolution*, *Mary*, *Monk*, *Canterbury*, *Firme*, with the *Garland* and *Faulcon* Frigates, and the *Hunter* Fireſhip for that Service; to be commanded by Sir *John Jennings*. The ſame Day he diſpatch'd an Expreſs by Land, with a Letter to Brigadier *Stanhope*, and Copies of the Queen's Inſtructions, leſt the Originals ſhould have miſcarried; which not having come to his Hands, he ſuppoſed were ſent by Land from *Liſbon*. My Lord *Peterborough* (ſays he) I believe is ſtill at *Valencia*, and God Almighty only knows when I ſhall ſee him: But I have ſent him Copies of the Inſtructions. By the ſame Expreſs he ſent the following Letter to King *Charles*.

'SIR,

'I Have received the Honour of your Majeſty's Letter of 'the 11th *ultimo*, and take Leave to aſſure your Majeſty, 'that I ſhall omit no Opportunity of promoting your Ma-

'jeſty's

'jesty's Intereſt; and ſhall be always proud when your Ma-
'jesty ſhall pleaſe to honour me with your Commands. Laſt
'Night by a Ship from *Liſbon*, I received Inſtructions for
'ſending a Squadron of Ships to the *Weſt-Indies*, a Copy of
'which comes herewith: But there being neither Stores nor
'Proviſions ſufficient in the Fleet to fit them for that Expe-
'dition, I ſhall be obliged to ſend them to *Liſbon*; where
'after they arrive, they will be got ready to proceed in ſeven
'or eight Days; after which I ſhall order Sir *John Jennings*,
'who commands the ſaid Squadron, to remain there 10 Days
'for your Majeſty's Diſpatches, if they do not get to him be-
'fore that Time is expired, but hope your Majeſty will find
'a Conveyance for them by Land to *Liſbon*; but leſt that
'ſhould fail, I ſhall order a Frigate or two to wait at *Valen-
'cia* for them, in order to their going by Sea to *Liſbon*; and
'beg your Majeſty will pleaſe to ſend your Commands to thoſe
'Captains, whether they may wait for your Majeſty's Diſ-
'patches, that they may ſtay upon the Coaſt no longer than
'is neceſſary. On the fourth Inſtant, the Caſtle of *Alicant*
'ſurrendered, upon the Articles of Capitulation, of which I
'herewith ſend a Copy for your Majeſty's Peruſal; which is
'all at preſent from,

'*Your* MAJESTY's,

'*Moſt humble, and*

'*Moſt obedient Servant,*

'J. LEAKE.'

To his Catholick Majeſty, King *Charles* the Third of *Spain*. Recommended to the Care of the Vice-Roy of *Valencia*.

The 29th in the Morning another Council of War was held, in relation to a former Reſolution that had been taken to ſend a Detachment to *Ivica*. When, conſidering the Orders Sir *John Leake* had received, to ſend nine Sail to the *Weſt-Indies*; and Admiral *Waſſenaer* having received Orders to ſend ſix *Dutch* Ships of the Line to *Liſbon*, which Ships would take up a great Part of the Water that was then in the Fleet; it was agreed and reſolved to put off, for the preſent, the intended Expedition to *Ivica*, it being abſolutely neceſſary for the remaining Part of the Fleet to go to *Altea* to water, by which Time they might reaſonably expect the Lord *Peterborough* from *Valencia*, or reſolve upon further Proceedings there. Soon after this Council of War, his Lordſhip arrived in the *Medway*, with the *Faulcon* and *Fowey* from *Valencia*. Whereupon

another Council was immediately called, to conſider of the Succours for *Italy*; and it was reſolved, that whereas by Advice from a Veſſel arrived lately from *Savona*, of the raiſing of the Siege of *Turin*, and that an Officer was arrived Expreſs from Prince *Eugene* with the Confirmation of the ſame, and the News of a Defeat given in *Italy* to the *French*: Theſe Conſiderations, the Seaſon of the Year, the preſent Circumſtances of *Spain*, the Diminution of the Troops in the Service of *Alicant*, induced all the Council to be of Opinion, that her Majeſty's ſeveral Inſtructions for tranſporting the Troops to *Italy* might be diſpenſed with, which were ſo much wanted and deſired by the King of *Spain*; and that the Fleet ſhould proceed to *Altea* to water, and then to conſider what further Service might be undertaken. This Council of War was held on board the *Prince George*, where his Lordſhip did Sir *John* the Honour to continue his Flag, during the few Days the Fleet continued at *Alicant*. It was indeed at this Time neceſſary it ſhould be ſo, as they were to act jointly: And as his Lordſhip was always on Shoar, except when a Council of War was called, and he did not intend to proceed with the Fleet out of that Harbour, or take upon him any other Command, it would have been attended with many Inconveniencies, had it been otherwiſe.

The following Day another Council of War was held, in relation to the Tranſports, which had been kept abroad at a very great Expence, without a Probability of any Occaſion for them, (though Sir *John* had ſo frequently repreſented that Matter to his Lordſhip, but never received any Anſwer.) But now it was reſolved, that there being no further Occaſion for them, they ſhould be ſent to *England* in order to be diſcharged: And that the *Bedford*, *Edgar*, and *Ranelagh*, which were very leaky, and the *Berwick* much diſabled in her Maſts by the Enemy's Shot from *Alicant* Caſtle, (and being therefore not fit to remain abroad) ſhould convoy them to *England*. The 31ſt, ſix *Dutch* Men of War ſailed for *Holland*. And the *Pembroke*, with the Tranſports, having the Gariſon of *Alicant* Caſtle on board, ſailed for *Cadiz*, to land them, purſuant to the Articles of Capitulation, and with the empty Tranſports which were to be diſcharged at *Liſbon*.

Theſe Affairs being ſettled, and the Fleet now at Liberty to proceed on any further Service, that the ſhort Remainder of this Campaign would admit; another Council of War was held the firſt of *September*; and it was reſolved, the Fleet ſhould proceed immediately to *Altea* to water, and from thence to *Majorca* and *Ivica*, to contribute to the reducing thoſe Iſlands to the Obedience of King *Charles* the Third; being at Liberty to attend the Service no further than the 15th Inſtant, by Reaſon of the Want of Proviſions and the ill Condition of ſeveral great

great Ships, unfit for Service. And further, that the *Prince George*, a 2d Rate, the *Dorſetſhire*, *Burford*, *Grafton*, *Hampton-Court* and *Rupert*, 3d Rates, and the *Antilope*, a 4th Rate, being much decayed by the Worm, and their Continuance Abroad, ſhould proceed at their Return from the Iſlands, (and having watered at *Altea*) immediately for *England*; the reſt of the Fleet at the ſame Time purſuing their Voyage to *Liſbon*; unleſs Orders arrived to the contrary.

Soon after, Sir *John* received an Order from the Earl of *Peterborough* to the ſame Effect, requiring him to take the Fleet under his Command, and directing him (at his own Requeſt) to return home with the Ships deſigned for *England*, leaving Sir *George Byng* to command the *Liſbon* Squadron; and deſiring him, before he parted with the Ships deſigned for *Portugal*, that he would be pleaſed to call a Council of War, and there conſider and reſolve, what further Orders and Inſtructions might be fit to give Sir *George Byng*. The Reſolutions in the Council of War, previous to theſe Orders, were Sir *John*'s own Sentiments; who was deſirous to have the further Operations of the Fleet ſettled by his Lordſhip, to conclude the Campaign and go home; it being impoſſible the Orders he had deſired from *England* for that Purpoſe could arrive in any reaſonable Time.

This Diſpoſition being made of the Fleet, the 2d of *September*, early in the Morning, Sir *John* ſailed from *Alicant*, with 26 Sail of Ships of the Line, *viz.* 16 *Engliſh* and 10 *Dutch*. At the ſame Time Sir *John Jennings* with his Squadron, and the Convoy for *England* with the Tranſports ſailed alſo, leaving the Lord *Peterborough* behind with four Sail, deſigning to proceed to *Genova* to negotiate ſome Money Affairs. So that whilſt the Miniſtry in *England* were impatient to know the Conſequence of his Lordſhip's having joined the Earl of *Gallway*; as they were uneaſy before at the Delays in his March, they were not a little ſurpriſed by the next Advices, to hear that his Lordſhip had left the Army near *Madrid*, and quitted his three Charges of Admiral, General, and Plenipotentiary, to go for *Italy* without Fleet or Forces; to negotiate a Matter he had no Authority to do. Nor could the King of *Spain* be leſs ſurpriſed at his Lordſhip's Proceedings; when it is conſidered, that he left the Army under the Reſolutions of the Council of War of *Guadalaxara* before-mentioned, which were taken upon the Neceſſity of complying with his Majeſty's poſitive Orders, for his going (as he repreſented) with the Fleet and Forces to ſuccour the Duke of *Savoy*.

The next Morning after the Fleet ſailed from *Alicant*, they anchored in *Altea* Bay to water the Ships. Here Sir *John* remembring the Hardſhips he had ſuffered the laſt Winter by the Want of Proviſions, reſolved to make timely Proviſion againſt

againſt ſuch another Accident, and therefore diſpatch'd the *Ipſwich* with Orders to Mr. *Biſs*, Agent Victualler at *Liſbon*, to ſend ſome Proviſion to *Gibraltar* for the Uſe of the Fleet, if there ſhould be Occaſion; or if not, to ſupply the Gariſon with it; or at leaſt, if there was no immediate Want, he could but ſend or carry it back again to *Liſbon*, which he thought more adviſeable, than to riſque the Inconveniencies they might poſſibly be otherwiſe expoſed to. From hence he likewiſe diſpatch'd a Letter to *England* by the *Enterprize*, to acquaint the Lord-High-Admiral with his Proceedings; concluding, that he left the Lord *Peterborough* at *Alicant*, who he preſumed would acquaint his Royal Highneſs of all Proceedings ſince his Lordſhip came to the Fleet, and of his Deſign of going to *Genova*, and how he intended to diſpoſe of the reſt of the Fleet that were not with him. The 5th, the Ships having compleated their Watering, Sir *John* proceeded from thence to go to *Ivica*.

The Iſland of *Ivica* is one of the ancient *Baleares*, under the Government of the Vice-Roy of *Majorca*, from whence it is about 78 Miles Diſtance, almoſt Eaſt; extending from Eaſt to Weſt about 13 Leagues, and from North to South 10, and 30 in Circumference. It is extremely fertile in Corn, Wine and Fruits; furniſhing Part of *Spain*, *Italy* and *Piedmont*, with great Quantities of Salt. The principal Town of the ſame Name ſtands on the Southern Shoar, together with a very ſafe Harbour; the Fort of St. *Hilario Magno*, &c.

The 8th, at Night, being within five Leagues of the Town of *Ivica*; Sir *John* diſpatch'd Don *Franciſco Balançat*, a Native of that Place, (who we have mentioned before to have been recommended for that Purpoſe) a-ſhoar, to excite the People to declare for King *Charles*, upon the Appearance of the Fleet; and he effected his Buſineſs ſo well with the Governor and Inhabitants, that the next Morning, when the Fleet anchored before the Place, and ſent a Summons, the Caſtle ſaluted him with all their Guns; and the Governor and Magiſtrates came on board the *Prince George*, to tender their Duty and Allegiance to his Majeſty. The ſame Day they took the Oath of Homage to King *Charles*. Sir *John* diſpatch'd a Letter to Prince *Lichtenſtein*, with an Account of this Succeſs, the next Morning; recommending Don *Francis Balançat* to his Highneſs's Favour, as alſo Captain *Pedro Ruiſeck*, who had been his Companion in all this Affair, and was the Admiral's Pilot; deſiring his Highneſs would intercede with his Majeſty, that Don *Francis Balançat* might have the Employment of Aſſeſſor to the Governor and Auditor, the Gentleman who then enjoyed it at that Time, being not very well affected, and the Time expired for his holding the Place: And that Captain *Pedro Ruiſeck* might have the Place of *Guardien del Puerto*; being well

well assured of the Zeal of both these Gentlemen for his Majesty's Service; which Request was afterwards granted.

The Affairs of *Ivica* being settled, and the proper Dispositions made for the Security of the Place; the 13th, early in the Morning, he sailed from thence towards *Majorca*, and arrived before it the next Day. This Island is the Principal of those called *Baleares*, extending from East to West about 22 Leagues, and from North to South 16, and almost 60 in Compass. An Island abounding in Wealth, and the Seat of the Vice-Roy, who resides in the capital City of the same Name, standing on the South-West Shoar of the Isle, where is a good Haven, 78 Miles almost N. E. of *Ivica*.

Upon the Arrival of the Fleet in the Bay, Sir *John* immediately sent a Summons to the Vice-Roy, but did not meet with so ready a Compliance here as at *Ivica*; the Vice-Roy with some others who were in the Interest of the Duke of *Anjou*, declaring upon the Summons, that they would defend the Place to the last Extremity. However, believing they might alter their Opinion, he sent in a second Time to demand a speedy and final Answer; but they persisted in the same Resolution. Whereupon some in the Fleet, (and particularly Sir *George Byng*) were for laying aside any farther Attempts upon the Place; the small Number of Shells making it impracticable to be bombarded with any Hopes of Success: But Sir *John* was of another Opinion, as well from the general good Inclination the Inhabitants bore to King *Charles*, as from the Effect a few Shells and some Shot might have, upon a People unacquainted with such Things: And therefore he resolved to try a Bombardment with the few Shells they had left, and to cannonade them at the same Time, and see how that would work upon the Inhabitants. Accordingly, at six in the Evening he sent in two Bomb-Vessels near the Town. About eight they began to play, and fired two or three Shells; but finding themselves at too great a Distance, they weighed in order to go nearer. This had so good an Effect, though the Shells had fallen short of the Place, that the Inhabitants rose, killed one of the Duke of *Anjou*'s Party, and obliged the Vice-Roy for Security to retire to his Palace, and promise to capitulate. In the mean Time, some Men from the Town coming on board the *Prince George*, acquainted Sir *John* what was doing; and whilst he was preparing to improve this Advantage, the Count *de Moune* with some other of the chief Men of the Island came off with a Flag of Truce and a Message from the Vice-Roy, that he desired to capitulate; upon which the Bomb-Vessels were ordered to desist, and Hostages were exchanged; Captain *Charles Wager* and Captain *George Action* were sent a-shoar, and two of the principal Gentlemen kept on board in their Room. Nevertheless, in order to hasten

haſten their Propoſals, Sir *John* thought fit to order ſeven *Engliſh* and three *Dutch* Ships of the Line to be ready next Morning to cannonade the Town upon any Diſagreement that might happen. Accordingly they took their Stations in a Line before the Town for that Purpoſe; but by this Means all Things were adjuſted without it; for about one o'Clock the Vice-Roy ſent off his Demands, which being conſidered and anſwered, were returned that Night, and at ſix the next Day the Capitulations for ſurrendering the City and Iſland of *Majorca* to his Majeſty King *Charles* the Third, as agreed to, were ſigned as follows.

Capitulations which are deſired of his Excellency Sir John Leake, *who commands the Fleet of her* Britannick *Majeſty, by the illuſtrious Earl of* Alcudia, *Vice-Roy and Captain-General of the City and Kingdom of* Majorca, *in order to the Surrender of the ſaid City and Iſland.*

Article I. THAT the Place and Iſland, with the Caſtles, Forts and Towers, ſhall be ſurrendered to the Forces of her *Britannick* Majeſty two Days after the Signing of the Capitulations; and that immediately after Signing, ſhall be delivered up the Field Gate, with the Baſtion of the Prince; and in the Interim no Hoſtilities committed on the one Side or the other; and ſtrict Orders ſhall be given to any of the People that enter, that they hinder all Confuſions, Encounters and Diſorders, which ſhall be inviolably complied with.

Anſwer. That the Place and Iſland of *Majorca*, with all their Caſtles, Forts and Towers, ſhall be delivered to the Forces of his Catholick Majeſty of the High Allies, 12 Hours after the Signing of the propoſed Capitulations; and that immediately after Signing, the City of *Majorca* ſhall take Care to appoint ſuch a Number of Men, the moſt proper to that End, that may immediately poſſeſs for King *Charles* the Third the Field-Gate and the Baſtion of the Prince; and in the Interim there ſhall be no Hoſtilities committed, either on the one Part or the other: The ſaid City undertaking to give poſitive and ſtrict Orders to the Body of Militia appointed for that Purpoſe, that they hinder all Confuſions, Encounters and Diſorders, which the Admiral for his Part engages carefully to do.

Article II. That the illuſtrious Earl of *Alcudia*, Vice-Roy, ſhall freely go out to embark, as alſo the Miniſters, as well of the Royal Audience, as of the Royal Patrimony and of the Tribunals, Magiſtrates, and any other Officers, as well Royal

as Univerſal, of any Degree, Pre-eminence or Condition whatſoever; and that any other Perſons, Natives of this City and Iſland, or Strangers, as well Eccleſiaſticks as Seculars that will depart with their Families, Cloaths, Goods and Moveables, may embark with the illuſtrious Vice-Roy if they pleaſe, without ſuffering any Hoſtilities or Vexation by the Force of the Admiral, or by the Peaſants or Citizens, in their own Perſons or Families: As alſo that the Baggage and Effects which they deſire to carry with them to the Place appointed, ſhall not be detained upon any Pretext, for what they may have acted in the new Reign, ſince the Death of his Majeſty King *Charles* the Second of bleſſed Memory, and the Peaſants and Citizens ſhall exactly and punctually obſerve the Contents of this and the other Capitulations, on the Penalty of being ſeverely chaſtiſed.

Anſwer. All this Article is agreed to, except only, that none of the *French* Nation ſhall carry away any Part of their Effects.

Article III. The ſaid illuſtrious Vice-Roy, Miniſters and other Perſons mentioned in the foregoing Article, may have free Liberty to embark, and go out of this City and Iſland, with any Embarkations, as well *French* as others, that are to be found in this Port or Iſland, as ſoon as the Place is delivered, to any Port of *Spain*, *France* or *Italy*, as they ſhall appoint or think fit; and that the Admiral ſhall give them ſufficient Convoys.

Anſwer. This Article is agreed to, with the ſame Limitations as the ſecond.

Article IV. That in Caſe the ſaid illuſtrious Vice-Roy, Miniſters and other Perſons above-mentioned, deſire immediately to be going, and cannot find ſufficient Embarkations to carry them to the ſaid Ports, the Admiral ſhall give neceſſary Orders, that they may be provided with what neceſſary Embarkations they may have Occaſion for.

Anſwer. Agreed.

Article V. That in Caſe any of the Inhabitants of this City or Iſland above-mentioned, deſire to embark and go to other Dominions, they may and ſhall be admitted to ſtay in the Place ſix Months, with their Liberties, Families, Equipage and Moveables; the neceſſary Paſſports being given them; and they ſhall have one Year to diſpoſe of their Lands and Eſtates, and enjoy their Product.

Anſwer. In Caſe any of the Inhabitants of the afore-mentioned City and Iſland of *Majorca*, deſire to embark and go to other Dominions, they may and ſhall be admitted to ſtay in the Place one Month, with their Liberty and their Families, Equipage and their moveable Goods, with neceſſary Paſſports, and ſhall have three Months to diſpoſe of their Lands and Eſtates,

Eſtates, and enjoy their Product, except thoſe of the *French* Nation, as expreſs'd in the Anſwer to the ſecond Article.

Article VI. That the Gariſon in the Caſtle and Fortreſs of *St. Charles*, ſhall go out freely with all their Officers, as well *Spaniards* as *French*; delivering up at the ſame Time the City evacuated, the Caſtles and Forts; and that the *French* Gariſon that are found in the ſaid Caſtle, with their Commanders and Officers, ſhall be ſuffered to depart, carrying with them all the Tartans in which they came to this Iſland, with all their Equipage, Arms, Ammunition and Proviſions that they brought; Maſters and Mariners, with all Things convenient, for the Security of their Voyage to ſome Port of *France*.

Anſwer. The *French* Troops that embark, ſhall not carry with them Arms, Ammunition or Proviſion; only of the latter ſufficient ſhall be given them for their Subſiſtence in their Voyage; and only ſo many Barks as may be barely neceſſary to carry them to ſome Port on the Coaſt of *France*.

Article VII. That the Lives and Eſtates of the Natives and Inhabitants remain ſecure and ſafe, although they be *French*; and that the Council of that Nation, now in this City or Iſland; and the other Strangers, as well Neighbours and Inhabitants of the ſaid City, as alſo any others of the other Town in the Place, ſuffer no Damage in their Perſons or Families; neither ſhall their Houſes or Goods be ſack'd, or ſuffer any Hoſtilities either by Soldiers or Perſons; and that if they deſire it, they may have Paſſports to go out of the Iſland, to *France* or any other Place.

Anſwer. This Article is agreed to with the ſame Exceptions as the ſecond.

Article VIII. That the City and Iſland of *Majorca*, their Natives and Inhabitants, and all the Commons and others, as well Eccleſiaſtical as Secular, ſhall be confirmed and maintained in all their Privileges, Laws, Rights and Liberties, as well common as particular; that they have enjoyed and enjoy, and were allowed by the ſerene Kings of *Arragon* and *Majorca*.

Anſwer. The Privileges, Rights and Liberties ſhall be allowed the ſaid City, in the ſame Manner as they enjoyed them at the Death of King *Charles* the Second, who is in Glory.

Article IX. That nothing ſhall be touched belonging to the Cathedral Church, and others of this City and Iſland; Convents, Monaſteries, Chapels, Hoſpitals, and other ſacred and pious Places: Nor the Cloaths, Goods, Money, Silver, Gold, Jewels, or any other Things of Value, that may be depoſited in them, as well the Effects of the ſaid Churches and Places, as of particular Perſons that have taken Refuge in them; and that all thoſe ſacred and pious Places, with the Perſons in them, as well Eccleſiaſticks as Seculars, ſhall be maintained in all their Rights.

Anſwer. Agreed to, except that thoſe of the *French* Nation ſhall have no Benefit by the preſent Article.

Article X. That the Houſes and Goods of the Biſhop, Vicar-General, Cannons, and other Eccleſiaſticks of the City and Iſland, ſhall remain free and ſafe; preſerving untouched and without Prejudice, all their Juriſdictions, as well Epiſcopal as others; their Curates and all their Goods, as well in the City as out of it, enjoying and adminiſtring all, with the Liberty that they at preſent enjoy and adminiſter.

Anſwer. Agreed.

Article XI. That there ſhall be no Innovations, or Prejudice done to the Immunities and Privileges, either Eccleſiaſtical or Royal, and other Prerogatives that have been granted the ſaid Churches, Convents, and ſacred Places, as well in common as particular; but that they remain with their Liberties and Prerogatives that hitherto they have attained.

Anſwer. Agreed.

Article XII. That the Tribunal of the Inquiſition ſhall be permitted and continued, as it has been heretofore; with the ſame Prerogatives, Juriſdictions and Privileges, as well the Tribunal as their Miniſters.

Anſwer. Agreed.

That all the above-mentioned Capitulations, ſhall have at any Time punctual and deſired Obſervance: Admiral *Leake* and the Conde *de Alcudia*, having offered to maintain irrevocably to the Part that relates to each other; and that the preſent Capitulations ſhall remain firmed and ſecured. On board the *Prince George*, the 28th of *September*, N.S. 1706.

J. LEAKE.

Uſing the Power we have from the Conde *de Alcudia*, Vice-Roy and Captain-General of *Majorca*, we ſign with our own Hands the preſent Capitulations.

El Conde *de Montagnegro Yde Montoro.*
El Marquez *de Bel Pocue.*
Don *Salvador Sureda de St. Marti.*

The foregoing Capitulations being ſigned, the *French* Gariſon which was in the Caſtle of *St. Charles* at *Porto Pine*, was brought off that Evening, and 100 Marines from the Fleet, with three Commiſſion Officers took Poſſeſſion of it. The 20th, being King *Charles*'s Birth-Day, Sir *John* cauſed his Majeſty to be proclaimed in the City, and the Oath of Allegiance to be adminiſtred to the Inhabitants. At the ſame Time the City Guns were fired three Times round, which were

were anſwered by the Cannon of the Fleet. *Te Deum* was ſung at the Cathedral; and the Admirals had a grand Entertainment provided for them at the Palace by the new Vice-Roy; the Evening concluding with Illuminations, Fireworks, and all other Demonſtrations of Joy. The two following Days were employed in making the proper Diſpoſitions for the Settlement and Security of the Iſland. Captain *Landen*, Sir *John* appointed Commander in Chief of the Marines in the Caſtle of *St. Charles*, which he ſupplied with Powder and all other Neceſſaries for the Defence of it: And having ſeen the Magiſtrates and Officers ſworn to the Obedience of King *Charles*, he ſailed from thence with the whole Fleet the 23d, except the *Newark* and *Cambridge*, which he left behind to bring away the Vice-Roy and diſaffected Perſons. The next Day he ſent the *Hampton-Court* to *Alicant*, with his Letters to Prince *Lichtenſtein* and Major-General *Stanhope*, giving them an Account of his Succeſs at *Ivica* and *Majorca*: And I wiſh, ſays he to the Prince, that all his Majeſty's Subjects were ſo unanimous to pay their Obedience, as the People of thoſe two Iſlands. My preſent Orders (continues he) are to go for *England*, with Part of the Fleet, and to ſend the reſt to *Liſbon* to refit. How I ſhall be diſpoſed of, when I get thither, I know not; but where-ever I am, deſire your Highneſs will pleaſe to aſſure his Majeſty, my Prayers and hearty Wiſhes ſhall be always for his Majeſty's Health and Proſperity. And in his Letter to General *Stanhope*; I wiſh, ſays he, I could have promoted his Majeſty's Intereſt by going to *Port-Mahon*; but the Shortneſs of Proviſions, the Want of Soldiers, and the Seaſon of the Year obliged me laſt Night to weigh from *Majorca* and purſue my Orders.

The 28th, being off of *Cartagena*, he ordered the *Burford* and *Sterling Caſtle* to proceed thither, and take off the Marines and Proviſions which were remaining there. At the ſame Time he was joined by the *Swift* Sloop from *Gibraltar*, bringing him the agreeable Orders from his Royal Highneſs for his Return to *England*, and to make choice of 25 Sail of the Line, (or ſo many of that Number as were in a Condition to be left) beſides Frigates, Fireſhips and other Veſſels, in Conjunction with ſuch *Dutch* as the States-General ſhould appoint, (excluſive of the nine to go to the *Weſt-Indies*) to remain abroad for a Winter-Guard, and for the next Summer's Service; and to put them under the Command of Sir *George Byng*; and with the Remainder to return to *England*, calling at *Spithead* for Orders; and finding none to go to the *Downs*. Theſe Orders were directed to Sir *John* only, without taking any Notice of the Earl of *Peterborough* as Admiral, and dated the 13th of *Auguſt*; ſo that this Order was before his Letter deſiring to be recalled, which was not dated till the 19th of *Auguſt*.

Upon theſe Orders Sir *John* called a Council of War; and it was agreed, that the Seaſon of the Year, and the Shortneſs of Proviſions would not permit the Fleet to ſtay any longer in the *Mediterranean*; and therefore it was reſolved, that purſuant to Sir *John Leake*'s Orders, himſelf with the *Prince George*, *Dorſetſhire*, *Grafton*, *Hampton-Court*, *Royal Oak* and *Vulture* Fire-ſhip, ſhould proceed to *England*; and the reſt of the Fleet to *Liſbon*, in order to be cleaned and refitted.

The 30th of *September* Sir *John* received a Letter from Brigadier *Stanhope*, and another from Brigadier *Gorge* from *Alicant*; but as he was now on his Way for *England*, he could not ſtay to anſwer them; only I ſhall inſert that of Brigadier *Gorge*'s, to ſhew how careful my Lord *Peterborough* was to ſupport that important Conqueſt, which had been made with ſo much Bravery.

Alicant, October 9, 1706, N. S.

'SIR,

'I Am ſorry you paſs us without ſeeing you, and more concerned that I am left here; for give me Leave to tell you, that never Man was left in ſuch a Condition; for he has neither left me Money nor Proviſions, and the Caſtle is juſt as you left it; and the Ball which Mr. *Collier* ſent up, is either all too little or too big for the Guns; therefore if you do not ſend me that Sort of Ball, which is demanded in the incloſed, I know not what we ſhall do: And my Lord told me, he would give Orders to you at *Altea*, to ſend me both ſuch Proviſions and Biſcuit; which if he has not done, by G—d I will deſert, for I will not ſtay to be made a Priſoner of War, and that muſt be my Caſe very ſoon, if not relieved by your ſending us what you can ſpare. But I will preſs you to nothing, for I flatter myſelf that you have Kindneſs enough to relieve me if you can. I was within two Leagues of *Murcia*, but was forced back upon the News of the Enemy's coming hither, and all the Towns round about here, have now declared for the Duke of *Anjou*; but I hope when the Troops are a little refreſhed, I ſhall make them declare again, if the Enemy does not ſend a ſtronger Detachment down, though they threaten me hard; but if you will help me with theſe Things, I do not queſtion but to give an Account of them, whenever they think fitting to attack me, who am,

'*Dear SIR*,

'*Your moſt faithful and obliged humble Servant*,

'R. GORGE.'

'*P. S.* My Service to all my Sea Acquaintance, and we drink your Health conſtantly.'

Whe-

Whether my Lord *Peterborough* neglected *Alicant* in particular, more than the other Conqueſts upon the Coaſt of *Spain*, in order to diſtreſs *Gorge*, I will not poſitively determine; but it is certain his Lordſhip never intended the Siege of that Place ſhould be undertaken, was very much diſappointed at the Succeſs of the Fleet at *Alicant*, and very angry with Brigadier *Gorge* for concurring with Sir *John* to carry on the Siege without full Powers from his Lordſhip for ſo doing. As to the Relief he wanted of Proviſions and Shot, the Fleet could not poſſibly ſupply at that Time, being themſelves ſhort of Proviſions, and obliged upon that Account to make the beſt of their Way. All that Sir *John* could do in this Caſe he did, which was to recommend the Affair to Sir *George Byng* to ſend him what he wanted.

Sir *John* likewiſe received the following Letter from his Catholick Majeſty.

'SIR,

'HAVING received your Letter of the ninth Inſtant, 'and ſeen the Orders that you have, to ſend immediately a Squadron of Ships towards the *Weſt-Indies*, to try to 'intercept and ſecure the Galleons that are coming from 'thence: I declare that I am very ſenſible of the Favour that 'my dear Siſter the Queen doth me in that Matter, and am at 'the ſame Time very much ſatisfied of the obliging Offers 'you make me to ſtay for my Packets, and to order the Execution of what I ſhall think neceſſary for my Intereſt in 'that Expedition; but as the Time fixed upon is ſo ſhort, 'and the Conſequence of the Enterprize ſo important, I cannot deſire any Thing in the preſent Conjuncture that might 'be of Service to the common Cauſe. I remit only two 'Patents-General to my Miniſter at *Liſbon*, to be printed and 'delivered to the Admiral that goes the Voyage, that he may 'publiſh them at ſuch Places as he ſhall think convenient, 'and make as much uſe of them, as they are valid for the 'Good and happy Execution of his Commiſſion; I thank 'you alſo for the Care and Pains you have taken, in reducing 'the Town and Caſtle of *Alicant* to my Obedience; and as I 'owe that Conqueſt to your Courage and good Conduct, ſo I 'aſſure you of my Acknowledgment, and always will have a 'particular Eſteem and Regard for your Perſon; praying God 'to keep you in his holy Protection.

From the Camp *Del Pezall*, *Sept.* 22, 1706. 'CHARLES.'

The Campaign being now over for this Year, Sir *John* gave the following Inſtructions to Sir *George Byng*.

By Sir John Leake, *Knt. Vice-Admiral of the White Squadron of her Majeſty's Fleet*, &c.

'PURSUANT to the Reſolution of a Council of War of the 31ſt *ultimo*, you are hereby required and directed to take under your Command, one firſt Rate, one ſecond, 10 third, four fourth, one fifth, one ſixth, and two Fireſhips; and with thoſe at preſent in Company, (when I hoiſt a Blue Flag at my Main-top-maſt-head and fire a Gun) you are to proceed to *Liſbon*, and direct the Cleaning and Refitting them with all poſſible Expedition, and order their Cruizing in ſuch Stations as you may judge moſt effectual for diſturbing and deſtroying the Enemy, and guarding the Coaſt of *Portugal*, as the Treaty requires; ſo as you may call and have them together, to proceed upon any emergent or ſpecial Service, in Conjunction with the Squadron of the States-General, which is to join you from *Holland*.

'If the Earl of *Peterborough* ſhall at any Time give you Notice, that it is neceſſary for a Part, or your whole Squadron to go to the Coaſt of *Spain* or *Catalonia*, and you have none of her Majeſty's or his Royal Highneſs's Commands to perform, you are to comply with his Lordſhip's Directions, if it ſhall be thought adviſeable by a Council of War; and if the Miniſters of *England* and *Holland* reſiding at *Liſbon*, or the Earl of *Galway*, ſhall on any Occaſion propoſe to you to ſend to the Aſſiſtance of the Army, or to any of the Gariſons upon the Sea Coaſt in Poſſeſſion of her Majeſty's Forces, any Men, Arms, Ammunition or Money, you are to conſider at a Council of War, how far you are able to aſſiſt in the Performance of the ſame, and put in Execution ſuch Reſolutions as ſhall be taken.

'You are to inform yourſelf as ſoon as poſſible, of the Condition of the Gariſon of *Gibraltar*; and when Application ſhall be made to you by the Commanding Officer for Ammunition, Victuals or Stores, of which the Gariſon ſhall ſtand in need; you are to ſupply them from Time to Time, with what ſhall be judged neceſſary, and may be ſpared from the Squadron, or out of the Stores at *Liſbon*; you are likewiſe to take the ſame Care, (if there be Occaſion) to ſupply the Gariſons upon the Sea-Coaſt, in Poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*.

'You are to ſend home to the Secretary to his Royal Highneſs, an Account from Time to Time of your Reſolutions and Proceedings, for his Royal Highneſs's Information.

'Dated

'Dated on board the *Prince George* at Sea, *September* the '28th, 1706.

'J. LEAKE.'

To ~~the Honourable~~ Sir *George Byng*, Knt. Vice-Admiral of the Blue Squadron of her Majeſty's Fleet.

The 2d of *October*, Sir *John* got through the *Streights*, and two Days after was off of the Southward Cape: Whereupon he made the Signal for parting, by hoiſting a Blue Flag at his Main-top-maſt-head and firing a Gun, which Sir *George Byng* immediately anſwered, ſaluting him with 15 Guns, and having received the like Number in Return, he parted with 18 Sail for *Liſbon*; and Sir *John* in the *Prince George*, with the *Royal Oak*, *Dorſetſhire*, *Hampton-Court*, *Grafton*, *Vulture* Fireſhip; and Admiral *Waſſenaer* and ſix *Dutch*, continued their Courſe for *England*. In his Paſſage, he met with continual bad Weather, but particularly on the 9th Inſtant, about four in the Morning, a violent Storm came upon them, attended with much Lightning and Rain. The Main-top-ſail-Yard of the *Prince George* was broke in the Slings, and the Top-Sail and Fore-Courſe were blown away: Then the Wind ſhifting from S. W. to the W. he was obliged to bear away, till the Violence of the Wind was abated. At ſix he brought to under a Mizzen, and when it was broad Day, looking for the reſt of his Squadron, he could only diſcover two Sail to windward of him; but by eight he loſt Sight of them. He then made Sail, and ſtood to the Northward, with his two Courſes low ſet; but the Fleet were ſo diſperſed, that he ſaw not any of them afterwards till his Arrival in *England*. During this Storm, the *Prince George* was in great Danger of foundering, by the Force of the Water that came into the Ports, and the upper Works that were very open in the Seams; and a Gentleman who had been Sir *John*'s *Spaniſh* Linguiſt (a worthy Man) was unhappily thrown by the violent Motion of the Ship againſt the Side of the great Cabbin, with ſuch Force that he died immediately. Two Days after this they had hard Gales of Wind, which obliged them to bring to and lie by, from two in the Morning till Noon, to ſecure the Ports and pump out the Water, which increaſed upon them very much ſince the laſt Storm. After this, continuing to make the beſt of their Way, as Wind and Weather would permit; the 16th, they had Soundings, and at Noon ſaw the *Bolt*. The 17th, in the Afternoon they anchored at *St. Helens*, and the next Morning arrived alone at *Spithead*: The reſt of the Squadron after their Separation from him, having ſuffered very much; and the *Dorſetſhire* which did

did not come in till the 31ſt, had met with ſuch bad Weather, they were forced to throw 18 of their Guns over-board, having 11 in the Hold before.

As ſoon as Sir *John* arrived at *Spithead*, he diſpatch'd a Letter to his Royal Highneſs's Secretary, as well to acquaint his Highneſs of his Arrival, as of his Succeſs at *Ivica* and *Majorca*, which he had had no Opportunity of communicating before. At the ſame Time he likewiſe ſent a Letter to the Secretary of State, acquainting him of the Reduction of thoſe two Iſlands. That of *Majorca* (ſays he) affords a great Quantity of Corn, Oil and Wine; the former may be of Service to our Army, ſince they have been obliged to retire, and are at preſent quartered upon the Borders of *Saragoſſa* and *Valencia*, neither of thoſe Kingdoms, as I am told, producing Corn ſufficient for ſuch an Army.

As ſoon as his Royal Highneſs received Notice of Sir *John*'s Arrival, he diſpatch'd an Expreſs, with Leave for his coming to *London*; upon which he ſtruck his Flag, and ſet out the 22d, the common People receiving him with loud Acclamations; (the only Way whereby they can expreſs their Admiration and Reſpect) every one being forward to expreſs the Regard they had for a Perſon who had brought ſo much Honour to his Country.

As the Publick was not wanting to give him his due Praiſe, he had no Reaſon to expect leſs from her Majeſty and her Royal Conſort; for long before this, he had had the Satisfaction by his Friends, to hear, that the Prince had received great Satisfaction in his Succeſſes at *Gibraltar* and *Barcelona*, and was perfectly pleaſed with his Conduct from firſt to laſt; and that her Majeſty had been pleaſed to inquire after him in a very obliging Manner: That he had a great many good Friends who rejoiced in his good Fortune, and would not ſuffer the great Fatigue and Pains he had taken, to paſs unregarded; and in particular, that his Friend Admiral *Churchill*, had taken Care to repreſent theſe Things in a proper Manner to the Prince, who had provided a Preſent for him, which would be a leading Card to the like from her Majeſty. But this was ſoon after the Relief of *Barcelona*, ſince which he had acquired freſh Laurels at *Cartagena*, *Ivica*, and *Majorca*, that now were thrown into the Heap with the reſt; but well deſerved diſtinct Honours and Rewards. But beſides the Effects of theſe Victories, his hearty and diſintereſted Zeal for the Service of his Catholick Majeſty and the common Cauſe; and the Patience and Moderation he had ſhewed under the Want of Stores, Men and Money; as well as the Difficulties ariſing from Miſ-underſtandings with our Miniſters, our faithleſs Allies, and from the Folly and Treachery of the Lord *Peterborough*, were Things that recommended him to the

Approbation

Approbation of the Queen and Miniſtry. For though the Earl of *Peterborough* did ſome Time afterwards receive the Thanks of the Houſe of Lords, for his eminent and faithful Services in *Spain*, by a Speech of the Lord-Keeper, compoſed of ſuch baſe Flattery, that was not only a Diſgrace to that auguſt Houſe, but a Reproach to Reaſon, and deſtructive of all Virtue [a]; it rather was deſigned to reflect upon the late Miniſtry, and blaſt the Reputation of the Lord *Gallway*, than a Poſſibility to impoſe a Belief upon Mankind of his Lordſhip's Capacity or Integrity. As Sir *John* therefore was uſhered Home by the univerſal Applauſe of the People, and to the unſpeakable Joy of his Family and Friends after ſo long Abſence; ſo he had the Satisfaction to meet with a moſt gracious and kind Reception from the Queen and his Royal Highneſs. His Friend, Admiral *Churchill*, was proud upon this Occaſion, to introduce one to the Prince, who had been raiſed under his Influence, though by Merit and a regular Gradation. His Highneſs for the greater Honour, was pleaſed to receive Sir *John* in his Bed-Chamber, and in a very courteous and obliging Manner to expreſs an entire Approbation of his Services, and a juſt Senſe of his Merits; at the ſame Time with his own Hands preſenting him with a Diamond Ring of 400 Pounds Value, and a Gold Sword. And waiting upon the Queen, he met with a very favourable Reception, which fully expreſſed her Majeſty's Regard for him, and her Satisfaction in every Thing he had done; and as a Royal Gratuity for his many ſignal Services, ſhe was pleaſed to order him a Preſent of 1000 Pounds. Which Gratuity was the more ſeaſonable, becauſe the three Campaigns he had made abroad, though rich in Glory, had not been attended with any conſiderable Profit; on the contrary, had rather put him under Difficulties, by engaging his own Credit to promote the publick Service. In fine, as the Actions performed by Sir *John Leake*, during two Years and eight Months he had been abroad, taken with all their Circumſtances, were perhaps more and greater than had ever been performed by any Admiral in the ſame Space of Time; ſo no Admiral in *England* ever met with a more kind Reception and Applauſe, both from his Prince and Country; which to a generous Mind, like his, was beyond all other Conſiderations.

[a] See *Boyer's* Life of Queen *Anne*, and Impartial Inquiry.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

Proceedings in the Channel, *in the Year* 1707, *with the Trial of Sir* Thomas Hardy.

IN the Year 1707, Sir *Cloudeſley Shovell* commanded in the *Mediterranean*; and Sir *John Leake* was wholly employed in the *Channel*. By this Means he had the Opportunity to be with his Family all the Winter, and to conſider his domeſtick Affairs: But as ſoon as the Spring came on, and the Service of his Country required him to be in Action, he reſumed his Command. For this Purpoſe he had Orders ſent him the 28th of *April*, to repair to *Portſmouth*, and take all the Ships in that Harbour and at *Spithead* under his Command, and to get a Squadron ready for a Cruize in the *Channel*. Theſe Orders he executed with ſuch Expedition, that the 30th, as ſoon as it was Day, his Flag was flying on board the *Albemarle*, a 2d Rate in that Harbour; and he iſſued Orders the ſame Day, to thoſe Ships that had Occaſion to go into the Dock. The following Day being the firſt of the Union, was obſerved with all poſſible Demonſtrations of Joy. The Day after, he received his Royal Highneſs's Orders putting the Squadron, lately arrived from the *Weſt-Indies* with Sir *John Jennings*, into a Condition for the Sea, which he immediately cauſed to be put in Execution.

The 5th of *May*, he received a Letter from his Royal Highneſs's Secretary, acquainting him, that the *Dunkirk* Squadron, conſiſting of 19 Ships, nine of them of 50 and 60 Guns each, and the others from 36 to 20, had come up with the *Royal Oak*, *Hampton-Court* and *Grafton* off of *Beachy*, the 2d Inſtant in the Morning; and that they had taken the two latter, and very much diſabled the *Royal Oak*, adviſing him therefore to be upon his Guard at *Spithead*; and in the mean Time to get ſome of the Ships of Sir *John Jennings*'s late Squadron, to ſupply the Room of them the Enemy had taken, which were deſigned for a Convoy to *Liſbon*. To this Letter Sir *John* immediately diſpatched an Anſwer by Expreſs, to acquaint his Highneſs, that he could get five Sail ready to proceed upon Service in leſs than 48 Hours, *viz.* the *Albemarle*, *Ramillies*, *Cheſter*, *Ruby* and *Arundel*, provided he might man them out of the *Weſt-India* Squadron. In the next Place he ordered the *Ruby* to St. *Helens*, to give timely Notice, if the Enemy ſhould approach that Harbour; and then put himſelf in the beſt Poſture for Defence, if they ſhould attempt any Thing. The following Day he appointed Captain *Walker*, Commander in Chief of all the Ships in the Harbour, himſelf making Preparations

Preparations in order to ſail; and the ſame Day, in the Afternoon, he received his Royal Highneſs's Orders by Expreſs, directing him to man five Sail (as he had propoſed) out of the *Weſt-India* Squadron, and to proceed to Sea directly, and endeavour to join the *Naſſau*, *Auguſt*, *Reſerve*, *Shoreham* and *Poole*, that were cruizing between *Portland* and the *Land's-End*, and as ſoon as he had joined them, to cruize in ſuch a Station in the Soundings, as he ſhould think moſt proper for meeting the Trade, which was daily expected from *Liſbon*, under Convoy of five Sail; and that he might order ſuch other Ships as could be ready in a few Days in that Harbour to follow him; and after this, he was to appoint two Ships to go to *Cheſter*, to convoy the Earl of *Pembroke*, (Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*) to that Kingdom.

Purſuant to theſe Orders, the next Morning early, being the 7th, he ſailed from *Spithead* with five Sail, *viz.* the *Albemarle*, *Ramillies*, *Arundel*, *Cheſter* and *Ruby*, leaving Orders for the *Hampſhire* and *Dover*, that were not quite ready to follow him, and appointed the Rendezvous to be from *Scawen*, to 15 Leagues South from *Scilly*. Loſing Company and meeting again, thoſe to Windward to brayl up their Fore-Sails, and thoſe to Leeward, to anſwer by brayling up their Main-Sail; after which the firſt that made the Signal, to hoiſt the Jack of his Ship on the Enſign-Staff, and the other to anſwer, by hoiſting his Enſign with the Croſs downwards, at the Mizzen-Peak. Loſing Company and meeting in the Night, he who hailed firſt, was to aſk, What Ship that? The other to anſwer, *The Queen*. The firſt to reply, *The Prince*; the other to anſwer, *With Victory*. In the Afternoon, off of *Portland*, he ſpoke with a *Dutch* Ship of *Rotterdam*; who gave him an Account, that 15 Sail of Ships were arrived at *Breſt*, between 50 and 70 Guns, which they were refitting with all Expedition again for the Sea. In the Morning, of the 10th Inſtant, the *Hampſhire* and *Dover* joined him, and the next Day off of *Falmouth*, the *Naſſau*, *Auguſt*, *Reſerve*, *Shoreham* and *Poole*.

Being thus happily united, Sir *John* held a Council of War, conſiſting of himſelf and nine Captains, in order to conſider of the moſt proper Station to cruize in, for meeting the *Liſbon* Convoy; and it was reſolved to proceed and cruize W. by S. about 50 Leagues from the *Lizzard*. Purſuant to this Reſolution, he went upon that Station; and the 16th, diſcovered a Fleet, which ſoon after joined him, and proved to be the *Charles Gally*, *Folkſtone*, and *Lime*, with about 42 Sail of Merchant Ships, from *Viana* and *Oporto*. Hereupon he thought it proper to call another Council of War; and it being found, that the Convoy to the Ships was very much in want of Water and Proviſions; and Sir *John* having had no

Advice

Advice of the *Liſbon* Convoy, more than that they left *Liſbon* before that Convoy came from *Oporto*, and were ſeparated in a Storm; and the *Burford* and five or ſix Sail having been ſeen ſince by a *Dutch* Privateer off of the Northward Cape: It was unanimouſly their Opinion, that the Convoy they then had under their Care, ſhould be taken Care of into the *Channel*; and it was reſolved to proceed with them to *Plymouth*; and having ſeen them in Safety, and receiving no Advice of the *Liſbon* Convoy, that they would proceed into the Soundings again, ſo ſoon as the Ships that were in Want were watered, unleſs there ſhould be Orders from his Royal Highneſs to the Contrary. Accordingly he proceeded with the Convoy towards *Plymouth*, and the 18th, diſpatch'd the *Shoreham* and *Arundel* for *Cheſter*, to convoy the Earl of *Pembroke* to his Government of *Ireland*, purſuant to his Highneſs's Orders before-mentioned. The next Day he arrived in *Plymouth* Sound, diſpatching an Expreſs immediately, to acquaint his Highneſs of his Arrival there, and the Reſolutions taken concerning the *Liſbon* Convoy.

The 23d, the Ships that were in Want, having ſupplied themſelves with Water, he ſailed from *Plymouth* to his Station. Here he cruized till the 28th, when he was joined by the *Lyme* from *Plymouth*, with the Prince's Orders for leaving that Station. Whereupon having detach'd the *Auguſt* and *Poole* to *Plymouth*, to ſtrengthen the *Oporto* Convoy, himſelf with the *Albemarle* and four Sail more bore away for *Spithead*, where he arrived the next Day, and found the *Liſbon* Convoy in that Harbour. This he immediately acquainted his Highneſs of by Expreſs; and having obtained Leave the 1ſt of *June* to go to *London* for the Recovery of his Health, he appointed the Lord *Hamilton* to command the Ships in that Harbour and at *Spithead*; and the next Morning very early ſtruck his Flag, and went for *London*. Coming to *Guildford* that Evening, he met an Expreſs, with his Royal Highneſs's Orders, commanding his Return to *Portſmouth*, upon Intelligence from a Packet-Boat, that they fell in with 13 Sail of the Enemy's Ships, from 40 to 60 Guns, ſtretching over from *Dunkirk* for the *Foreland*; and there being ſome Ships of War, and a conſiderable Number of Tranſports, Victuallers, and Trade in the *Downs*, which were expoſed to the Enemy; he was ordered to take under his Command 11 Sail therein mentioned, to get them in a Condition to ſail with all poſſible Diſpatch, and proceed with them to the *Downs*; and bring from thence to *Spithead*, under his Convoy, her Majeſty's Tin Ships, with the Trade bound that Way; and for the greater Expedition, he was directed to make up their Complements of Men out of other Ships in that Harbour.

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In Compliance with theſe Orders, Sir *John* returned to *Portſmouth* directly, and re-hoiſted his Flag the ſame Night on board the *Albemarle*, putting the Squadron in immediate Readineſs for ſailing, by compleating their Number of Men from other Ships, and with ſuch extraordinary Diſpatch, that he left that Harbour next Morning with 11 Sail, taking all the Tranſports and Trade from thence under his Convoy to the *Downs*, where he anchored the 5th. Here he found ſix Sail of Men of War, and a great Number of Tranſports, Victuallers and Trade, ſome of them bound up the River, which the next Day he diſpatch'd, under Convoy of four Sail, over the *Flatts*; and detach'd the *Rocheſter* in queſt of Admiral *Whetſtone*, who in the Afternoon joined him in the *Downs* with 11 Sail of Men of War. The 7th, he called a Council of War, to conſider of a Letter he that Day received from Mr. *Burchet*, dated the 5th Inſtant, ſignifying his Royal Highneſs's Directions to ſend Part of the Squadron under his Command, to intercept the *French* Trade from St. *Malo's*, bound to the Eaſtward, under Convoy of five Men of War; which having been maturely conſidered, it was the Opinion of the Council, that the Squadron ſhould not be divided till they got to St. *Hellens*, (it being very uncertain what Strength the Enemy had in the Channel to the Weſtward of that Place) and that then if they met with no Orders to the contrary, five Sail ſhould be detach'd to cruize for the Enemy, five or ſix Days off *Cape de la Hague*; and if they ſhould gain no Intelligence of them in that Time, then to repair to *Spithead*. Captain *Strickland* was immediately appointed with five Sail, to proceed according to the Reſolution of the Council of War; and the ſame Day in the Afternoon, Sir *John* ſailed from the *Downs*, with 22 Sail of Men of War, and 140 Sail of Merchant Ships, and arrived at *Spithead* the 10th, when he ſtruck his Flag and went for *London*. Having (from the 1ſt of *June* at Night, when he met the Orders at *Guildford*) return'd to *Portſmouth*, mann'd his Squadron, convoy'd the Trade to the *Downs*, join'd Admiral *Whetſtone*, convoy'd the Trade from the *Downs* to *Spithead*, and returned to *Guildford* again in the Space of nine Days. After this, he enjoy'd another ſhort Receſs from Buſineſs for about three Months.

In the mean Time, as it was reſolved there ſhould be a Squadron ſent to the *Mediterranean* the next Campaign, it was neceſſary to make Proviſion accordingly, that they might be ready to proceed thither early in the Spring; and his Royal Highneſs having conſidered of a proper Perſon to command that Squadron, was pleaſed to think no one ſo fit as Sir *John Leake*, as well becauſe his Name was ſo famous in thoſe Parts, as becauſe he was moſt agreeable to his Catholick Majeſty. This the Prince was pleaſed to acquaint him with in a very

obliging Manner; and ſoon after he received his Highneſs's Orders, dated the 11th of *September*, requiring him to repair to *Spithead*, and take the Ships appointed for that Purpoſe under his Command as faſt as they came into that Harbour, and cauſe them to be put into a Condition to proceed with him to *Liſbon*; at which Place when he arrived, he was to take ſuch other Ships under his Command that ſhould be left there by Sir *Cloudeſley Shovell*, who was to leave Inſtructions for him at that Place. As theſe Orders were not very preſſing, he had Leave to continue ſome Days in Town, and then ſet out for *Portſmouth*; and the 22d of *September* hoiſted his Flag on board the *Albemarle* in that Harbour; beſides the particular Service he was ſent upon, taking upon him likewiſe the Command of all the Ships there and at *Spithead*. Here he continued appointing Convoys, and giving the neceſſary Orders and Diſpatches to the Ships, till the 13th of *October* following, nothing of any Conſequence intervening in that Time, but the Trial of Sir *Thomas Hardy*, which made ſuch a Stir amongſt the Merchants. And becauſe Sir *John* was Preſident at this Trial, and ſoon after made Choice of this Gentlemen for his Firſt Captain, I ſhall be more particular in the Relation of it.

At a Court-Martial, held on board her Majeſty's Ship the Albemarle, *on* Friday *the* 10*th of* October, 1707, *in* Portſmouth *Harbour.*

PRESENT,

Sir *John Leake*, Knight, Vice-Admiral of the White, and Commander in Chief of her Majeſty's Ships at *Spithead* and *Portſmouth*, Preſident, and ſeven Captains.

All being duly ſworn, according to a late Act of Parliament, *&c.*

INQUIRY was made by the Court, into the Proceedings and Conduct of Sir *Thomas Hardy*, Captain of her Majeſty's Ship, the *Kent*, and Commander of a Squadron of her Majeſty's Ships appointed to cruize in the *Soundings*; with relation to the ſix Ships they met on the 27th of *Auguſt* laſt, about 93 Leagues S. W. from the *Lizzard*; ſuppoſed to be a Squadron of the Enemy's Ships, under the Command of Monſ. *du Guay*; it being laid to his Charge, that he did omit and forbear to chace the ſaid Ships of the Enemy, notwithſtanding, that by his Royal Highneſs the Lord-High-Admiral's Orders, of the 2d of *July* laſt, he was required, on Sight of any Ships of the Enemy's, to detach Captain *Kirk-*

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town, with the Storeſhips, Victuallers, *&c.* bound for *Liſbon*; and with the reſt of the Ships under his Command, to give chace to, and uſe his utmoſt Endeavours to come up with, and to take and deſtroy them.

The Court having ſtrictly examined into the Matter; it appears by Evidence, upon Oath of the Officers and others of ſeveral of the Ships then in Company of Sir *Thomas Hardy*, that ſoon after their ſeeing the Ships aforeſaid, he did make the Signal for the Ships that were to continue with him to chaſe, and then the Signal for Captain *Kirktown* and the Trade with him to purſue their Voyage; and that he, with his Squadron, continued to chaſe till near ſeven in the Morning; in which Time finding that they did not gain any Thing upon them, the ſaid Ships being then about nine Miles diſtant from him in the Wind's Eye, and Night coming on, he called a Conſultation of the Captains; where it was agreed to be moſt for the Service, to proceed in Company of Captain *Kirktown* and the Trade with him, 120 Leagues, as his Inſtructions directed, rather than to continue an uncertain Chaſe; which might give the Enemy an Opportunity of getting by, and falling in with the Trade after Separation. The Court having fully conſidered his whole Proceedings, came to this Reſolution, that Sir *Thomas Hardy* had complied with his Royal Highneſs the Lord-High-Admiral's Orders, both with regard to the Chaſing the Enemy, and alſo protecting the Trade, and accordingly the Court doth acquit the ſaid *Thomas Hardy* from the Charge laid againſt him.

This Sentence was tranſmitted to his Royal Highneſs, with the Depoſitions of the ſeveral Witneſſes; and ſome Time after, theſe Papers were ſent for and read before her Majeſty in Council: But though it then appeared that Sir *Thomas* was fairly acquitted by the Court-Martial; yet the Proceedings of that Court were, on the 15th Day of *November*, read before his Royal Highneſs the Lord-High-Admiral, and the following Flag-Officers, Vice-Admiral *Churchill*, Sir *Stafford Fairborne*, Sir *John Leake*, Sir *George Byng*, Sir *John Norris*, and Sir *James Wiſhart*; who all approved the Sentence of the Court-Martial, and gave their Opinions under their Hands. All this not ſatisfying ſome Gentlemen in the City; the Papers relating to Sir *Thomas Hardy*'s Trial, were laid before the Houſe of Commons; but when they were read before the Committee, thoſe very Gentlemen who had called for them, finding Sir *Thomas* ſo clearly juſtified therein, would not ſpeak to them as they had deſigned.

Afterwards upon a Complaint to the Houſe of Lords, of a Maſter of a *Canary* Ship, that Sir *Thomas* had refuſed to convoy him from *Plymouth* to *Portſmouth*, their Lordſhips ordered him to attend the Houſe, which directed him to attend the

Committee. The latter took Occaſion likewiſe to examine the Papers relating to his Trial; and after they had read them, on the 9th of *February*, 1707-8, Sir *Thomas* with two Merchants, and the Maſter of the *Canary* Ship, were called in before their Lordſhips; and Sir *Thomas* having ſhewed his Orders to warrant his Refuſal of Convoy, he was ordered to withdraw; and ſoon after the Deputy-Uſher of the Black Rod acquainted him, that their Lordſhips found that he had fully juſtified himſelf, and done his Duty in every Reſpect; and therefore that he was diſcharged from any further Attendance.

It naturally occurs upon this Trial to obſerve, how vexatious and troubleſome the Merchants have frequently been, and may be to the Officers of the Navy: For when their Ends of Gain are not fully anſwered, then follow heavy Complaints, and, right or wrong, ſome Perſon muſt ſuffer to appeaſe them. If the Admiralty cauſe the ſtricteſt Inquiry, and it does not ſuit them, then to be ſure they favour their own Officers. If a Court-Martial acquits, they are cenſured as favouring one another: Laſtly, if they are diſappointed in what they would have; if no Perſon can be convicted legally, they fly to Parliament, to be at leaſt as vexatious as poſſible; and after making a great Buſtle, it all comes to nothing, which has been the Caſe of moſt of our Merchants Complaints againſt the Officers of the Navy, the Fault being generally found to be in themſelves or the Maſters they employ. This is a bad Return to thoſe brave Officers who freely expoſe their Lives in Time of War, for an uncertain Reward, that theſe Traders may in the mean Time enjoy Wealth and Peace at Home. But to call a Man to Account after he has been tried and fairly acquitted by Law, is contrary to natural Juſtice and *Engliſh* Liberty, and is an Act of the greateſt Tyranny; for admitting it may be neceſſary to reviſe the Proceedings of a Court-Martial in Parliament, upon a Suppoſition that they have acted partially, that Inquiry can only affect the Members that compoſed the Court-Martial, but not the Priſoner who had been legally diſcharged.

Three Days after the Trial of Sir *Thomas Hardy*, Sir *John* went to *London*, but returned a Fortnight afterwards to *Portſmouth*, hoiſting his Flag the 29th of *October* on board the *Albemarle*. The ſame Day he received Orders for getting to Sea with ſome Ships, to cruize in the *Soundings* for the Protection of the homeward-bound Trade from *Liſbon*, *Jamaica* and other Parts. The 3d of *November* he received further Inſtructions for getting ready, and proceeding with ſeven Sail of Ships to join Captain *Evans*, with his Squadron of 10 Sail, and taking them under his Charge, to proceed therewith off of *Plymouth* for the Security of the homeward-bound Trade, &c. The next Day he received Advice, by a Letter from Captain

Captain *Soanes* from *Plymouth*, that the *Sunday* before, 17 Sail of the Enemy's Ships were ſeen off of the *Berry-head*, and that they ſtood all to the Weſtward. Upon this Intelligence, Sir *John* haſtened the fitting of the Ships; and for the greater Readineſs, the 6th Inſtant he ſtruck his Flag on board the *Albemarle* in the Harbour, and hoiſted it on board the *Naſſau* at *Spithead*. The 13th, he received Orders to ſtay at *Spithead* 24 Hours after the Wind came fair to be joined by the *Virginia* Trade from the *Downs*. The 24th, he received Information from his Royal Highneſs's Secretary, that the *Liſbon* Trade, for which he had been directed to cruize in the *Soundings*, was arrived in the *Downs*: He was therefore directed to repair to *Plymouth*, to convoy the *Portugal* and *Canary* Trade, and the Ships with her Majeſty's Tin on board to *Spithead*; and from thence to appoint the *Ruſſel* with three other Men of War to convoy them to the *Nore*.

The Ships being now ready, in purſuance of theſe laſt Orders, he run out to *St. Hellens*, and was juſt ready to ſail from thence the 28th, when he received his Royal Highneſs's Inſtructions for his appointing Sir *John Norris* to command that cruizing Squadron, to take Care of the *Eaſt-India* and other Trade bound up the *Channel*, to ſail the firſt Opportunity of Wind, and to continue to cruize in the *Soundings* for the Protection of the Trade till further Orders, *&c.* Accordingly Sir *John* iſſued his Orders to Rear-Admiral *Norris* the 2d of *December*; and two Days after removed from the *Naſſau* at *Spithead* to the *Albemarle* in the Harbour. Not long after, Sir *John Norris* ſailed, and Captain *Strickland* arrived there, whom Sir *John* (purſuant to his Royal Highneſs's Orders of the 9th,) appointed to proceed to *Liſbon* with ſome Store-Ships and the Trade, in Company with the *Colcheſter* and ſome *Dutch* Men of War; likewiſe to carry the *Morocco* Ambaſſador to *Tangier*: And having given the other neceſſary Directions for the Diſpoſition of the Ships in that Harbour, he ſtruck his Flag the 12th of *December*, and went for *London*, in order to prepare himſelf for the enſuing Campaign in the *Mediterranean*; the Seaſon now coming on for going thither, and the Ships which were to compoſe his Squadron, being in a very great Forwardneſs.

THE LIFE OF Sir *JOHN LEAKE*, Knt. ADMIRAL of the FLEET, &c.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

Sir John *is appointed Admiral of the White, and Admiral and Commander in Chief of her Majesty's Fleet. Is ordered with a Fleet to the* Mediterranean ; *his Proceedings till his Arrival at* Lisbon.

IT being thought necessary to encourage the drooping Party in *Spain*, by sending a Squadron with a Flag-Officer to command in the *Mediterranean*, in the Room of Sir *Cloudesley Shovell*, who was ordered home ; his Royal Highness was pleased to think Sir *John Leake* the fittest Admiral he could appoint for that Purpose ; both as he had made his Name so famous, by his Actions in those Parts for three Campaigns successively, as because he was most agreeable to his Catholick Majesty King *Charles*, who had experienced how well affected he was to his Interest and that of the

the common Cauſe. The Prince was pleaſed to acquaint Sir *John* with his Intentions in a very obliging Manner; and becauſe it was deſigned the Squadron ſhould be ready to proceed thither early in the Spring, proper Meaſures were taken accordingly, and Sir *John* received Orders the 11th of *September*, to repair to *Portſmouth*, in order to get the Ships in a Readineſs, which were to proceed with him to *Liſbon:* But as theſe Ships were upon various Services, and therefore could be collected together, only as they dropt in one by one, it was a Work of ſome Time to compleat. Leaving him then employ'd in this Work, and in his Command of her Majeſty's Ships at *Spithead* and in *Portſmouth* Harbour, I ſhall look back upon the Proceedings of the Allies in *Spain* and the *Mediterranean*, from *October*, 1706, when Sir *John* left thoſe Parts, to connect them with what follows.

We may remember in the Campaign of 1706, that Sir *John* had been very much embarraſſed and made uneaſy by the Earl of *Peterborough*, under a Commiſſion as Joint-Admiral, which he bore the more patiently, as he was in continual Expectation of the Arrival of Sir *Cloudeſley Shovell* to take the Command; and thus it rubbed on to the End of the Campaign, when Sir *John*, by his Conduct and good Fortune, having reduced almoſt the whole Coaſt of *Spain* in the *Mediterranean*, and leaving Sir *George Byng* with a Squadron abroad for the Winter Service, with the reſt he returned to *England*. In the mean Time Sir *Cloudeſley* had been taken up at home upon a Project for a Deſcent upon *France*, with a large Body of Land-Forces, under the Command of the Earl ~~of~~ *Rivers*; but by the Delays of the *Dutch*, the Summer was ſpent and the Deſign came to nothing; whereupon the Fleet and Forces were ordered directly to *Liſbon*. Accordingly, the 1ſt of *October*, they ſailed from *Torbay*, in their Paſſage meeting with very bad Weather; the ſame Storm which had diſperſed Sir *John*'s Squadron, diſperſing the Fleet with Sir *Cloudeſley*; and much about the ſame Time the one arrived at *Spithead*, the other got to *Liſbon*. As to the Affairs by Land, they had been equally unſucceſsful; the Army having penetrated to *Madrid* and proclaimed K. *Charles* in his Capital; but by unhappy Delays, the King not coming thither till long after it, encouraged the oppoſite Party, who gathering Strength, obliged him to retire again: And this was the Situation of the Affairs of *Spain* in *October*, 1706, when Sir *Cloudeſley Shovell* arrived at *Liſbon*. Soon after his Arrival Don *Pedro*, King of *Portugal*, died, and was ſucceeded by his Son Don *John*, who to the great Satisfaction of the Allies, preſently declared he would perform all the Engagements his Father had entered into, and carry on the War with Vigour. But the Campaign of 1707, was no where propitious to our

Wiſhes, but more eſpecially in *Spain*. All that the Fleet did was to convoy the Land-Forces to *Alicant*, where they were diſembark'd time enough to receive their Share in the Defeat at the unfortunate Battle of *Almanza*, which was fought the 25th of *April*, N. S. and drew after it the Loſs of many important Places. After this Sir *Cloudeſley* returned to *Liſbon*, and thence to *Barcelona*, but did nothing more in *Spain*. The Beginning of *June* he ſailed with the Fleet for *Italy* to aſſiſt the Duke of *Savoy*, who after the Battle of *Turin*, (*September* 7, 1706,) was enabled to carry on an offenſive War with *France*, and laid a good Deſign againſt *Toulon*. In this Attempt he had the Aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh* Fleet, which, however, could only bombard the Place, but had the good Succeſs, by that Means, to burn or render unſerviceable, eight Sail of the Capital Ships in that Harbour. All this Time I find no Mention of Sir *Cloudeſley*'s Collegue, (as Admiral) the Earl of *Peterborough*, who, it ſeems, from the Time he left *Alicant* to go for *Italy*, had given over Maritime Affairs, and not without Reaſon; for his Behaviour to the King of *Spain*, having obliged his Majeſty to complain to the Queen; the Miniſtry at Home were under a Neceſſity not to protect him any longer, againſt the Prince he was appointed to ſerve. Whether his Commiſſion as Joint-Admiral was revoked, I don't know, but if not, it was ſuperceded by that to Sir *John Leake*, hereafter mentioned, who had reſolved not to act upon any Terms with his Lordſhip as an Admiral for the future. After the Siege of *Toulon* was found impracticable, the Army drew off, and Sir *Cloudeſley* returned to the *Streights*, not a little mortified (ſays *Ledyard*) at the Miſcarriage, tho' he had contributed all in his Power: So leaving Sir *Thomas Dilks* at *Gibraltar*, with nine Sail of the Line and ſome Frigates, with the reſt he bent his Courſe homewards; ſoon after, Sir *Thomas Dilks* died at *Leghorn*, (whereby the Command of the Squadron devolved upon Captain *Hicks*, as Senior Officer) and Sir *Cloudeſley* himſelf made a much more unfortunate End, being caſt away upon certain Rocks of *Scilly*, called *Biſhop and Clerks*, the 22d, of *October*, 1707, at Night, and all the Ship's Company, conſiſting of between 8 and 900 Officers, Gentlemen and Seamen, were drowned, beſides two other Ships, which were loſt with their Companies, and ſome other Ships, whoſe Companies were ſaved. It was very unhappy for an Admiral, reputed one of the greateſt Sea Commanders we ever had, to die by an Error in his Profeſſion; which could not have happened, if a proper Care had not been wanting. However, it raiſed the generous Pity of the whole Nation, for the Loſs of ſo brave and honeſt a Man and ſo good an Officer, and procured him the Honour of a publick Funeral, and a Monument in *Weſtminſter Abbey* at the Queen's Expence,

Expence, as if he had died honourably in Battle; eternizing him by an Action which ſhould have been drowned with him; from which, as Mr. *Addiſon* [a] has juſtly obſerved, it was impoſſible for him to reap any Honour.

The Conſequence of Sir *Cloudeſley Shovell*'s Death, was the Promotion of Sir *John Leake*, in Right of Seniority. But this was not done immediately, for he continued to act in his Command at *Portſmouth*, and to expedite the Ships which were to form his Squadron till the 12th of *December*, 1707, when he ſtruck his Flag and went for *London*, in order to prepare for his Voyage. It was then that his Royal Highneſs was pleaſed to acquaint him, that he had appointed him Admiral of the White, and Admiral [b] and Commander in Chief of her Majeſty's Fleet; though he did not receive his Commiſſion till a Month afterwards: So that inſtead of going abroad with the White Flag at the Fore-top-maſt-head, as Vice-Admiral, he was now to have the Honour to go in the firſt Station of Command in the *Britiſh* Fleet. Upon this Occaſion, as uſual, he was to make choice of a Firſt Captain; who is ſo called by Way of Eminence, as being not only the firſt of the Captains allowed to the Admiral's Ship, but by reaſon of his Office taking Place of all other Captains in the Fleet. The Office of Firſt Captain to the Admiral of the Fleet, has always been eſteemed a Poſt of conſiderable Truſt and Honour, being of the Nature of a Vice or Deputy to the Admiral, to ſee all his Orders carried into Execution; and conſequently if he is a vigilant Officer, it is a great Relief to the Admiral in the Management of the Fleet. For this Reaſon and the Honour of the chief Flag, he is allowed to ſit in Councils of War of Flag-Officers, and to have the Rank and Pay of a Rear-Admiral.

[a] *Spectator*, Vol. I. No. 26.

[b] The Admiral and Commander in Chief of the Fleet, is an Officer appointed *pro hac vice*, as appears by his Commiſſion, which runs thus. We do hereby conſtitute and appoint you Admiral and Commander in Chief of the Fleet employ'd, and to be employ'd in the preſent Expedition, with Power to wear the Union-Flag at the Main top-maſt-head; but if the Admiral appointed to this Office be not the Senior Admiral, or Admiral of the Red; in that Caſe he does not hoiſt the Union-Flag till he is clear of the Land, and ſtrikes it again upon his Return, as ſoon as he makes the Land of *England*, hoiſting his proper Flag. I know of but one Inſtance to the contrary, and that is mentioned by Mr. *Burchet*, in his *Memoirs of Tranſactions at Sea, in the Year* 1689. He ſays, Admiral *Ruſſel*, then Admiral of the Blue, being appointed to bring the Queen of *Spain* from *Holland* to the *Groyne*, was ordered to wear the Union-Flag at the Main-top-maſt-head, a Thing never done before in the *Channel* but by the Chief Admiral of the Fleet.

The Perſon that Sir *John* declared (I cannot ſay choſe) his Firſt Captain was Sir *Thomas Hardy*, Knt. the ſame whoſe Trial had made ſo much Noiſe amongſt the Merchants, as has been related, and wherein he was honourably acquitted. Nevertheleſs, it was thought an imprudent Choice. For beſides that it was unpopular, he was a Man whoſe Courage was much queſtioned, and who was known to be no Seaman [a]; and of that unhappy, proud, malicious Diſpoſition, that it was impoſſible to live a Day with him, without obſerving ſome ill-natur'd Act; in all Things the very oppoſite to Sir *John*, who would have choſen (could he have choſen freely) his Brother-in-law Captain *Stephen Martin*, who had been his Captain ever ſince he had been a Flag-Officer; whoſe Bravery and Conduct he had fully experienced, when he had no other Captain to aſſiſt him in the Command of his Ship, and the Management of a greater Fleet than was likely to be under his Command for the future. It was ſo natural to ſuppoſe him the Man, that none but Sir *Thomas* applied for it; but having neither Qualification nor any Degree of Merit to induce Sir *John* to make him his Choice; he procured it by a powerful Intereſt which could not be refuſed; namely, by the Recommendation of Admiral *Churchill*. As to Captain *Martin*, when he found what a powerful Intereſt was made for Sir *Thomas*, and by whom, he readily gave it up, and at Sir *John*'s Deſire, ſubmitted to act under a Perſon the moſt obnoxious to him, and accordingly was appointed ſecond Captain.

The 8th of *January*, 1707-8, Sir *John* received his Commiſſion, dated that Day, appointing him Admiral of the White Squadron of her Majeſty's Fleet; and another conſtituting him Admiral and Commander in Chief of her Majeſty's Fleet, and with them the following Inſtructions.

[a] Sir *Thomas* was a Native of *Guernſey*, he had been Clerk to Admiral *Churchill* when he was Captain, and from thence was made a Lieutenant; when he was ſo very ignorant of Sea Affairs, he did not know one Rope from another: He was ſoon after made a Captain; and having the good Fortune to be ſent to *England*, with the News of the Succeſs of Sir *George Rooke* at *Vigo*, he was Knighted, and received a Reward of 1000 Pounds, without having ſignalized himſelf by any Action.

His Royal Highneſs, Prince George *of* Denmark, &c. *Lord-High-Admiral of* Great-Britain *and* Ireland, &c.

Inſtructions for Sir John Leake, *Knt. Admiral of the White, and Admiral and Commander in Chief of her Majeſty's Fleet.*

WHEREAS it is her Majeſty's Pleaſure that you ſhall command her ſeveral Ships and Veſſels, which now are or ſhall be ordered into the *Mediterranean* for the next Year's Service; and whereas it is neceſſary that you ſhould proceed to *Liſbon* as ſoon as 'tis poſſible, with the Ships named in the Margin [a] hereof, and there join thoſe which were under the Command of the late Sir *Thomas Dilks*, Rear-Admiral of the Red Squadron of her Majeſty's Fleet: You are therefore hereby required and directed, forthwith to repair to *Spithead*, and take upon you the Command of ſuch of the aforeſaid Ships named in the Margin hereof as ſhall be there, and the others ſo ſoon as they arrive at that Place, and uſe your utmoſt Care and Diligence in the getting them ready in all Reſpects for Service; and in the making up their Proviſions to four Months for their higheſt Complements of Men; the which you are to cauſe to be kept up compleat, until they ſail on their intended Voyage.

When they ſhall be ready for the Sea, you are without Loſs of Time to proceed with them to *Liſbon*, carrying thither under your Protection all Merchant-Ships and Veſſels, which ſhall be bound to *Portugal*; particularly ſuch as are employed by the Officers of the Navy, Ordnance, Victualling or Tranſportation, for which you are to make particular Inquiry; and in caſe there ſhall be any Trade bound to *Viana*, *Oporto*, and the other Northern Ports of *Portugal*; you are to appoint one of her Majeſty's Ships to ſee them in Safety to thoſe Ports.

When you arrive at *Liſbon*, you are to take under your Command her Majeſty's Ships, which are mentioned in the Margin [b], or if not there, ſo ſoon as they ſhall come to that Port, and cauſe all poſſible Diſpatch to be made in the cleaning and

[a] *Albemarle, Naſſau, Bedford, Berwick, Northumberland, Kent, Burford, Royal Oak, Firme, Eſſex, Ranelagh, Colcheſter, Terrible* Fireſhip.

[b] *Elizabeth, Norfolk, Sterling-Caſtle, Warſpight, Chicheſter, Cornwall, Lancaſter, Cambridge, Rupert, Defiance, Reſtoration, York, Dunkirk, Wincheſter, Triton, Centurion, Sorlings, Fowey, Millford, Poole.*

refitting

refitting them, and putting ſuch as ſhall have leaſt to do unto them, firſt into a Condition in all Reſpects for the Sea.

And you are from Time to Time to employ the Whole, or Part of her Majeſty's Ships, as alſo the Ships of the States-General, which are or ſhall be joined to you, and be put under your Command, in ſuch Manner as ſhall be judged moſt advantageous to her Majeſty's Service, by a Council of War of *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Flag-Officers; either by taking, ſinking, burning, or otherwiſe deſtroying the Enemy's Ships of War, or thoſe of the Merchants; in the moleſting their Trade, annoying their Coaſts, or doing what Injury you can unto them on ſhoar.

And as you are to hold as frequent Correſpondence as poſſibly you can, with her Majeſty's Miniſters at the Courts of *Spain*, *Portugal* and *Savoy*; ſo are you upon any Application which ſhall be made unto you by either of thoſe Princes, to uſe your beſt Endeavours, with the Fleet under your Command, to aſſiſt his Majeſty the King of *Spain* in the Reduction of that Kingdom, and the Territories thereunto belonging, to his Obedience, in the tranſporting or aiding in the Tranſportation of any Troops, or any other Services which ſhall be propoſed unto you; as alſo in the aſſiſting his Majeſty the King of *Portugal*, and his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *Savoy*, in what they ſhall deſire of you, according as ſhall be judged moſt proper by a Council of War as aforeſaid; upon your communicating the ſame to, and debating thoſe Matters with them, Regard being always had to the Naval Strength and Motions of the Enemy, in or about the *Mediterranean*.

You are to give ſuch Directions to the Commiſſioner and Officers of the Navy, and Agents to the Commiſſioners of the Victualling, and Sick and Wounded, which are at *Liſbon*, as you ſhall judge proper for the Diſpatch of their ſeveral Duties, in their Refitting, Cleaning and Victualling the Ships of the Fleet, or taking Care of the ſick and wounded Seamen, and Exchange of Priſoners at War; and if any of the Officers of the Navy, Victualling, or Sick and Wounded, ſhall commit ſuch Miſdemeanor as may render them unfit to be longer continued in the Service: You are hereby empowered to remove any of them (except the Commiſſioner of the Navy) from their Employments, and to put others in their Stead; as you are alſo to fill up any Vacancies which may happen amongſt them by Death whilſt you are abroad: And you are to give me an Account of what you do in theſe two Caſes, for my further Directions.

And whereas Application hath been made to her Majeſty, that ſome of her Ships of War may be employed for the Security of the King of *Portugal*'s *Brazile* Fleet expected home: You are to inform yourſelf in what Manner his Majeſty does

deſire the ſame may be done, and what Number of Ships they do propoſe to add unto thoſe of her Majeſty's for this Service: And then you are to conſider at a Council of War, what you may be able to do to ſatisfy his Majeſty therein, with regard to other Services recommended to you, and give the neceſſary Directions accordingly.

And whereas there have been Advices received, that the Enemy's Ships do frequently hover in and about the Mouth of the *Streights*, inſomuch that the Trade of her Majeſty's Subjects is thereby much expoſed and interrupted: You are to endeavour in the beſt Manner you ſhall be able, to have ſome cruizing Ships in thoſe Parts, to free the ſame from the Enemy, and thereby ſecure our Merchant Ships and Veſſels paſſing into and out of the *Mediterranean*.

And ſince it is yet uncertain what Number of Ships the *French* do deſign to employ in the *Mediterranean*; you are from Time to Time to endeavour, by all Means that poſſibly you can, to get Information thereof; and when the whole Strength appointed to be under your Command for the next Year's Service ſhall be together, you are to call a Council of War; and if upon conſidering the Intelligence you may receive of the Preparations of the Enemy, or what Ships they can be able to ſet forth from *Toulon*, and the Services recommended to your Care; it ſhall be judged, that you have more Ships with you than may be neceſſary to encounter the Strength of the Enemy, and to perform the aforeſaid Services; you are then to ſend back to *England*, ſuch, and ſo many Ships, both *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, as at a Council of War ſhall be thought moſt proper; giving them the neceſſary Inſtructions to bring the Trade from *Liſbon* and the Northern Ports of *Portugal*; that ſo the ſaid Ships may be employed on Service at home, which poſſibly may require them.

And whereas it may be reaſonable, in regard of the ſmall Number of Flag-Officers of both Nations which may be with you, to add five of the Captains of *Great-Britain*, and a proportionable Number of *Dutch* Captains, to ſuch Councils of War which you may have Occaſion to call: I do hereby empower you to do the ſame, at ſuch Times as you ſhall judge it proper.

In caſe Application ſhall be made unto you, by the Commanding Officer at *Gibraltar*, for ſuch Ammunition, Stores or Proviſions, as the Gariſon ſhall ſtand in need of, you are to cauſe the ſame to be ſupplied from Time to Time from the Fleet under your Command, ſo far as it can be well ſpared, taking Care that Receipts be taken from the proper Officers, into whoſe Cuſtody the ſaid Proviſions, Stores, *&c.* ſhall be delivered; and as you are to inform yourſelf from Time to Time, of the Condition of the ſaid Gariſon of *Gibraltar*, ſo

are

are you when the Winter Seaſon approaches, to conſider at a Council of War, what may be neceſſary to be done for ſupplying the ſame with what may be wanted, and for the guarding the Coaſt of *Portugal* as the Treaty requires.

And whereas there are ſeveral Marines Soldiers, which have been put on Shoar at divers Places on the Coaſt of the Kingdom of *Spain*; you are to endeavour as ſoon as may be, to take them all on board the Fleet, that they may ſerve therein, except thoſe which are in Gariſon in the City or Caſtle of *Alicant*, where it is neceſſary they ſhould remain.

And ſince it may happen, that the Ships under your Command may take ſeveral of the Enemy's Subjects Priſoners, either in their Ships of War or Trading Veſſels or otherwiſe; you are to take effectual Care, by neceſſary Orders to the Captains under your Command, that ſuch Priſoners be put on Shoar as ſoon as 'tis poſſible, at ſome Place where the Enemy may have an Officer to receive them; and that Certificates be taken from the ſaid Officers for them, expreſſing not only their Names, but their Qualities; the which Certificates are to be tranſmitted by the firſt Opportunity to the Commiſſioners for Sick and Wounded, and for Exchange of Priſoners at War, that they may demand the like Number of Priſoners, her Majeſty's Subjects, in lieu of them: But in caſe the ſaid Priſoners cannot conveniently be put on Shoar where there is a *French* Officer, the like Receipts are to be taken from the Officers of the Ships, whereunto they ſhall belong.

When you ſhall be out of the *Channel*, you are to put the Ships under your Command to ſhort Allowance of Proviſions, of ſix to four Mens Allowance, or otherwiſe, as the Neceſſity of the Service ſhall require; aſſuring the Seamen that they ſhall be duly paid for the ſame.

And you are by all Opportunities which ſhall preſent, to ſend me an Account of your Proceedings, and of all Occurrences. Given under my Hand, this 8th Day of *January*, 1707-8.

GEORGE.

By Command of his Royal Highneſs,

J. BURCHETT.

Sir *John* continued in *London* ſome Days after he received theſe Inſtructions, in order to compleat the neceſſary Preparations for his Voyage; and having taken Leave of her Majeſty and his Royal Highneſs, he ſet out for *Portſmouth*, and arrived there the 17th of *January* at Night. The next Day he hoiſted the White Flag at the Main-top-maſt-head, as Admiral

miral of the White, on board the *Albemarle* at *Spithead*, and was ſaluted by the Gariſon of *Portſmouth* and all the Ships of War there; and two Days after, he hoiſted the Union-Flag, as Admiral and Commander in Chief of her Majeſty's Fleet, and was thereupon ſaluted by the Gariſon with 31 Guns, and by each Ship with 21. The ſame Day he arrived at *Portſmouth*, he received the Prince's Orders of the Day before, directing him to proceed to Sea as ſoon as the *Dutch* arrived with them, and as many *Engliſh* as ſhould be then ready, without ſtaying for the reſt of his Squadron. This Order ſeems to have been very inconſiſtent with the Circumſtances the Ships at *Portſmouth* were then known to be in; for at this Time there were but four Sail ready, and two of them under Orders for other Services; and there was ſuch a general Scarcity of Seamen, that if he had had Directions to take all the Men that belonged to the Ships, and could have got them on board, they would hardly have been ſufficient to have manned thoſe four Ships. For though the Seamen abſent were adverti ſed (by his Highneſs's Direction) in the *Gazette*, to return to their reſpective Ships, it had little or no immediate Effect; and afterwards when they came down, they kept out of the Way for fear of being turned over. The *Eſſex*, who with the *Firme* was ſailed to convoy the *Topſham* Trade to *Plymouth*, though ſhe had near her Complement of Men, was obliged to borrow 30 Seamen; ſo there was not only an extream Want of Seamen, but even of Men in general. For in a Letter Sir *John* ſent to the Prince's Secretary, he acquaints him, that the nine Sail in that Harbour which were to be a Part of his Squadron, were 477 Men ſhort of Complement, beſides the Marines which amounted to as many more. He recommended this Affair to the Conſideration of his Highneſs's Council ſeveral Times, deſiring them to come to ſome Reſolutions thereupon, and ſhewing the Impoſſibility of complying with his Orders to ſail, upon the Arrival of the *Dutch*, unleſs he was empowered to take ſome Men out of the other Ships there; upon which, at length, after repeated Inſtances upon that Head, he received Orders the 28th Inſtant, acquainting him, that they had ordered him 150 Men from the *Aſſurance* at *Plymouth*, and 100 from the *Ranelagh*; and empowering him to take the Remainder to make up the 477, out of the Ships in that Harbour. But notwithſtanding this Order, he laboured under great Difficulties, the Men ſtill abſconding; ſo that he was forced to order them that appeared at their Muſters, to be forthwith diſcharged into the Ships they were to go in; and to direct their Officers to acquaint them, that if they did not repair on board they would loſe their Wages. As to the 150 Men for the *Aſſurance*; he ſays in another Letter, he ſhould have little Dependance upon them, unleſs they were ordered

ordered him at *Spithead*, in ſome of her Majeſty's Ships at *Plymouth*, that they might be paid their Wages, and not go to Sea without Money or Cloaths, which they muſt unavoidably do, if he took them on board off of that Place; and but very little Service could be expected from Men in ſuch a Condition; beſides the Hindrance of Time in diſtributing them to the ſeveral Ships, if the Weather ſhould not be very fair: Therefore he had rather they ſhould remain where they were, and they might be of Service to man the Ships that were to follow him. As to the Marines, there was not much leſs Difficulty, ſome were at *Plymouth*, others elſewhere, none at *Portſmouth*; and the 28th Inſtant, when Major *Lee*'s Company, conſiſting of 76 Men were put into Veſſels at *Southampton*, in order to go on board the Admiral's own Ship the *Albemarle*; they mutinied in general for their Pay, ſo that the Officers were obliged to let them go a-ſhoar again into Quarters. Upon the Whole, (as Sir *John* expreſſed himſelf in his Letter to the Prince's Secretary upon that Occaſion) nothing could be more vexatious.

In the mean Time he received his Royal Highneſs's Directions to follow all ſuch Orders as he ſhould receive from her Majeſty; and in purſuance of ſeveral other Orders, he made Detachments from *Portſmouth* to convoy the Trade. The 2d of *February*, he received Orders to proceed upon his Voyage with the utmoſt Diſpatch, without ſtaying for the *Dutch*, and make the beſt of his Way off of *Plymouth*, taking with him all Storeſhips, Victuallers, Tranſport Ships, and other Merchant Ships and Veſſels bound his Way; and to call the *Eſſex* and *Firme* (two of his Squadron) from *Torbay* or *Plymouth*, in caſe they ſhould have convoyed the *Topſham* Trade thither, as they had been directed to do; from which Place he was alſo to take the *Burford* and *Terrible* Fireſhip, two more of his Squadron; and if Captain *Walker* with his Squadron and the *Virginia* and *Canary* Trade were not ſailed from *Plymouth*, (from which Place he was ordered to convoy the ſaid Fleet 100 Leagues from *Scilly*, and then cruize in the *Soundings*) he was in that Caſe to order him to join his Squadron off of *Plymouth*, and proceed with him and the Merchant Ships ſo far into the Sea, as he ſhould think proper for their Security, and then leave Captain *Walker* to follow his Inſtructions. In Compliance with theſe Orders, the next Morning he diſpatch'd the *Colcheſter* off of *Torbay* and ſo to *Plymouth*, with Directions to the Commanders of the *Eſſex* and *Firme*, and to Captain *Walker*, to join him upon his appearing off of that Place, with an Enſign in his Main-top-maſt Shrouds, and firing two Guns diſtinctly; and that if the Wind continued Eaſterly, they might expect him in a Day or two.

The

The 4th, the Wind coming to the N. E. by N. Sir *John* intended to ſail, but before Noon that the Tide ſerved to weigh, it came to the E. by N. ſo that the Tranſports and Trade could not turn out from *Stokes* Bay to *Spithead*. The ſame Day about Noon, the *Dutch* Merchant Ships with their Convoy arrived, conſiſting in all of about 50 Sail. The following Day it blew ſo extream hard, that the Ships could not poſſibly get up their Anchors. The 6th, he gave out the Line of Battle, conſiſting of 25 Sail, a Frigate, a Fireſhip and a Yacht, with a Vice and Rear-Admiral, beſides the *Dutch* Convoy of five Sail. The Place of Rendezvous, in caſe of Separation, with the Wind Eaſterly, was *Liſbon*; but if Weſterly before they get out of the *Channel*, and were to the Weſtward of the *Start*, then *Torbay* was the Place; and if the Fleet was not there, then at *St. Hellens*: But to thoſe Ships of the Line, which were not to proceed with him to *Liſbon*, the Rendezvous was only, in caſe of Separation before they got out of the *Channel* as above, at *Torbay* or *St. Hellens*. The uſual Directions were likewiſe given to be obſerved in drawing into a Line of Battle, a-head, or a-breaſt of each other, at a Cable's Diſtance from the Ship a-ſtern, or on the Larboard Side. The Signal for knowing each other in the Day, was, that the Weathermoſt Ship ſhould ſpread an Enſign in his Main-top-gallant or Main-top-maſt Shrouds, and fire two Guns diſtinctly; and the Leewardmoſt to anſwer by ſpreading an Enſign in his Fore-top-gallant or Fore-top-maſt Shrouds, and firing four Guns diſtinctly. To know each other in the Night, the Weathermoſt Ship to hoiſt four Lights at his Mizzen Peak, and the Leewardmoſt to anſwer by ſhewing the like Number of Lights of an equal Height, where they might be beſt ſeen. And becauſe there was ſo large a Fleet of Merchant Ships under his Care, he made the following Diſpoſition for their Security in ſailing. One Ship to keep about two Leagues a-head of him in the Day, and another two Leagues of her; and in Sight of the Admiral's Lights by Night. Four Sail to keep to the Southward of the Fleet, at a convenient Diſtance from each other; four more Sail to the Northward of the Fleet in like Manner, and three Sail to keep a-ſtern to ſecure the Rear. No Ship was to chaſe without a Signal, nor to loſe Company as they would anſwer the contrary; and when he would part with Captain *Walker* and his Squadron with the *Virginia* and *Canary* Trade, the Signal was a Blue Flag at the Fore-top-maſt-head, and a Gun fired. Theſe Diſpoſitions being made, in the Afternoon Sir *John* ſailed from *Spithead*, with the Wind N. E. The next Day it came North, and N. N. W. and continued between that and the N. by E. till the 10th, which ſerved to carry him about four Leagues to the Weſtward of *Plymouth*;

mouth; but then ſhifting to the W. S. W. S. W. and S. he was forced to bear away for *Torbay*, where he anchored the next Day about 10 at Night, with his Squadron and about 180 Merchant Ships. Off of *Portland* he was joined by the *Burford*, *Eſſex*, *Firme* and *Terrible* Fireſhip from *Plymouth*, the former of which he ordered back, to give Captain *Walker* Notice of his coming to join him, and the next Day ſhe rejoined him with the *Colcheſter* in Company, but no other Ship from *Plymouth*, the Tide falling out ſo late that the Trade could not get out of *Catwater*.

The next Day, after he came into *Torbay*, the Wind was S. S. E. and before Night it ſhifted to the S. E. E. S. E. and E. by S. blew very hard, and brought in a great Swell, ſo that there was no Poſſibility of getting up their Anchors. The next Day it continued to the Southward, as it did the two following; but the 16th, coming about to the E. by N. he endeavoured to ſail from *Torbay*; but before they could all get under Sail, it blew ſo hard with thick rainy Weather and a great Sea, that they could not get out: And having received Advice that Morning, of 28 Sail of *French* Men of War and ſome Privateers, he immediately ſent Orders to Captain *Walker* at *Plymouth*, not to ſail out of the *Channel* with his Squadron without him; and at the ſame Time diſpatch'd an Expreſs to the Admiralty, to acquaint his Highneſs of his Proceedings, and deſiring further Directions; if (upon the Advice of the Enemy) there ſhould be a Neceſſity for going in Company with Captain *Walker* out of the *Channel*; becauſe it might happen, when he had got the Length of *Plymouth*, the Wind might come to the E. S. E. or S. E. which might ſerve to carry him out of the *Channel*, but hinder their Junction; and in that Caſe he muſt return to the Place where he was, or *St. Hellens*, if they were to go together; though, in my Opinion, ſays he, *St. Hellens* is much properer to ſail from; and if the Wind comes Weſterly, I think of returning thither, for the Trade with me conſiſts of near 180 Sail, and a great Part of them Leewardly *Dutch* Flyboats, beſides our Storeſhips and Tranſports that ſail very heavily; and it would be impoſſible to get out of the Bay, unleſs they were favoured with moderate Gales at N. N. E. or N. E.

In the mean Time the *French*, who thought Sir *John* might by this Time be at *Liſbon*, and that the Coaſt of *England* was unguarded with Ships of War, or elſe to oblige the Queen to recal ſome of her Forces from the *Netherlands*; and keep at home the Fleet under Sir *John Leake*, deſigned for King *Charles*'s Service; And imagining that the Union had cauſed great Diſcontents amongſt the *Scotch*, thought it a proper Time to make a Deſcent, to retaliate the late Attempt upon *Toulon*, which had put the whole Kingdom of *France* into ſuch a Conſternation,

Conſternation. For this Purpoſe, having prepared 10,000 Forces with the Pretender at their Head, a ſtrong Squadron, and a ſufficient Number of Tranſports, it was intended to puſh out the firſt Opportunity and land them in *Scotland*. But their Deſigns being timely diſcovered, a ſtrong Squadron was aſſembled in the *Downs*, under the Command of Sir *George Byng*, with ſuch Expedition, that the 27th of *February* they appeared upon the Coaſt off of *Mardyke*, and a Frigate being ſent in, took a full View of the Preparations they were making in *Dunkirk*, and this Diſcovery put a Stop to the Embarkation at that Time; but the King of *France* ſoon after ſending poſitive Orders to proceed, the Troops were embarked; and the 6th, they ſailed out of *Dunkirk*, but the Wind changing, they were obliged to come to an Anchor in *Newport Pits*, and continued there till the 8th of *March* in the Evening, and then ſailed for *Scotland*. When the Miniſtry of *England* received the firſt Notice of this intended Invaſion, I have not any where met with; for the Parliament were not informed of it till the 4th of *March*, though it is manifeſt the Miniſtry were acquainted with it long before, and therefore the Diſpatch uſed by our Admiralty in getting a Squadron together, was not ſo incredible as has been ſaid. For Sir *John*, whilſt he was at *Torbay*, received his Royal Highneſs's Orders, dated the 18th of *February*; reciting, that whereas he had ordered Captain *Walker* at *Plymouth* to repair with his Squadron immediately to *St. Hellens*, leaving ſix Sail with the *Virginia* and *Canary* Trades; Sir *John* was directed, in purſuance of her Majeſty's Pleaſure, when he proceeded to Sea, to take the ſaid Ships and Trade under his Direction, and convoy them from *Plymouth*, ſo far into the Sea, as their Way and his ſhould lie together; and then to order the Commanders of the ſaid Convoys, to put in Execution their Orders for proceeding on their Voyages: And the Reaſon of theſe Orders (as he was acquainted by the Secretary's Letter which accompanied them) was, that the Enemy were coming out very ſtrong from *Dunkirk*, with a Deſign to make ſome Attempt, but where was uncertain; inſomuch, that it was abſolutely neceſſary a good Squadron of her Majeſty's Ships ſhould be got together without the Loſs of a Moment's Time; and therefore if Captain *Walker* was in *Torbay*, it was his Highneſs's Pleaſure he ſhould haſten him away to *St. Hellens*, ſince it was of the greateſt Importance to her Majeſty's Service. Purſuant to theſe Orders, he ſent Directions to the Ships with the Trade at *Plymouth* to join him, upon his Appearance off of that Place.

The 21ſt, he ſailed from *Torbay* with 13 *Engliſh* Men of War, five *Dutch* and the Trade. The next Day he was off of *Plymouth*, and ſent in the *Colcheſter* to give Notice of his Approach, and lay by for the Trade from thence, which joined

him in the Evening with the *Hampſhire* and *Charles* Gally; but not being certain, whether they all got out, and Night coming on, and the Wind inclining to the Southward, he was obliged to ſtand to Sea to get an Offing. The next Morning the Wind ſhifted to the S. S. E. and South, with very thick Weather and Rain; and being likely to continue, he bore away at firſt for *Torbay*, but the Weather proving ſo thick all that Day, that it was not ſafe to bear in with the Land, as the Wind was, he continued his Courſe up the *Channel*, and the 25th anchored at *St. Hellens*, with 10 Sail of *Engliſh* and five *Dutch* of the Line, two Frigates, and between 3 and 400 Sail of Merchant Ships; The *Oxford*, which was in the Rear of the Fleet, with one Ship laden with Naval Stores, one Tranſport, and ſome few of the Trade only being miſſing, which put back into *Torbay*; and it was impoſſible to prevent the Separation, for all that Day, and Part of the Night, when Sir *John* bore away for *St. Hellens*, the Weather was ſo very thick, that they could not ſee a Quarter of a Mile any Way; and it was to be admired in that Caſe, that out of ſo great a Number ſo few were wanting.

In the mean Time, the Squadron with Sir *George Byng* being forced from their Station upon the Coaſt of *Dunkirk*, they made down the *Channel*. The Admiralty, it ſeems, believed he might have put into *Portſmouth*; for about the Time that Sir *John* came to *St. Hellens*, two Expreſſes arrived for Sir *George*, directing him to fortify and ſecure the Harbour of *Portſmouth*. Whereupon Sir *John* iſſued his Orders to the Commiſſioner of the Dock-Yard, to make the proper Diſpoſitions for fortifying the Harbour, and getting Ships ready to ſink in the Harbour's Mouth, as his Highneſs's Orders expreſſed; but at the ſame Time he acquainted him, that he hoped now he was there, they ſhould have no Occaſion to ſink the Ships as yet, though he would have them ready. He likewiſe directed the Captains of the Ships in the Harbour to give the Commiſſioner their utmoſt Aſſiſtance; and took Care himſelf ſoon after, to ſee that theſe Orders were duly executed; having before diſpatch'd an Expreſs to the Prince's Secretary, acquainting him, that he was arrived at *St. Hellens* with 10 Sail of *Engliſh* and five *Dutch* of the Line, and two Frigates, ready for any Service his Royal Highneſs ſhould pleaſe to direct; but that he did not find the *Dutch* were inclinable to go with him to the *Downs* if he ſhould be ordered thither. In the mean Time he formed his Squadron into a Line of Battle at Anchor, to prevent any Surprize from the Enemy, and directed the *Charles* Gally without him about two Leagues, with Orders to Captain *Walker* to proceed directly for the *Downs* to join Sir *George Byng*, believing him to be there, he having

having paſſed by him undiſcovered in the thick Weather, the 24th at Night.

The 1ſt of *March*, the *Oxford* with the Trade that had put back into *Torbay* in the late hazy Weather arrived, none being now miſſing. At Night eight Sail appearing in Sight, and Sir *John* believing them to be the Ships under the Command of Captain *Walker* from *Plymouth*, ordered his Lieutenant to go off to him, with his Orders for proceeding directly to the *Downs*, but the Weather proving hazy he could not find them. The next Morning early, the ſame Ships were diſcovered at Anchor, and proving to be Captain *Walker*, he was ordered to join Sir *George Byng* forthwith, where-ever he ſhould hear of him. Accordingly he weighed, but to no Purpoſe, there being but little Wind and that directly contrary, ſo that he was obliged to anchor again in the Evening about two Leagues without Sir *John*; but the 3d, in the Morning, he ſailed to the Eaſtward, and happily joined Sir *George* in the *Downs* the Day after. The contrary Winds which had prevented Sir *John*'s proceeding to *Liſbon*, and had been look'd upon as a Diſappointment, proved a lucky Incident at this Juncture; for had he ſailed, our Sea-Ports had been unguarded and expoſed to any Attempts of the Enemy, and Sir *George Byng* could not have received the Reinforcement of Captain *Walker*'s Squadron, which he ſeemed to wait for, to give him the greater Superiority over the Enemy, and thereby become Victor without a Blow, well knowing the doubtful Chance of War, and the Hazard of a Battle at ſo critical a Conjuncture. Sir *George*, indeed, was blamed and railed at, as if he had been deficient in his Duty: Others pretended to ſay, that he had actually taken the Pretender, and might have taken the whole Fleet, but that he had poſitive Orders from the Queen to let both him and them eſcape; but the Houſe of Commons having enquired into it, laid nothing to his Charge. It is hardly to be imagined, but it muſt have been intended to fruſtrate the Enemy's Deſigns, if not to take and deſtroy their Fleet. But it is certain, ſuch Delays were uſed [a] that gave them

[a] *February* 27, Sir *George Byng* anchored with 27 Sail in *Gravelling Pits*, and going in a Frigate, diſcovered 27 Sail in *Dunkirk*, ſmall and great; but ſoon after, Sir *George* being driven from his Station, the *French* came out into *Dunkirk* Road, ſailed thence the 6th of *March*, but were put back, and remained till the Evening in *Newport Pits*, and then ſailed for *Scotland*. Sir *George* returned to the *Downs* the 2d of *March*, having 32 Sail; on the 4th, Captain *Walker* joined him with eight Sail, when he had 40 Sail of the Line, beſides Frigates. He ſailed the 6th in queſt of the Enemy, and did not hear till the 9th, from *Oſtend*, that they were ſailed; and then making a Detachment to convoy the Forces from *Oſtend*;

them an Opportunity to go to *Scotland*; and had they met with the Encouragement upon their Arrival which they expected, the Deſcent had been made before the *Engliſh* Fleet could have prevented it, and the Conſequences have gone much further than were ever intended.

But to return to Sir *John Leake*, with his Squadron and the Trade at *St. Hellens* and *Spithead*. Having ſent an Expreſs immediately upon his Arrival to the Prince's Secretary, that he was put in there, the 27th of *February* he received his Royal Highneſs's Orders to proceed the firſt Opportunity of Wind and Weather to *Liſbon*, judging, no doubt, that the Fleet with Sir *George Byng*, eſpecially when joined by Captain *Walker*, would be ſuperior to any Squadron the Enemy could bring to moleſt us: He was likewiſe directed to ſend the *Hampſhire* and *Charles* Gally, to look out for the homeward-bound *Eaſt-India* Ships, which he put under Orders accordingly, but they could not come to ſail till four Days afterwards. The 28th, Sir *John* ordered the *Guernſey* and *Burlington* to *Spithead* to obſerve his Signals, that when the Wind came fair for his proceeding to the Weſtward, and he made the Signal for unmooring, they might do the ſame; and if the Tide ſerved to come from thence, to get under Sail, (without ſtaying for his Signal for weighing) and bring out the Trade to join him at *St. Hellens*; but in caſe the Wind ſhould be ſo far Eaſterly that the Trade could not get all out in one Tide, and that he made the Signal with a Blue Flag at the Fore-top-maſt-head and fired a Gun, they were then to proceed through the *Needles* with the Remainder of the Ships, and join him between that Place and *Portland*, taking ſuch an Offing after

at a Council of War, it was reſolved to purſue the Enemy. The 13th, he ſaw them in the *Fryth* of *Edinburgh*; when that Night, by the Signals he made, the Enemy had Notice of his Arrival, and tho' embayed, got off except one Ship. See *Ledyard* and *Burchet's* Hiſtories, and *Boyer*'s Life of Q. *Anne*.

By this Account, it is plain Sir *George* was in the *Downs* four Days whilſt the Enemy were in *Dunkirk* Road, and three Days at Sea in queſt of them, whilſt they lay in *Newport Pits*, either of them not above 10 or 12 Leagues diſtant, almoſt within Sight; yet was ſo profoundly ignorant, that he neither knew where they were, nor when they ſailed. It is ſtrange he ſhould have no Intelligence by Cruizers or others, of the Enemy, whom he was to watch; and that he ſhould ſo readily at firſt diſcover the Ships in *Dunkirk* Harbour, and afterwards not be able to find them in the Road, open to the Sea in three Days, where they certainly muſt have been, if not ſailed. It is almoſt as extraordinary, to ſurprize an Enemy's Squadron in a Bay, with a ſuperior Fleet, and take but one Ship: And upon the Whole, ſhewed ſuch extraordinary Conduct, that could have been juſtified only by poſitive Orders.

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they got out, that if the Wind came Southerly, they might weather *Dunoze*, if they ſhould be obliged to return. The *Burlington* was likewiſe ordered to ſail in the Rear of the Fleet, with an Enſign in his Main-top-maſt Shrouds, that when they joined the Fleet at *St. Hellens*, or after they had paſſed through the *Needles*, the Admiral might by that know that all the Trade was out. The Rendezvous, in caſe of Separation, with the Wind Weſterly, before they got out of the *Channel*, and were to the Weſtward of the *Start*, was *Torbay*; but if he was not there, then *St. Hellens* was the Place.

The 3d of *March*, at five in the Morning, the Wind coming to the E. by N. Sir *John* made the Signal to unmoor; afterwards it came to the S. E. but about 11 it was N. N. E. whereupon he weighed and ſtood without *Bembridge Ledge*, and then lay by for the Trade; at the ſame Time he diſpatch'd the *Hampſhire* and *Charles* Gally to purſue their Orders. At four in the Afternoon, the Trade being the greateſt Part out, and the reſt under Sail, he bore away and ſtood S. W. and S. W. and by S. the Wind N. N. E. at five o'Clock E. N. E. and by eight at Night very little Wind at S. S. W. ſtanding to the Southward all Night. At ſix the next Morning was a ſmall Breeze at S. W. then he tack'd to the Northward, but at 10, ſeeing no Likelihood of a fair Wind, and a great Part of the Trade three or four Leagues to Leeward of him, he bore away for *St. Hellens*, where he anchored in the Afternoon.

Sir *John* never had more Uneaſineſs than upon this Occaſion. The Difficulty he had met with firſt in manning his Squadron was very great: Contrary Winds had no leſs perplexed him and hindered his Proceeding; and the few Opportunities that might have ſerved to carry him away, he had been prevented in by the Incumbrance of ſo great a Number of Merchant Ships under his Convoy. In the mean Time to receive repeated Orders, preſſing him to ſail, was very vexatious, when his utmoſt Endeavours could not do it. But he more particularly reſented a Letter he received from the Prince's Secretary of the 3d of *March*, directing him to proceed without a Moment's Loſs of Time, and with the following Expreſſion: But your Zeal, ſays he, for her Majeſty's Service is ſo well known, that there is no Occaſion to quicken you. This he thought a glancing Reflection upon his Conduct; and therefore in his Anſwer the 6th Inſtant, he ſays, he hoped he had not given any juſt Occaſion for Belief that he would omit any Opportunity of doing his Duty; and unleſs he was favoured with a fair Wind for 7 or 8 Days, his Endeavours to get to *Liſbon* would be to little Purpoſe, whilſt he had 400 Sail to take Care of; unleſs the Maſters of the Merchant Ships would be more diligent; a great many of

whom, would neither obſerve his Signals for ſailing, nor endeavour to keep him Company at Sea; and that there was not fewer then 30 Sail left behind when he ſailed laſt, ſeveral of their Maſters taking a Journey that Day to *Godalmyn* to ſee their Wives, though he was unmoored the Day before.

But the 7th in the Morning, the Wind coming to the N. by E. the Admiral made the Signal to unmoor. By ſeven o Clock it veered to the N. E. and blew hard; at two in the Afternoon very few of the Merchant Ships coming out, he made the Signal with a Blue Flag at the Fore-top-maſt-head, for the *Guernſey* and *Burlington*, to go through the *Needles* with them; ſoon after he made the Signal to weigh and got under Sail. By eight o'Clock *Dunoze* bore W. by S. four Leagues Diſtance, when they lay by, with their Heads to the Eaſtward till two the next Morning; then the Fleet wore and brought to on the other Tack, and ſome Time after made Sail and ſtood in for the *Needles*, for the Trade that was to come out that Way to join the Fleet, which they did by Noon; whereupon the Admiral made ſail, and ſteered down the *Channel* with his Squadron, nine Sail of Tranſports, (on board of which were the Regiments of *Barrimore* and *Paſton*, conſiſting of about 1500 Men) and between 3 and 400 Sail of Merchant Men. At nine the Wind ſhifted to the South-Weſt, and blowing hard with thick Weather; he lay by with the Fleet, to give the Merchant Ships Opportunity to come up with him; but about Noon it clearing up, he wore and ſtood to the Southward under Main and Fore Courſes. From ſix to eight in the Evening he lay by again, when the Wind ſhifting to the N. W. and N. N. W. he made Sail and ſtood to the Weſtward. The next Morning the Wind came to the N. by E. and ſoon after at N. E. and the *Dartmouth* was diſpatch'd to look into *Plymouth*, and fetch from thence the outward-bound Trade, the Fleet ſteering N. W. for the *Start*, which at Noon bore N. by E. Diſtance two Leagues. In the Afternoon they brought to, off of the *Edyſtone*, to ſtay for the Ships from *Plymouth*, which ſoon after joined him; the Captain of the *Dartmouth*, bringing the Admiral ſome Duplicates of Letters and Orders he had received before.

From *Plymouth*, Sir *John* expected to have been joined by his Firſt Captain Sir *Thomas Hardy*, not having ſeen him ever ſince he hoiſted his Flag as Admiral of the Fleet at *Spithead*; and the Muliplicity of Buſineſs, which attended the Direction of ſo large a Number of Ships, as well as the Management of all Affairs beſides at *Spithead* and *Portſmouth*, would have put him under great Inconveniencies, if he had not had the Satisfaction of his Brother-in-law, Captain *Martin*, for Captain of his Ship or Second Captain; who having acted in that double Capacity with him during all the Time he commanded abroad,

was

was ſo well acquainted with thoſe Affairs that made the Matter very eaſy to him. Sir *Thomas* took ſo much Time to equip himſelf for his Voyage, as if he intended to follow Sir *John* to the *Mediterranean*, and have the Honour and Benefit of being Firſt Captain without the Trouble, preſuming too much upon the Intereſt that made him ſo; very inconſiſtent with the Duty he owed the publick Service, and the Reſpect due to the Admiral who appointed him; at the ſame Time too when he had moſt Occaſion for him. At length Sir *Thomas* returned to *Plymouth*, thinking to find the Fleet there, but coming to *Exeter*, he heard that Sir *John* had been joined by the Trade off of *Plymouth* and ſailed the Day before: Suppoſing him therefore to be gone to *Liſbon*; there was nothing left but to follow him thither. The *Burford*, a 3d Rate of 70 Guns, was then at *Plymouth*, and the Admiralty had ſent Orders for her joining the Admiral at *St. Hellens*; but before they could get thither, Sir *Thomas* had embark'd on board her and ſailed for *Liſbon* (as Sir *John* was now informed) a Fortnight before.

The 11th of *March*, the *Briſtol* came into the Fleet from *Plymouth*, where ſhe had been repairing ſome Damages. At Night the Admiral lay by for the Merchant Ships to come up with him, and counted 342 Sail. The 13th, being in the Latitude 45 d. 57 m. he made the appointed Signal; whereupon the *Guernſey*, *Oxford*, *Briſtol*, *Burlington*, *Dartmouth*, and *Greyhound*, left the Fleet with the *Virginia* and *Canary* Trade. Two Days after, being about a Degree to the Southward of *Cape Finiſter*, he ordered the *Eſſex* to ſee the Trade ſafe in, bound to *Oporto*, *Figuera* and the Northern Ports of *Portugal*; and the 17th, he directed Sir *Edward Whitaker*, Rear-Admiral of the Red in the *Northumberland*, to proceed before him to *Liſbon*, to forward the refitting of the Ships expected there from *Italy*. Soon after, the Wind which had hitherto continued fair, ſhifted to the S. S. W. S. W. and W. accompanied with very bad Weather, which held for about 10 Days, in which Time two *Dutch* Men of War loſt Company with him. But the 27th, he arrived in *Liſbon* River with his Squadron and Convoy, conſiſting of about 130 Sail. Here he found Sir *Edward Whitaker* in the *Northumberland*, the *Burford* with Sir *Thomas Hardy*, and Captain *Hicks* with the Squadron from *Italy*, conſiſting of 17 Sail, four Hoſpital Ships, and three Bombs. The 30th, Sir *John* waited upon the King of *Portugal* and met with a very gracious Reception. The next Morning the *Eſſex* came in, having broke her Fore-Yard, and brought with her Part of her Convoy, the Weather having been ſo bad they were not able to get into the Ports they were bound to, except ſome that got into *Figuera*. As to the two *Dutch* Men of War, which were ſeparated in the late bad Weather, one of them having loſt all her Maſts,

it was ſuppoſed put back; which was the only Miſchance that happened to the Fleet during the Voyage.

CHAP. II.

He ſails with the Fleet and Tranſports from Liſbon, *and ſurpriſes a Fleet of the Enemy's Corn Ships, which ſaves* Barcelona *and the Confederate Army from the Danger of Famine.*

THE Arrival of the Fleet cauſed great Joy at *Liſbon*, and encouraged the *Portugueſe* to proceed with more Reſolution in raiſing Recruits, than they had done in the Winter. In the mean Time Sir *John* having cauſed the Regiments of *Barrimore* and *Paſton* to be put on Shoar, applied himſelf with the utmoſt Diligence to the fitting of the Fleet; and ordered the Agent-Victualler to compleat the Proviſions, as well of the Ships that came with him, as thoſe he found there, to ſix Months, that they might not be hindred from proceeding upon Service as ſoon as they were ready for the Sea, as too often had happed. At *Liſbon* he found the following Orders from his Royal Highneſs.

His Royal Highneſs GEORGE, &c. *Lord-High-Admiral of* Great-Britain, &c. *and Generaliſſimo*, &c.

WHEREAS from the Intelligence that hath been received of the Enemy's Proceedings, it is reaſonable to believe, that they will make their greateſt, if not their only Preparations at the Ports in this Part of *France*, but more eſpecially at *Dunkirk* and *Breſt*; and they having, to man the Ships which they are fitting out at thoſe Places, drawn very conſiderable Numbers of Men from the South Parts of the ſaid Kingdom, inſomuch that there may not be an Occaſion for your Stay at *Liſbon*, till ſuch Time as you can go up the *Streights*, with the whole Number of Ships put under your Command: And whereas it is abſolutely neceſſary that the Horſe in *Italy* which are to ſerve in *Spain*, ſhould be conducted thither with all the Diſpatch that poſſibly may be: You are therefore hereby required and directed, ſo ſoon as you arrive at *Liſbon*, to take under your Command ſuch Ships of her Majeſty's and the States-General, as ſhall be in a Condition to proceed up the *Streights*; and alſo all the Tranſport Ships, and

and make the beſt of your Way with them to *Vada* on the Coaſt of *Italy*, leaving Orders for the reſt of the Ships which are to remain abroad, to follow you from *Liſbon* as ſoon as they ſhall be ready, and join you at ſuch Place as you ſhall judge moſt proper, either by Detachments or together.

When you arrive on the Coaſt of *Italy*, you are to give an Account thereof to her Majeſty's Miniſter at the Duke of *Savoy*'s Court, that ſo the Horſe may be forthwith embarked, and ſuch other Troops as are neceſſary; and when the Tranſport Ships ſhall be ready to ſail with them to *Spain*, you are to take them under your Care and Protection, and conduct them in Safety to the Port of *Barcelona*, or any other Place the King of *Spain* ſhall direct; and having ſo done, you are to conſider at a Council of War, how her Majeſty's Fleet under your Command may be further employed for the Advantage of the King of *Spain*, and govern yourſelf accordingly: Wherein you are to have a particular Regard to ſuch Services as ſhall be recommended to you by his Majeſty, and to ſuch Inſtructions as ſhall be ſent from hence to you, from the Queen or myſelf. Given under my Hand, this 19th of *February*, 1707-8.

GEORGE.

To Sir *John Leake*, Knt. Admiral, *&c.*

Theſe Inſtructions being conſidered at a Council of War the 31ſt of *March*, together with the general Inſtructions to Sir *John Leake*, of the 8th of *January*; it was unanimouſly agreed, to ſail from *Liſbon* for *Vada* in *Italy*, when the Tranſport Ships were in a Readineſs to receive the Horſe on board: That ſuch of her Majeſty's Ships and the States-General as could not be got ready for the Sea in that Time, ſhould be ordered to follow the Fleet to the Coaſt of *Catalonia*, the Rendezvous being left for them at *Barcelona*; where it was reſolved to touch in their Paſſage to receive his Majeſty the King of *Spain*'s Commands; and that the *Wincheſter*, *Medway* Prize, and *Drake* Sloop, ſhould be left to guard the *Streights* Mouth, till they could be re-inforced by ſome of her Majeſty's Ships that were then cleaning in *Italy*, or when it ſhould be thought reaſonable to make a further Detachment from the Fleet for that Service. Having likewiſe conſidered the King of *Portugal*'s Deſire, for a Squadron of her Majeſty's and the King of *Portugal*'s Ships, and the States-Generals, to cruize off of the Iſland of *Terceras* till the latter End of *June*, to look out for the Trade expected from *Brazile*, and if they met, to accompany them to *Liſbon*; it was reſolved, that the *Warſpight*, *Rupert*, *Tryton*, and one of the Ships of the States-General

General be appointed for that Service, and after their Return to *Liſbon*, that they ſhould take under their Care all the Trade at that Place, *St. Ubes*, and the Northern Ports of *Portugal*, and convoy them to *Great Britain*.

When the Forces brought from *England* were diſembarked, Sir *John* directed the Tranſports immediately to be put into a Condition for the Tranſportation of Horſe, and likewiſe ordered as many more to be taken up, as would be ſufficient (together) for 2500 Horſe, with their Riders and Forrage; but not being able to procure them, he was obliged to make uſe of ſome of thoſe that came down the *Mediterranean* with Captain *Hicks*, for want of better: But they were generally in ſo bad a Condition, that he could not venture to carry them to Sea till they had been hauled a-ſhoar, and their Bottoms ſearched and repaired, which neceſſarily took up ſome Time; neither was the Agent for Tranſportation able to get thoſe that were hired, without the Countenance and Application of the Admiral. Whilſt this was doing, he received the following Letter from his Catholick Majeſty.

'SIR,

'THE Enemy having ſeized upon the Kingdoms of *Arragon* and *Valencia*, after the unfortunate Buſineſs of *Almanza*; and being ſince entered by ſeveral Parts into this Principality of *Catalonia*, moſt of which they have rendered themſelves Maſters of, by taking my City of *Lerida*, and having alſo made the reſt of it deſolate, 'twas immediately thought that after this, the Army of the Allies could ſubſiſt but a very little Time there, for want of Corn and Forrage, and that the only Means both for preſerving the Country and ſubſiſting the Troops, which the Emperor my Brother, and the Elector *Palatine* my Uncle were to ſend to my Relief, would be to procure the Neceſſaries from the Kingdom of *Sardinia*. The Rear-Admiral *Dilks*, being here with his Squadron going to *Italy*, in order to embark the ſaid Troops; I propoſed this Matter to him, upon Aſſurance that was given me by very good Hands, that the People of the ſaid Kingdom and of *Cagliari*, its Capital City, would not fail to come under my Obedience, ſo ſoon as they ſhould have the leaſt Opportunity of declaring their Zeal and Affection for my Perſon and illuſtrious Family. And although the Council of War, which was held upon this Subject by the ſaid Rear-Admiral, gave me no poſitive Declaration at that Time; their firſt and principal End being to bring over the aboveſaid Troops into *Spain*; and they having no Troops at Hand to ſecond the Expedition, in caſe there ſhould be a Neceſſity of making a Deſcent; I reſolved

'nevertheleſs

'nevertheleſs to ſend the Count *de Cyſuentes* with the ſame 'Squadron to *Italy*, in hopes that at his Return with the 'Troops, which were to ſuccour this Principality, the ſaid 'Expedition of *Sardinia* might be put in Execution; for 'otherwiſe, thoſe ſame Troops, as I adviſed the Duke and 'Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, inſtead of being aſſiſtant to me, 'would rather be prejudicial, and increaſe the Harm inſtead 'of diminiſhing it; ſince both the Troops already here, and 'thoſe which were to come, would miſerably periſh for 'want of Victuals, Corn and Forrage. Theſe Circumſtances 'having been maturely weighed, after the Arrival of the 'Squadron in *Italy*, it was there reſolved, in a Council of 'War, held at *Vado*, that they ſhould go directly to *Sardinia*, 'and there land the Count *de Cyſuentes* with the Regiment of '*Toff*; but inſtead of directing their Courſe to that Iſland, 'according to the Reſolution of the ſaid Council, Captain '*Hicks*, (who after the Death of Vice-Admiral *Dilks*, had 'the Command as eldeſt of the Squadron,) notwithſtanding 'that the Wind was moſt favourable for *Sardinia*, made the 'beſt of his Way for *Barcelona*; where being arrived with 'Part of the Fleet, and of the Troops, leaving the reſt be-'hind, he returned to *Liſbon*; whereby he has left my Per-'ſon, this Principality, and the Army expoſed to the greateſt 'Extremities and Dangers they ever were threatened with; 'having no Regard to the lively Repreſentations and Proteſta-'tions which were made to him from me, and all the Mini-'ſters and Generals which are at my Court, to perſuade him 'to go towards *Sardinia*, and from thence to *Italy*, to embark 'the Imperial and *Palatine* Horſe, which are at the Sea-Side 'for that Purpoſe; and it may be, the Queen my Spouſe, and 'Prince *Eugene*, are likewiſe there with the ſame Deſign. I 'ſhall not enlarge upon ſeveral Circumſtances, which ſhew 'but too evidently the irregular Conduct of this Captain Com-'mandant; nor upon the unhappy Conſequences which are 'to be apprehended, to the very great Prejudice and Diſad-'vantage of the common Cauſe; ſince all the *Dutch*, and 'Part of the *Engliſh* Captains, who, moved with a true Zeal, 'agreed with my Sentiments, and will not fail giving you a 'perfect Knowledge thereof. I ſhall only repeat to you, that 'to maintain ourſelves in this Principality, and to preſerve 'this Army, there is no better Way of effecting it, than by 'tranſporting hither Corn and a greater Number of Troops, 'both which may be done, provided the Squadron under your 'Orders in the River of *Liſbon* arrive ſpeedily.

'The famous Teſtimonies which you have given me on 'ſeveral Occaſions, where the Security of my Perſon and the 'Good of the common Cauſe were depending, and eſpecially 'in that of the Siege and Deliverance of this Capital City,

'leave

'leave me no Room to doubt, but that you will uſe all the 'Diligence imaginable to fly to my Succour, and to ſecure 'my Perſon, and this whole Army and Principality of *Cata-* 'lonia; the Loſs and entire Ruin of which would otherwiſe 'be unavoidable: As for other Matters, I refer you to Father '*Cienfugos*, who will repreſent to you from me every Thing 'more at large; and aſſuring you of my conſtant Eſteem and 'Gratitude, I pray God keep you in his holy Care, and give 'you and all your Squadron a ſpeedy and happy Voyage. 'Dated from *Barcelona*, *February* 5, 1708, N. S.

'CHARLES.'

This Letter came incloſed in the following, from Father *Cienfugos*, Envoy from his Catholick Majeſty to the Court of *Portugal*, dated from *Liſbon* the 8th of *April*, N. S.

'Moſt Excellent SIR,

'I Very much rejoice at your Excellency's happy Arrival in 'this Port, as being what I greatly deſired; and ſince I 'do not perſonally wait upon your Excellency to congratulate 'you upon your own good Arrival, and that of all the Fleet, 'I remit your Excellency the incloſed Letter from the Ca- 'tholick King my Maſter, to whoſe Expreſſions I have nothing 'to add, having ſuch Experience of the known Zeal, where- 'with your Excellency has ever attended, upon whatever re- 'lates to his Majeſty's Intereſt. His Royal Perſon, with the 'whole Principality of *Catalonia*, is in ſo urgent a Neceſſity 'at preſent, that I do not doubt, but that the great Love 'your Excellency bears to the Intereſt of her *Britannick* Ma- 'jeſty, the King my Maſter's Perſon, and the publick Cauſe, 'will induce you to make all poſſible Haſte to his Succour 'with the Fleet, as one who is ſo much accuſtomed to ar- 'rive in Time upon the like urgent Occaſions. I alſo beg 'your Excellency will be pleaſed to order, that about 22 '*Spaniſh* Officers and eight other Perſons, may be tranſported 'with the Ships to *Catalonia*; they will take Care to provide 'Neceſſaries for their Subſiſtence, and may be very ſerviceable 'to the common Cauſe in *Catalonia*, there being ſome Offi- 'cers amongſt them of much Experience and Valour. God 'preſerve your Excellency many Years, as I deſire. Dated, '*&c.*

'ALBARO CIENFUGOS.'

To this Letter Sir *John* returned an Anſwer: That he ſhould always be ready to ſhew the Affection he had for his Catholick

Catholick Majeſty's Service, and that of the common Cauſe: And ſo ſoon as he was informed of the Names of thoſe Officers and other Perſons which he mentioned were deſigned for *Barcelona*, he would give Orders that they might be embark'd amongſt the Ships bound thither with him; and which was accordingly done ſoon after.

The 2d of *April* the Admiral put the *Burford* and *Naſſau* under Orders for proceeding to *Gibraltar* the firſt Opportunity of Wind and Weather, to convoy ſome Tranſports thither with Cloathing, Recruits, *&c.* for that Gariſon, together with the Trade bound that Way, which ſhould be then ready. The latter of theſe Ships had the *Morocco* Ambaſſador *Cardenaſſo* on board, to be landed at *Gibraltar*, her Majeſty not granting his Paſſage to *Tangier*, till her Ambaſſador Captain *Delaval* was reſtored: As ſoon as they had performed this Part of their Inſtructions, they were to cruize off of *Gibraltar* or Cape *Spartel*, as Wind and Weather permitted, till they joined the Fleet; for which Purpoſe they were to keep in the fair Way for ſeeing them; but if by any unforeſeen Accident they ſhould not, in that Caſe they were to make the beſt of their Way to *Barcelona*, where they ſhould find Orders. By the Opportunity of theſe Ships, the Lord *Gallway* deſired to ſend ſome Money and Materials to *Gibraltar*, to enable them to go forward with their Works, which was accordingly received on board; and his Lordſhip having further repreſented to Sir *John*, that when he left *Barcelona*, they were in great Neceſſity for Gunpowder, which he could ſupply them with from *Liſbon*, if he would oblige him with the Conveniency of Shipping for it thither; and alſo acquainted him with his Deſire, that the Maſters of the Tranſports, who brought the Invalids and Serjeants of the reduced Regiments to *Liſbon*, might be repaid the Proviſions they had expended in Specie, it was accordingly done; and as to the Gunpowder, Sir *John* acquainted his Lordſhip when he knew the Quantity *Barcelona* was in want of, he would order the Agent of the Tranſports to take up Veſſels to carry it: But ſome few Days after, his Lordſhip ſent to acquaint him, that all the Gunpowder he had been able to obtain from the *Portugueſe*, was only 500 Barrels, and that they had none at all in the Stores belonging to the Army: But he was informed the Commiſſary of the Ordnance Stores for the Navy could ſupply them; which not lying under his Juriſdiction, he could not take upon him to diſpoſe of any Part of it; hoping therefore he would conſider the Importance of ſending a ſpeedy Supply, for that undoubtedly they depended upon having it from *Liſbon*, not being able to receive a Supply any other Way. Whereupon Sir *John* having enquired what Quantity was remaining in Store, and finding there was about 2000 Quintals, he ordered

dered 500 Barrels to be added to thoſe his Lordſhip had provided for the Gariſon of *Barcelona*, and directed the Storekeeper to provide a Ship to carry it, but he not being able to do it in Time, the Whole was ordered to be diſperſed on board the Ships of War which compoſed the Squadron.

The 6th of *April*, Sir *John* appointed Mr. *Thomas Jennings* to tranſact the Service relating to Priſoners of War; and three Days after conſtituted Mr. *Mihil Maſterſon*, one of the Surgeons Mates in her Majeſty's Hoſpital at *Liſbon*, giving them proper Inſtructions for their Behaviour in their reſpective Offices. The 10th, a Court-Marſhal was held upon a Seaman for Deſertion, and two Marines for Mutiny, for which they received Corporal Puniſhment. About this Time likewiſe, the Admiral received printed Orders from *England* to be diſtributed to all her Majeſty's Ships, requiring their Commanders to permit neutral Ships to carry Tobacco from *Great-Britain* to *France*.

The 15th, the *Medway* Prize was ordered to take the *Drake* Sloop under her Command, and convoy the Trade from *Liſbon* to the Northern Ports of *Portugal*, and the Trade at thoſe Ports to *Liſbon*, and then having cleaned, to proceed to *Gibraltar* and join the *Wincheſter* upon that Station; and the *Wincheſter* was directed thither with 5000 Dollars, 70 Recruits, and a Ship with Cloathing for the Gariſon; and this being done, ſhe was to cruize in the *Streights* Mouth till further Orders: If during the Cruize they diſcovered a Squadron of the Enemy's Ships, or any Expreſs arrived from *Great-Britain*, the Commander ſhould think neceſſary to be forwarded to the Admiral, he was to ſend the *Medway* Prize with it to *Barcelona*.

The 21ſt, the Earl of *Gallway*, Mr. *Methuen*, and the *Engliſh* Conſul paid Sir *John* a Viſit on board the *Albemarle*; the ſame Day and the following three *Dutch* Men of War arrived; and purſuant to the Reſolution of the Council of War the 31ſt of *March*, Inſtructions were given to Captain *Hicks* of the *Warſpight* for convoying the *Brazile* Fleet. He was directed to take under his Command the *Rupert* and *Triton*, with one *Dutch* Man of War, and to convoy the *Newfoundland* and *Weſt-India* Trade 100 Leagues in their Way to thoſe Parts; then to join four of the King of *Portugal*'s Ships of War at the Iſland of *Terceras* looking out for the *Brazile* Fleet, and to cruize in ſuch a Station as the Commander in Chief ſhould judge convenient for meeting them, and to put in Execution ſuch Orders from the ſaid Commander, as far as he and the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Captains ſhould judge neceſſary for performing that Service, taking Care to avoid all Diſputes with the *Portugueſe* which might obſtruct the ſame. He was to continue on that Service no longer than the 20th of *June*,

unleſs he had certain Advice they were ſuddenly expected, and then to cruize for them as many Days longer, as ſhould be reſolved by a Joint Council of War; and in his Return to *Liſbon*, to diſpatch the *Rupert* and *Triton* before him to call at *Viana*, *Oporto* and *Figuera*, for the Trade to join him; but if the *Brazile* Fleet were with him in Company, he was not in that Caſe to detach any Ship from him, till the Commander in Chief of the *Portugueſe* might think it convenient. On his Return to *Liſbon*; and being joined by the *Rupert* and *Triton* with the Trade from the Northern Ports of *Portugal*, he was to remain 10 Days, and taking under his Convoy the ſaid Trade, and all the Trade at *Liſbon* and *St. Ubes* ready to ſail, to proceed to *Great Britain* and call at *Plymouth*, and finding there no Orders to the contrary, to proceed directly to the *Downs*. If his Excellency Mr. *Methuen* deſired to go to *Great Britain*, he was to give him and his Retinue the beſt Accommodation he could. Accompanying theſe Orders, were Copies of the Signals to be obſerved upon meeting the *Brazile* Fleet, and a Tranſlation of the 19th and 20th Articles of the Treaty with *Portugal*, in relation to the Command of Auxiliary Ships. Theſe Orders were dated the 21ſt, but the next Day the *Portugal* Commodore of the four Ships before-mentioned, having loſt Company with the other three, and diſabled in his Maſts, returned to *Liſbon*; and at the Requeſt of his *Portugueſe* Majeſty, Captain *Hicks* was directed to remain at *Liſbon* till that Ship was in a Condition to proceed again to Sea, and then to accompany her. But Sir *John* particularly directed him by no Means to obſerve any Orders from the *Portugueſe* Commodore till they joined the other three; and if in their Paſſage they ſhould meet and engage the Enemy, to leave the *Portugal* Commodore to act as he ſhould think fit. Sir *John* having likewiſe received his Royal Highneſs's Orders of the 2d of *March*, and a Letter thereupon from Mr. *Morrice*, Paymaſter-General of her Majeſty's Forces in *Spain* and *Portugal*, for ſending a clean Ship with a Sum of Money to *Barcelona*, for the Uſe of the King of *Spain*; he ordered the *York* (as ſoon as ſhe was in a Condition for the Sea) to receive the ſame, and carry it to *Barcelona*; but in caſe the Money was not ready by the Time the Ship was, or the Fleet ſhould ſail, he left the like Orders for the Commander in Chief of her Majeſty's Ships that ſhould arrive at *Liſbon*.

The 23d, he received a Letter from Colonel *Elliot*, Governor of *Gibraltar*, bearing Date the 14th Inſtant, acquainting him, that a *French* Convoy with ſeveral Ships from *Malaga*, deſigned for the *Weſt-Indies*, had been ſeen for three or four Days off of *Gibraltar*; and that the Morning of the Day the ſaid Letter was dated, two *Dutch* Priſoners that came by Land from *Malaga* informed him, the afore-mentioned Ships conſiſted

ſiſted of five Sail, one of 60 Guns, one of 50 odd, one of 50, one of 46, and a Privateer of 32 Guns; and that he had received further Intelligence, that when they had ſeen the Trade ſafe into *Cadiz*, they were to cruize off of the *Streights* Mouth; and this was confirmed by an Extract of a Letter from Mr. *Thomas Braddyl*, Merchant at *Gibraltar*, to Captain *Carter*, Commander of the *Drake* Sloop, giving an Account to the ſame Effect.

Theſe Advices being maturely conſidered by a Council of War the ſame Day, with regard to the Services to be performed that Summer in *Italy*, and on the Coaſt of *Spain:* It was agreed to proceed according to the Council of War of the 31ſt *ultimo*, and that to ſtrengthen the Cruizers for the guarding the *Streights* Mouth, the *Lancaſter*, *York*, and one *Dutch* Ship ſhould be left, when they were clean and in a Condition for the Sea, to be joined with the other Ships appointed for that Service, to cruize thereabouts, as they ſhould find moſt proper for annoying the Enemy and protecting the Trade; it not being thought proper to make any further Detachment at that Time; and that the three afore-mentioned Ships ſhould be ordered to cruize on their Station till the 20th of *June*, and then to repair and join the Fleet at *Barcelona*, or ſuch other Place as ſhould be appointed the Rendezvous. In purſuance of this Reſolution, the Admiral iſſued his Orders to the *York* and *Lancaſter*, and one *Dutch* Man of War, to cruize off of the *Streights* Mouth to the Time limited, and then to join the Fleet, unleſs they ſhould have certain Intelligence, a Squadron of the Enemy was paſſed up the *Streights*, or any other Advice neceſſary to be communicated to the Admiral, and in that Caſe to ſend a Ship to him, or come with all the three, as ſhould be judged moſt for the Service by a Council of War: Sir *John* likewiſe empowered Captain *Moodie*, the Commandant of theſe Ships, to break open any Orders or Expreſs from the Admiralty Office, or the Secretary of State; and if he found any Thing that the Service required to be forwarded to him, to diſpatch a Ship to *Barcelona:* Upon this Occaſion, he likewiſe thought proper to make ſome Alterations, with regard to the *Wincheſter* and *Medway* Prize, who were now directed to put the Money and Recruits for *Gibraltar* on board the *Defiance*, to convoy the Trade from *Liſbon* to *Oporto* and the Northern Ports of *Portugal*, and from thoſe Ports to *Liſbon*, and then put in Execution their former Orders to cruize in the *Streights* Mouth, and joining Captain *Moodie* in the *Lancaſter*, to follow his Orders as long as he ſhould continue upon that Station; and the *Defiance* having landed the Recruits and Money at *Gibraltar*, was to join the Fleet upon their Appearance off of that Place.

The

The procuring Tranſport Ships, and putting them (as well as thoſe they had) in a Condition for the Sea, and to receive the Horſe, took up more Time than Sir *John* expected, and would have detained him ſome Time longer; but having now got together as many as were capable to carry 1500 Horſe, and received Advice that the *Dutch* Miniſter at *Turin* had procured ſome at *Genoua*, he judged they would be ſufficient for the Tranſportation, and the 27th he ſailed from *Liſbon*, with 102 Sail of all Sorts; his Squadron conſiſting of 28 Sail of the Line, *viz.* 16 *Engliſh* and 12 *Dutch*, beſides Frigates, Fireſhips and Bombs. In caſe of Separation, the Place of Rendezvous was *Barcelona*, and if Sir *John* was not there, then *Vada* in *Italy*. And Orders were left at *Liſbon*, for the Commander in Chief of her Majeſty's Ships, which might arrive there from *Great Britain* to join him, to follow to the Rendezvous. Soon after they ſailed, the *Colcheſter* giving Chaſe, ſprung her Fore-maſt, and two Tranſports ſpringing very dangerous Leakes were ſent back to *Liſbon*. The 4th of *May* the Fleet got the Length of *Gibraltar*, and the *Defiance* made ſail a-head, in order to put on Shoar at that Place the Money and Recruits ſhe had on board, and with a Letter from the Admiral to the Governor to know his Wants. Soon after the Admiral coming open with the Gariſon, was ſaluted with 21 Guns, which he returned. Here he expected to have been joined by the *Burford* and *Naſſau*, which Ships he had ſent before from *Liſbon* to land the Emperor of *Morocco*'s Ambaſſador at *Gibraltar*, &c. and then to cruize off of the *Streights* Mouth till he arrived; but ſome Days before he got thither, they met and engaged off of Cape *Spartel*; the *Happy Return*, a Ship taken by the Enemy the laſt War, which was Convoy to ſome Merchant-Men bound from *Marſeilles* to *Weſt-France*; they took the Man of War, but the Merchant-Men by the Favour of the Night made their Eſcape; but the *Burford* and *Naſſau* were ſo diſabled, the former by ſpringing her Bowſprit in boarding the *Frenchman*, and the latter in her Rigging, that the Admiral was obliged to leave them behind to repair their Damages, with Orders to join him at *Barcelona*. Whilſt they were in that Station, they likewiſe forced a-ſhoar a Privateer of 24 Guns, which the Enemy burnt; they alſo took a Letter of Mart Man of 30 Guns.

The next Morning Sir *John* paſſed the *Streights* Mouth, and detach'd the *Defiance*, *Northumberland* and *Dunkirk*, with Orders to call at *Alicant*, and after the Delivery of ſome Money, *&c.* which was on board the *Dunkirk*, for the Uſe of that Gariſon, to make the beſt of their Way to *Barcelona*, to acquaint his Majeſty the King of *Spain* of his Approach. To the Captain of the *Defiance*, Commandant, he likewiſe gave Inſtructions, upon his Arrival at *Barcelona*, to ſend an

Expreſs to Mr. *Mead* the Paymaſter of the Forces, who, he had been informed by the Lord *Galway*, was at *Tarragona*, to acquaint him, there was Money on board the Fleet for his Majeſty and the Service of the Army in *Catalonia*, deſiring him without Delay to repair to *Barcelona* to receive it; and alſo to acquaint his Catholick Majeſty, that Sir *John* was only to touch at *Barcelona* to receive his Commands, and from thence proceed to *Vada* in *Italy*. He was likewiſe to wait upon the Vice-Roy, and acquaint him that the Admiral would ſalute the Gariſon with 21 Guns as ſoon as he came to Anchor, if he might be aſſured of being anſwered with the like Number, of which he deſired to have timely Notice on his Appearance off of that Place.

Theſe three Ships in their Paſſage were joined by the *Sorlings*, and having had the good Fortune to meet with and take a Ship of the Enemy's of 24 Guns, they learnt that a *French* Convoy was not far off, conſiſting of three Men of War of 44, 40, and 32 Guns, with 90 Cettees and Tartans, laden with Wheat, Barley, Oats, Flour, and ſome Ammunition, bound for *Peniſcola*, for the Uſe of the Army under the Duke of *Orleans*, to enable them to carry on the Siege of *Tortoſa*. Upon this Intelligence they made the neceſſary Diſpoſitions for intercepting this Convoy, and the next Day, as ſoon as they appeared in Sight, the *Britiſh* Ships bore down upon the Men of War which convoyed them; whereupon they abandoned their Barks, endeavouring themſelves to make their Eſcape, being cloſely purſued. This was the 11th of *May*, when the Fleet with Sir *John Leake* being on their Way to *Barcelona*, about 14 Leagues from that Place; about two in the Afternoon the Admiral diſcovered ſeven Sail to the N. E. ſtanding to the Southward upon a Wind, the Wind being then at S. S. W. their Topſails juſt appearing above the Horizon, (which were the four Ships before-mentioned in Chaſe of the three *French*.) As ſoon as they were diſcovered, the *Eſſex*, which was ordered to keep a-head of the Fleet, and a *Dutch* Man of War gave Chaſe: At the ſame Time they ſaw a Number of ſmall Veſſels which were ſuppoſed to be Fiſhing Boats. But ſoon after, Sir *John* obſerving that one of the ſeven Sail fired ſeveral Guns, and the ſmall Veſſels thereupon made in to the Shoar, he concluded they were Enemies, immediately detach'd the *Cambridge* with the Tenders after them, and made the Signal for the Fleet to chaſe. It proved little Wind and calm the remaining Part of the Day, and all that Night, that he could not come up with any of them; however he ordered the Rear-Admiral to continue the Chaſe as well as he could all Night, being yet at a Loſs to know certainly what they were; but the next Morning a Tartan being taken, he was informed they were a *French* Convoy for *Peniſcola*. Whereupon

upon he detach'd the *Elizabeth*, *Reſtoration*, and *Sterling-Caſtle* off of that Place, to endeavour to intercept them or prevent their getting in there, with Orders to join him afterwards at *Barcelona*; and the Boats and Tenders with ſome Frigates, he directed to continue the Chaſe in Shoar after the ſmaller Veſſels. In ſhort, there was taken that Morning and the Evening before, no leſs than 75, and of thoſe that eſcaped our Boats, ſeveral were taken by the *Spaniards*, ſo that eight only got into *Peniſcola*: But the three *French* Men of War, their Convoy, had better Luck; for though they were ſo cloſely purſued, that the *Defiance* and *Dunkirk* got within half Gun-ſhot of them, they eſcaped by the Aſſiſtance of their Oars in the Calm, and under Favour of the Night, and two of them got into *Toulon*; but the third was afterwards taken by an *Engliſh* Frigate. By the Priſoners they learnt, that though the *French* had certain Advice of the Coming of the Confederate Fleet into the *Mediterranean*, and the Commander of the Convoy repreſented the manifeſt Danger they muſt be expoſed to of being intercepted; yet the Neceſſity of their Army was ſo great, they were obliged to attempt it. By this Succeſs upon the Enemy's Corn Fleet, *Barcelona* once more received an unexpected Deliverance: For as that City had formerly been relieved by Sir *John Leake* in the critical Minute, from abſolute Deſtruction, ſo the ſame good Fortune attended him now, to preſerve them from the Rage of Famine which threatened them. The Diſtreſs not only *Barcelona*, but the Army of the Allies were under for Want of Corn, is lively expreſſed in his Majeſty's Letter to Sir *John* of the 5th of *February* beforementioned; and what Advantages this fortunate Accident afforded the publick Affairs in *Spain*, King *Charles*'s Court and our Officers in *Catalonia* were very ſenſible of: They found themſelves relieved in the Manner which alone could anſwer their preſent Neceſſities; for by the King's Letter beforementioned, it is doubtful whether the Fleet could have proceeded for *Italy* till they had tranſported Corn to *Barcelona*, which would have taken up a conſiderable Time, and have given the Enemy great Advantage; whereas the Tranſportation of the Troops was by this Means furthered, the King of *Spain* and the Army had their Wants ſupplied, and at the Coſt of the Enemy, whoſe Diſappointment was adequate to the Neceſſity they were under, being hereby diſcouraged, diſtreſſed, and reduced to the very Circumſtance they had brought the Allies to, who now were encouraged to keep the Field, and the *Catalans* in general more engaged to the *Auſtrian* Intereſt.

This Piece of Succeſs, beſides the immediate Relief it brought to *Catalonia*, put the Enemy under great Apprehenſions from the Arrival of the Confederate Fleet, under the

Command of an Admiral, whoſe Bravery and good Fortune was ſo renowned in the *Mediterranean:* For by a Maſter of a Ship who was Priſoner at *Toulon*, they were informed, that as ſoon as the two Men of War of the Convoy came in there, bringing an Account of the Loſs of the Corn Fleet, and their own narrow Eſcape; the Inhabitants were under the greateſt Conſternation, dreading another Bombardment; their Fears continually ſuggeſting Sir *John* was coming thither, they diligently applied themſelves to make Fortifications upon the Hill, where the Duke of *Savoy* had his Battery: That there were 15 Sail of Three-deck'd Ships, and about 20, from 30 to 50 Guns, all unmaſted, and ready to be ſunk in Caſe of Neceſſity; and that they had re-inforced the Gariſon, and put two Battalions on the Iſles *Hyeres*, by reaſon of Sir *John*'s being ſo near with the Fleet. It was therefore upon all Accounts a very lucky Incident at the Beginning of a Campaign, and a good Earneſt of what might follow.

As ſoon as King *Charles* received this welcome News, he diſpatch'd a Felucca with the following Letter to Sir *John*, to congratulate his Arrival and good Succeſs.

The KING.

'Admiral LEAKE,

'UNDERSTANDING you are ſo near with the 'grand Fleet, and that your Deſign is to ſtay here but 'a ſhort Time, and alſo that you have deſtroyed the Convoy 'which the Enemy ſent to the Borders of *Tortoſa*, that they 'might with the Subſiſtence a-board beſiege that Place, finding myſelf in ſome Perplexity about what is done, I have 'thought good to ſend this Felucca, to manifeſt to you the 'great Pleaſure I have in the News of your Arrival, as well 'for the ſingular Conſequences it brings to the Good and 'Benefit of the common Cauſe; as that I can by Word of 'Mouth expreſs to you the Eſteem I have for your Perſon; 'and to inſinuate to you, how agreeable it will be to my 'Royal Deſire, to receive from yourſelf the Particulars of 'this Succeſs in deſtroying the Enemy's aforeſaid Convoy; 'for beſides the great Circumſtances included towards my 'Intereſt, it will be no ſmall Advantage to the Troops in 'this Army, that with this Convoy their Want of Grain 'may be ſupplied in ſome Meaſure on a ſtrict Occaſion. I 'am perſuaded from your known Zeal, that nothing will be 'wanting on your Part. In the Interim, as the Wind will 'permit the Arrival of the Fleet, it will be much to my Service that you come as ſoon as poſſible to the Court, that I 'may confer with you and Count *Staremberg*, who is come

'from the Camp, what may be moſt beneficial for my Ser-
'vice and the Good and Benefit of the common Cauſe.

Barcelona,
May 25, 1708. '*I the KING.*'

The 15th, Sir *John* came to an Anchor with the Fleet before *Barcelona*, and ſaluted the Town with 21 Guns, having previous thereto had the Promiſe of the Vice-Roy to return the like Number, which was accordingly performed. Here he found the *Defiance*, *Northumberland*, *Dunkirk*, *Sorlings* and *Faulcon* Pink, the latter (a Frigate of 32 Guns and 150 Men,) a little before her Arrival, having taken and brought in that Harbour, a *French* Frigete of 22 Guns and 164 Men, which made the Diſpute very ſharp; the Commander of the *Faulcon*, (Captain *Delaval*,) and 40 of the Crew being killed in the Action. The Prize having loſt her Fore and Main-maſt, and being otherwiſe very much damaged and out of Repair, Sir *John* ſent her to *Genova* to be diſpoſed of.

As the Neceſſity of *Barcelona* for Corn at that Time was very preſſing, his Majeſty deſired, that what had been taken from the Enemy, might be diſpoſed in his Magazines, they being very ill provided, which Sir *John* conſented to; and the Day after his Arrival, attended by the reſt of the Admirals, he went on Shoar to wait upon the King, who having Notice of it, had appointed proper Officers with Coaches to receive them at the Water Side. In this Manner they were conducted to the Palace, attended by Crowds of People, expreſſing their Sentiments of Gratitude, by repeated Cries of *Viva el Regna Anna*. When they arrived at the Court, they were received by a Battalion of the Foot-Guards drawn out upon that Occaſion, and were introduced to his Majeſty's Preſence by the Prince *de Lichtenſtein*, the Conde *de Oropeſca*, a Grandee of the firſt Rank, the Counts *Galves*, *Kolonitz*, and *Zinzendorf*; where was found a magnificent Appearance of Foreign Miniſters and Nobility. His Majeſty received Sir *John* with particular Marks of Eſteem and Affection, and the whole Court expreſſed the utmoſt Regard for his Perſon and Merits, and particularly with Regard to the Benefit they had received by his Succeſs upon the *French* Corn Fleet, and not ſeeming any Ways apprehenſive of Danger from the Enemy, now he was arrived.

CHAP. III.

He concerts with his Catholick Majeſty the further Operations of the Fleet; ſails from Barcelona, *arrives at* Vado *in* Italy: *Embarks the Troops; receives the Queen of* Spain *on board, and convoys them to* Barcelona.

AS ſoon as his Catholick Majeſty was informed of the Arrival of the Fleet upon the Coaſt of *Catalonia*, he ſent an Expreſs to Count *Staremberg*, at the Camp before *Tarragona*, to come with all Speed to confer with the Admiral, who he had deſired to come a-ſhoar for that Purpoſe; accordingly the Count left the Army immediately and came to *Barcelona* before the Fleet; and that no Time might be loſt, the ſame Day that Sir *John* was introduced to the King, a Conſultation was held about the Affairs of the preſent Conjuncture, which his Majeſty afterwards propoſed in the following Letter to him, that the ſame might be laid before a Council of War.

The KING.

'Admiral LEAKE,

'BEING deſirous that no Time be loſt in which the 'Fleet may expedite thoſe Operations which are moſt 'beneficial to the common Cauſe, and not doubting your 'Zeal in a Point of ſo eſſential Importance, you will be de'ſirous to enter upon thoſe Actions which may be advan'tageous and practicable; I put you in mind that the Safe'guard of theſe Coaſts is not of the leaſt Conſequence, not 'only in order to hinder the Enemy from conveying by Sea 'the Neceſſaries for their two Armies, on the Side of *Tortoſa*, 'and of that of *Lampurdan*, but alſo to the End, that my 'Royal Perſon may be more ſecure, by obviating any Con'tingencies to which it may be expoſed, if the Enemy ſhould 'have a free Paſſage by Sea. I think it of Importance, that 'ſeven or eight Frigates and Bomb-Ketches ſhould remain be'fore this Capital, and at my Diſpoſition, that they may be 'ready for any Affair that may offer; and that the reſt of 'the Fleet going for *Italy*, ſhould with all poſſible Speed tranſ'port the Troops which are to come from thence hither; for 'I conſider that very favourable Conſequences may attend 'theſe two Points when effected, which if not, may prove

'moſt

'moſt prejudicial; for the Enemy being ſuperior in Number 'to thoſe Troops which defend this Principality, (as it's ma- 'nifeſt by its being in ſome Manner oppreſs'd for want of an 'Army to make Head with) the Enemy will ſtreighten us 'yet more, if thoſe Succours which are ready in *Italy* ſhould 'be retarded, and would put in doubt thoſe Succeſſes which 'we may expect from their ſpeedy Arrival. That of the 'Queen is no leſs eſſential to this Principality, which if de- 'lay'd any longer, thoſe malicious Impreſſions which the 'Enemy endeavour to infuſe into my Subjects, and have al- 'ready reported, that I intended to leave this Country and go 'for *Italy*; and if they ſhould ſee any Delay of the Queen's 'Embarking in thoſe Parts, they would without doubt lay 'hold of this Conjuncture, to renew and ſpread the malicious 'Report; for which Reaſon, I am confident you will procure, 'that at the ſame Time, and in this ſame Voyage, (if poſſi- 'ble) the Troops which are ready to be embark'd, as well 'Cavalry as Foot; and the Queen (in caſe ſhe be ready to 'undertake the Voyage) may come together; which if ſhe 'be not in a few Days, it will be moſt reaſonable that the 'Tranſportation of the Succours, which are ſo much wanted, 'ſhould on no Account be delayed. And whereas it is moſt 'requiſite, as well for the Subſiſtence of theſe, as thoſe which 'compoſe the Armies in *Catalonia*, that ſome Place ſhould be 'thought of, from whence there may be brought a ſufficient 'Quantity of Corn, ſeeing it is impoſſible, that what may be 'in this Principality, can in any Manner be proportionable to 'the preſent Want, although it were not exhauſted by what 'it has already ſupplied, and ſome Part of it being poſſeſſed 'by the Enemy: As likewiſe, that the plentiful Harveſt, 'which is this Year expected, has been ſhortened by being 'obliged to make uſe of great Part thereof for Forage. I 'think it very convenient you ſhould take into your Conſide- 'ration, the Expedition of *Sardinia*, in the Conqueſt of which 'the Security of Proviſions for the Troops will conſiſt; be- 'lieving it may be effected, by the reiterated Advices from 'thence, that that Kingdom is diſpoſed to comply with their 'Obligation, in rendering their Obedience to me, as ſoon as 'they can have Aſſiſtance with which to free themſelves from 'the Yoke of *France*; ſeeing therefore the Natives ſo well 'diſpoſed, 'tis not to be doubted, but that with a ſmall 'Number of Troops, that will be effected which they ſo 'much deſire, and will be of the greateſt Importance for 'the ſubſiſting the Troops.

'I conjecture, it may be eaſy for the Fleet in its Paſſage 'to *Italy*, and without loſing the Opportunity of a fair 'Wind, to ſhew itſelf on the Coaſt of *France*, which very 'naturally might occaſion Confuſion and Jealouſies, from

'which a diſmembring of their Troops in *Lampurdan* may 'ariſe: It is a fertile Country, and might ſubſiſt very well 'the Troops that defend it; by which Means they may be 'able to gain ſome Paſſes which they may maintain, and 'oblige the Enemy to abandon a great Part of that Country.

'The Expedition of *Sicily* may conſequently be effected 'with an indifferent Number of Troops, Count *Daun* hav-'ing with him ſufficient for that Enterprize, if he had but 'ſome Ships to ſecond him; good Conſequences may be the 'Reſult of it; for which Reaſon it would be proper to ſend 'ſome Ships for that Expedition; when, though it may not 'take Effect, yet the Conſequence would be, driving from '*Faro* and the adjacent Parts, the Embarkations which the 'Enemy have there; hindering the Paſſage of Proviſions for 'the Supply of *Naples*, and the Troops which keep it, the 'entire Liberty of the Gariſon of *Tuſcany*, which only wants 'a little Excitation to rid themſelves of thoſe Moleſtations 'which the Neighbourhood of the Enemy occaſions. This 'is worthy of Reflections; for this Impediment once re-'moved, the Peace of *Italy* is ſecured, and there will be no 'Fear or Jealouſy left behind us, that may put a Stop to a 'vigorous Operation in the Enemy's Country: And if to this 'Intent your Vigilance could direct ſome Ships, it might be 'attempted; as likewiſe that you leave two ſmall Frigates 'for ready and ſpeedy Advice from hence to *Italy*; for al-'though there are ſome Pinks and Feluccas deſigned for this 'Purpoſe, hitherto they have not come with that Speed the 'publick Affairs require.

'The foregoing Circumſtances, being what ſeem to include 'what is moſt eſſential for the publick Good, I hope you will 'ſeriouſly reflect upon what I write, and that you will adviſe 'me your Opinion of it, and that of the Fleet; not doubt-'ing but that you'll be unanimous to proſecute what you may 'think moſt advantageous; which correſponds with that en-'tire Love and that Activity, with which you have always 'procured to carry on the Juſtice of my Cauſe, and with it 'the Convenience and univerſal Quiet of *Europe*.

From *Barcelona*,
May 28, 1708, N. S. '*I the* KING.'

Upon this Letter, Sir *John* held a Council of War on board the *Albemarle*, in the Bay of *Barcelona*, the 18th of *May*, and they came to this unanimous Reſolution: That purſuant to his Majeſty's Deſire in the ſaid Letter, ſeven Ships, five of them *Engliſh* and two *Dutch*, ſhould be left to cruize upon the Coaſt of *Catalonia*, till the Return of the Fleet from *Italy*, to put in Execution all ſuch Commands of his Majeſty the King

of

of *Spain*, for the Security of that Coaſt, as ſhould be judged practicable by a Council of War of all the Commanders of the ſaid Ships; and that they ſhould proceed with the reſt of the Fleet the next Morning (if the Wind preſented) to *Vado* in *Italy*, to tranſport the Horſe and Foot to *Barcelona*, and likewiſe to bring her Majeſty the Queen of *Spain*, if ſhe was ready to embark on board the Fleet; and after the Troops were landed, to proceed on ſuch further Services as ſhould be judged practicable by a Council of War for the Fleet to undertake: And it was further reſolved, that the *Poole*, (when ſhe arrived there) ſhould be ordered to follow the Fleet with ſuch Letters as his Majeſty ſhould pleaſe to ſend to *Italy* by her; and that two Ships were to be detach'd before the Fleet to *Genova*, to give Notice of their coming to take in the Troops, when they got the Length of *Toulon*. According to theſe Reſolutions, Sir *John* appointed Captain *Evans* Commadore in the *Burford*, with the *Cambridge*, *Naſſau*, *Colcheſter*, *Sorlings*, *Gouda* and *Zeeland*, (and any other Ships that might afterwards arrive at *Barcelona*, in order to join the Fleet) to cruize upon the Coaſt of *Catalonia*, eſpecially off of *Peniſcola* and the Coaſt of *Valencia*, to intercept any Convoys of the Enemy; and Captain *Stanhope* with the *Milford* and *Poole*, to bring after him to *Italy* the King of *Spain*'s Letters. He likewiſe left Orders at *Barcelona*, directed to the Commanders of all Ships that were ordered to join the Fleet, to put themſelves under the Orders of the Commander in Chief of her Majeſty's Ships appointed to cruize on the Coaſt of *Catalonia*.

The Noblemen, to whom the King of *Spain* committed the Care of his Bride, were, the young Prince of *Lichtenſtein*, the Count *Oropeſca*, the Counts *Galves* and *Kolonitz*: With theſe Sir *John* departed from *Barcelona* the 19th, his Squadron then conſiſting of 22 Sail of the Line, two Frigates, two Fireſhips, three Bombs, two Hoſpitals, and the *Iſabella* Yacht, and with the Convoy of Tranſports, *&c.* making about 89 Sail of all Sorts. In his Paſſage, on the 22d Inſtant, he diſpatch'd the *Defiance* and *Dunkirk*, to make the beſt of their Way before him to *Genova*, with his Letters to Mr. *Crow*, the *Britiſh* Conſul at that Place, and Mr. *Chetwynd*, her Majeſty's Envoy at the Court of *Turin*; and in the ſame Ships he ſent the Agent for Tranſportation, that he might prepare every Thing relating to his Duty againſt his Arrival; and directed the *Dunkirk* to bring from thence the *Dutch* Tranſports to join him at *Vado*. His Letter to Mr. *Crow*, was chiefly in relation to victualling the Fleet with freſh Proviſions, whilſt they continued in *Italy*, as a neceſſary Refreſhment, and what would very much contribute to keep them in Health; deſiring him for that Purpoſe, to procure Cattle to be brought to *Vado*, and likewiſe

likewiſe a Fortnight's Bread, and Calavances for 6350 Men; His Letter which he ſent at the ſame Time to the *Engliſh* Envoy was only to acquaint him of his Coming, to make his Compliments to the Duke of *Savoy*, and to deſire if he had any Intelligence of the Enemy at *Toulon*, he would communicate it to him.

In his Paſſage he received a Letter from the Conde *de Savillac*, Vice-Roy of *Majorca*, congratulating his Arrival in thoſe Seas, and propoſing an Expedition againſt *Minorca*; to which he could only anſwer at that Time; that as it was the utmoſt of his Ambition to be capable of ſerving the King of *Spain*, ſo nothing would be more agreeable to him, than to have it in his Power to put a Project in Execution that would contribute ſo particularly to his Excellency's Satisfaction, as that of the Reduction of *Port-Mahon*; and he aſſured his Excellency, that no Deſign ſhould be propoſed to him, which could be thought for the Intereſt of his Majeſty, which he would not promote with all imaginable Diligence, as far as he ſhould be capable with the Fleet he had the Honour to command.

The 23d, they had hard Gales of Wind, at N. N. W. N. W. and W. N. W. About eight at Night the *Blaſt* Bomb made the Signal of Diſtreſs; whereupon the Admiral brought to and try'd under a Main-ſail till next Morning, and then not ſeeing her, he made Sail, under Apprehenſions ſhe was loſt, the hard Gales of Wind continuing all the next Day. The 24th at Night, the Admiral lay by again, to give the Sternmoſt Ships an Opportunity of coming up with him, ſeveral of the Tranſports having received Damage, and ſome made the Signal of Diſtreſs. The next Morning he lay by again, and had the Satisfaction to be joined by the *Blaſt* Bomb, but much damaged, for having taken in a great deal of Water, ſhe was forced to put afore the Wind, and was in great Danger of Foundering. The two following Days they continued to ply to windward with moderate Gales and fair Weather; and the 29th, at five in the Morning, Sir *John* anchered with the Fleet at *Vado*, in the Territories of the Republick of *Genova*, three Miles from *Savona*; the Caſtle of *Savona* ſaluting him upon his Appearance off of that Place with 11 Guns, and a ſecond Salute as ſoon as he anchored in the Bay, which he returned with a like Number. As ſoon as he arrived, the following Letter was brought him from Mr. *Chetwynd*, her Majeſty's Envoy at the Court of *Turin*.

'SIR,

Turin, June 7, 1708. N. S.

'SIR,

'I Received this Morning the Honour of your Letter of 'the 22d paſt, O. S. and it was a great Satisfaction to 'me to hear that you were well, and were ſo near to us, for 'I have expected you in theſe Seas for above theſe ſix Weeks. 'I received at the ſame Time with the Honour of your Let-'ter, an Account that you did appear off of *Final*, ſo I make 'no doubt but this will find you anchor'd at *Vado*.

'That no Time may be loſt in diſpatching the Service in 'Hand, I muſt deſire that you will let me know by the Re-'turn of this Courier, for what Number of Men and Horſe 'you are provided to tranſport, with the Number each Ship 'can carry, that I may inform the Generals of it, and con-'cert with them the March to the Sea Side, as well as what 'elſe may be neceſſary to facilitate this Embarkation. The 'Troops the Queen is to provide every Thing for, as I ſup-'poſe you are informed, are near 2000 Horſe and 4000 'Foot, which, with the Officers, Servants, and their Equi-'pages will go conſiderably higher. According to the Or-'ders which I had from *England*, I have provided the neceſ-'ſary Subſiſtence both for Man and Horſe, for the Time they 'may be ſuppoſed to ſtay on board, of which you will be left 'the Judge; but as for the Tranſports, I have not provided 'any, Lord *Sunderland* having wrote me Word, that you 'would bring what were ſufficient: For the Part which the 'States-General are to provide, it is already done, and the 'Tranſpores are ready at *Genova*.

'There being ſo many different Things to ſettle in this 'Embarkation, that I am afraid they cannot be done at this 'Diſtance; ſo I do propoſe, if you approve of it, to ſend for 'the Generals and come with them to wait on you at *Vado*, 'where we may be better able to fix upon the moſt proper 'Meaſures; and I ſhall keep myſelf ready to leave this Place 'upon your Orders; if not ſo, you muſt ſend ſome Perſon or 'other hither, who may be well informed of your Intentions, 'that I may regulate every Thing with him. As the Gene-'rals have Orders to concert all Matters with me, and follow 'the Directions I ſhall give them, I can ſend for them, or de-'ſire them to meet you as you ſhall judge beſt, and your 'Anſwer ſhall determine me; ſo that I will not trouble you 'any further in this Affair till I have the Honour to hear from 'you again.

'I muſt take Notice to you, that beſides the Troops, the 'Queen of *Spain*, and her Retinue have vaſt Equipages with

'them, which they do expect will be tranſported, and her 'Miniſters have addreſſed themſelves to me about them; but 'my Anſwer hitherto has been, that I could do nothing till 'your Arrival; ſo I deſire you will be pleaſed to let me 'know what Anſwer to give theſe Miniſters.

'I have made your Compliments to the Duke of *Savoy*, 'who is very well pleaſed to hear of your Arrival in theſe 'Parts, and much obliged to you for the Offers of your Ser-'vice; he has alſo ordered me to aſſure you, if there be any 'Thing for the Queen's or your Service in his State, you may 'be ſure of his Readineſs to comply with your Demands.

'I have had nothing new from *Toulon* of late, but I have 'given ſuch Orders, that if there were any Thing I ſhould 'have been informed of it; and as any Thing may occur 'during your Stay in thoſe Parts, I ſhall not fail to impart it 'to you.

'I muſt beg Leave to felicitate you at the good Succeſs 'you had in deſtroying and taking the Enemy's Convoy of 'Proviſions. I do take it to be of ſo great a Conſequence to 'our Affairs in *Spain*, that nothing can be more; and I 'queſtion now, if the Duke of *Orleans* can pretend to act 'offenſively, or even keep his Footing in *Catalonia*: I am 'glad of this Occaſion to begin my Acquaintance with you, 'and to offer you my Services in theſe Parts, as being with 'great Truth, *&c.*

'J. CHETWYND.'

To this Letter Sir *John* immediately returned the following Anſwer.

Albemarle, in the Bay of *Vado*, *May* 29, 1708.

'SIR,

'THIS Morning at ſeven o'Clock I was honoured with 'your Letter of the 7th of *June*, N. S. and take 'Leave to acquaint you in Anſwer, that the Tranſports I 'brought with me are of ſeveral Burthens, which I have 'computed will be ſufficient to carry 1560 Horſes, more 'than which I could not procure, unleſs I had ſtay'd a Fort-'night longer for the unloading of ſome Merchant Ships. 'The 4000 Foot I propoſe to take on board the Men of 'War; and as to the Queen's Equipage, her Coaches may 'be diſpoſed of in the Tranſports; and if there be any Em-'barkations to be hired at *Genova*, I have ordered the Agent 'belonging to the Tranſport-Office, to take up as many as 'he can poſſibly procure; and I hope I ſhall be in a Con-

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'dition to accommodate this Matter without making a ſecond 'Trip. I do intend to ſend Sir *Thomas Hardy*, my firſt Captain, to wait upon the Queen at *Milan*, to ſettle the Affairs about her Majeſty's Embarkation; and believe (if the 'Trouble were not too great) that it will be neceſſary that 'yourſelf or ſome of the General-Officers ſhould come to 'me, to ſettle the Embarkation of the Horſe and Foot, as 'judging it cannot be effectually regulated by any Perſon that 'I can ſend to wait on you at *Turin*.

'*I am*, &c.

'J. LEAKE.'

'*P. S.* The King of *Spain* has deſired, if we have not ſuf-'ficient Embarkations for all the ſerviceable Horſe, that his 'own may be left behind.'

The ſame Day Orders were ſent to Mr. *Wardlaw*, the Agent for Tranſportation, to hire Ships at *Genova*, to carry about 600 Horſes more, and to ſend them with the Ships the *Dutch* had then ready at that Place to carry their Quota, (which was 500) together with ſome Corn and Hay, which had been bought up there. The *Northumberland* was likewiſe diſpatch'd ſoon after to *Genova*, to haſten away the Tranſports with Corn and Hay, for the Uſe of the Horſe, and bring them to *Vado*; and the *Faulcon* was ſent to *Leghorn* to clean and refit.

Soon after his Arrival at *Vado*, Sir *John* diſpatch'd Sir *Thomas Hardy*, Knt. his Firſt Captain, to *Milan*, to wait on her Majeſty the Queen of *Spain*, to know her Pleaſure about the Embarkation of her Perſon and Court, whilſt he was preparing for that of the Troops; but finding that above a third Part of the Hay and Corn for the Horſes was at *Leghorn*, and it was very uncertain, whether a ſufficient Number of Veſſels could be taken up at that Place to bring it to him, he ſent 10 Tranſports under Convoy of four Men of War to that Place to bring it from thence; whereas had any Advice thereof met him at *Barcelona*, he could have ſent ſome Tranſports before him to have brought it to *Vado*; which, as the Winds happened in his Paſſage, might have got thither ſome Days before he arrived there, ſo that though he came compleatly ready to embark the Troops, he was now neceſſiated to remain at leaſt three Weeks or a Month longer. Theſe Ships with the Tranſports for *Leghorn*, ſailed from *Vado* the firſt of *June*; the next Day Sir *John* received the following Inſtructions from her Majeſty.

A. R.

Inſtructions for our truſty and well-beloved Sir John Leake, *Knt. Admiral of the White Squadron of our Fleet, and Admiral and Commander in Chief of our Fleet in the* Mediterranean, &c. *Given at our Court at* Kenſington, *the 4th Day of* May, 1708, *in the 7th Year of our Reign.*

WHEREAS we are certainly informed, that the Pope has not only promoted and encouraged the late intended Invaſion of our Dominions, by the pretended Prince of *Wales*, aſſiſted by the *French*, but has alſo advanced a very conſiderable Sum of Money for that End, and has in the moſt publick and inſolent Manner, ordered Prayers in the Churches of *Rome* for the Succeſs of this Expedition, which is an Affront of the higheſt Nature to our Perſon, Crown and Dignity, to the *Britiſh* Nation, and to all our Allies: We therefore think it highly juſt and reaſonable, that not only a Reparation be made to us for ſo high an Affront, but alſo the Expences to which this Expedition has put us and our People, be in ſome Meaſure repaid us. You are therefore, when you ſhall be arrived with our Fleet in the *Mediterranean*, in caſe it be found conſiſtent with the other Services for which you are ſent thither, to repair in Perſon with the whole Fleet under your Command, or to order ſuch a Number of Ships, as in a Council of War ſhall be judged ſufficient, to repair to the Coaſt of *Italy*; and at *Cevitta Vecchia*, or ſuch other Port belonging to the Pope, as ſhall be judged moſt proper. Yourſelf in Perſon, or the Commander in Chief of ſuch Detachment of our Fleet, are to demand of the Pope, the Sum of 400,000 Crowns, giving the Reaſons afore-mentioned for ſo doing; and acquainting him, that if this Demand be not inſtantly complied with, his Country is to be put under military Execution; which, in caſe of a Refuſal or Delay, is to be performed, by burning and deſtroying his Ports and Shipping, and by any other Means that ſhall be judged moſt proper.

A. R.

Theſe Inſtructions were accompanied by the following Letter from the Secretary of State.

SIR,

Whitehall, May 7, 1708.

'SIR,

'I Send you incloſed an Inſtruction, to demand Satisfaction 'of the Pope, for the Aſſiſtance he has given in a moſt 'publick and inſolent Manner to the late Invaſion. The 'Queen could do no leſs to aſſert her own Honour and Dig-'nity and that of the Nation; and I don't doubt, but as 'far as is conſiſtent with the main Services you are ſent upon, 'you will execute it in ſuch a Manner as will ſtrike a Terror 'into the *Italian* Princes for the future. I hope by this Time 'you are far advanced in your Way to *Barcelona*, where you are 'very much wanted. I expect impatiently our next Letters from '*Liſbon*, in hopes they will tell us of your being ſailed ſome 'Time from thence. I am, with great Truth,

'*SIR*,

'*Your moſt*, &c.

'SUNDERLAND.'

Upon this Occaſion, a Council of War was called the next Day, *June* 3; wherein having conſidered theſe Inſtructions, together with the Expedition they were then upon, and the ſeveral Detachments that had already been made from the Fleet, they found themſelves unable to make any further Detachments from the Fleet, which was but ſufficient to make a Tranſportation of the Troops, all the Men of War being to carry a Proportion of the Infantry; and therefore it was reſolved, that after the Troops were landed at *Catalonia*, to take a further Reſolution in putting her Majeſty's ſaid Inſtructions relating to the Pope in Execution, with regard to the general Orders and Inſtructions to be performed by the Fleet that Campaign; and Sir *John* immediately returned an Anſwer to the Lord *Sunderland* thereupon, *viz.*

Albemarle, in the Bay of *Vado*, *June* 3, 1708.

'My LORD,

'YESTERDAY I was honoured with your Lordſhip's 'Letter of the 7th *ultimo*, and her Majeſty's Inſtruc-'tions, commanding me to demand Satisfaction of the Pope, 'which I have communicated to the Flag-Officers and ſome 'of the ſenior Captains at a Council of War, and herewith

'ſend

'ſend your Lordſhip the Reſult. Vice-Admiral *Waſſenaer* 'has ſent an Expreſs to the States-General for their Orders in 'this Affair; but if he has not an Anſwer, and that an Or-'der does not come to him before the Troops are landed in '*Catalonia*, we may probably have his Company, but cannot 'expect his joining with us in our Endeavours to oblige the 'Pope to comply with her Majeſty's Demands.

'I arrived with the Fleet at this Place on the 29th *ultimo*, 'where I am doubtful I ſhall be detained three Weeks or a 'Month longer: For though I came hither compleatly ready 'to embark the Troops, finding that above a third Part of 'the Hay and Corn for the Horſes was at *Leghorn*; I was 'obliged to ſend 10 Tranſports under Convoy of four Men of 'War for it. If I am capable of ſerving your Lordſhip in 'theſe Parts, your Lordſhip will do me a very great Honour 'in preſenting me with an Occaſion of ſhewing, that I am, 'with the greateſt Reſpect,

'*My* LORD,

'*Your Lordſhip's*, &c.

'J. LEAKE.'

To the Right Honourable the Earl of *Sunderland*, one of the Principal Secretaries of State to her Majeſty of *Great-Britain*.

The ſame Day Sir *John* received the following Letter from Prince *de Lichtenſtein*.

Barcelona, *June* 11, 1708, N. S.

'SIR,

'HIS Catholick Majeſty has with an entire Satisfaction, 'underſtood by a Courier, who arrived here from '*Italy* Yeſterday, that the 6th of this Month you appeared 'with the Fleet off of *Final*, having obtained both a happy 'and ſpeedy Paſſage. He was at the ſame Time informed, 'that her Majeſty arrived at *Milan* the 31ſt of *May*, and 'that ſhe will ſpeedily repair to the Sea-Side in order to em-'bark; ſo that he promiſes himſelf, that all the Diſpoſitions 'will be ready to embark her, as likewiſe the Troops as ſoon 'as poſſible, according as he has ordered me to recommend it 'to you by the Preſent. He has likewiſe directed me to en-'treat you, inſtantly to ſend the Packet of Letters, which 'the Frigate by which this comes, brings you, to his Governor 'of *Final*, who has the neceſſary Orders to direct it to the

'Place

'Place where it is to go. I am very glad, in the Interim, to 'have the Occaſion to aſſure you of my Reſpect, and to teſtify, 'that

'*I am*, &c.

'*The Prince* DE LICHTENSTEIN.'

The 7th, the *Defiance* was ordered to carry ſome Money from *Genova* to *Barcelona*, for the Uſe of the King of *Spain*; and it having been repreſented to the Admiral, that there would be frequent Occaſions to ſend Money thither; he left general Orders to all Ships that ſhould arrive there, to proceed from Time to Time with ſuch Sums of Money for his Majeſty's Service. Two Days after, Sir *Thomas Hardy* returned from *Millan*, bringing an Account, that her Majeſty would be ready in 10 or 12 Days to come to *Genova*; but that ſhe would not go into that City, which did not acknowledge her for Queen of *Spain*, but would embark without the Town near the *Lanthorn*.

In the mean Time the Agent for Tranſportation, which the Admiral had appointed at *Genova* to hire Tranſports, notwithſtanding his utmoſt Diligence, could not procure them; for the People of that Republick, taking Advantage of the urgent Neceſſity they found the Fleet was under of having them, would not lett their Ships, but at very extravagant Prices; ſo that the Agent acquainted Sir *John*, that unleſs he would interpoſe and make an abſolute Demand, he ſaw no Likelihood of procuring them; whereupon he thought fit to ſend to the Doge and Senators of *Genova* the following Letter.

Albemarle in *Vado* Bay, *June* 9, O. S. 1708.

'Moſt ſerene DOGE, and moſt excellent SENATORS,

'I Cannot do otherwiſe in Duty to my Royal Miſtreſs, than 'repreſent to your Serenity and Excellencies, that having 'Occaſion for ſome Veſſels for the Tranſportation of the 'Forces, which are to be embarked here for the Service of 'his moſt Catholick Majeſty, I have employed an Officer, 'to take up as many as was thought neceſſary at your City of '*Genova* for the aforeſaid Service; but upon his Application, 'am informed, that many of your Serenity's and Excellencies Subjects, have very unkindly refuſed to lett their Veſſels, 'though otherwiſe unemployed; and that others have conſented 'to treat, but demand double the Freight that has been uſually 'paid: Furthermore, having had Occaſion for, and therefore hired ſeveral Embarkations to bring Hay, &c. to the 'Fleet, in order to its being diſtributed amongſt the Tranſport Ships, their Maſters have afterwards refuſed to ſerve

'acccording to their Contracts. I am the more concerned 'thereat, as conſidering the Kindneſs my Royal Miſtreſs has 'for your Republick, and that your Subjects have always 'carried on their Navigation and Commerce, without the 'leaſt Interruption from the Officers that have the Honour of 'commanding in her Majeſty's Royal Navy. But I doubt 'not but that your Serenity and Excellencies will give ſuch 'Direction herein, as that I may neither want Veſſels on 'this important Occaſion, nor be impoſed upon in the Pay-'ment for Freight.

'*I am*,

'*Moſt ſerene Doge, and excellent Senators*,

'*Your Serenity's and Excellencies*

'*Moſt humble Servant*,

'J. LEAKE.'

To the moſt ſerene Doge, and moſt excellent Senators of the Republick of *Genova*.

This Letter very much alarmed the State, which juſtly apprehended the utmoſt Danger from the Reſentments of the *Britiſh* Fleet, at that Time abſolute Maſters of the *Mediterranean*; and had it been thought adviſeable, could ſoon have obliged them to acknowledge King *Charles* for King of *Spain*; they were conſcious too, no doubt, as Sir *John* obſerved to them, how freely they had been permitted to carry on their Commerce, upon which they wholly depended: For theſe Reaſons there was no Room to doubt but his Letter would have a proper Influence, which indeed it had; for as ſoon as it was received, a Council was held, and Orders were inſtantly given to conform in every Reſpect with the Admiral's Demands, and an Anſwer was preſently diſpatch'd to him at *Vado* by Expreſs, as follows.

To his Excellency Admiral LEAKE.

'SIR,

'PURSUANT to the particular Attention which our 'Republick has always had for the real Service of her 'Majeſty of *Great-Britain*, and conformable to the preſſing 'Inſtances which your Excellency has made at preſent; we 'have given Orders to the Officers of our Bench, not to per-'mit the leaſt Failure in the Obſervance of the Contracts al-'ready agreed upon, in regard to what this Fleet ſhall have

'Oc-

'Occaſion for, nor ſuffer the leaſt Alteration in the Prices, 'more than what is reaſonable and cuſtomary; having it very 'much at Heart, that the Commanders and others of her 'Majeſty's Officers, and in particular your Excellency, for 'whom we have ſo great an Eſteem, do continue to find all 'Manner of Conveniency in theſe Ports, and receive the 'greateſt Facility from our People, as you may ſee by the 'Effects upon every Occaſion: So much we do aſſure your 'Excellency of, in deſiring you will always approve of our 'Obedience to ſo great a Queen, and we wiſh you all Hap-'pineſs. *Genova, June* 23, 1708, N. S.

'*Your Excellency's Servants,*

'*The Doge and Governors of the Republick of* Genova.

'GU. GRANAZA, *Secretary of State.*
'CESTANTINO PINELLI.'

After this the Tranſports were provided at *Genova* with much Facility, and thoſe that had agreed, readily performed their Contracts, and all imaginable Diligence was uſed to get them ready. The 18th of *June*, Sir *John* received a Letter from Monſ. *Amede* from *Turin*, deſiring he would ſend ſome Perſon of Truſt to confer with in Relation to the Embarkation of the Queen and Forces, whereupon he diſpatch'd Sir *John Norris* thither, with Directions to concert the neceſſary Preliminaries, which having done, he returned the 25th. About the ſame Time Sir *John* received ſeveral Letters, which, with ſome other Occurrences, ſhall be conſidered, whilſt the Preparations for the Embarkation of the Troops are carrying on at *Vado*, *Genova*, and *Leghorn*.

The firſt was a Letter from Count *Daun*, Vice-Roy of *Naples*, to know if he had any Orders relating to that Kingdom and *Sicily*, to which he returned an Anſwer the 12th of *June*, That he had not received any Orders from her Majeſty, relating particularly to thoſe two Kingdoms; but as his Catholick Majeſty was pleaſed, in his Letter to him of the 28th *ultimo*, to recommend the Reduction of *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, he held a Council of War, whereat it was determined, after the Tranſportation of the Troops from *Genova*, to undertake the other Services propoſed: That he begged Leave to aſſure his Excellency, he had ſo particular a Regard for the Service of his Catholick Majeſty, that it was with Concern he was obliged to acquaint him, that the many Detachments which have been made from the Fleet, rendered it impracticable for him to undertake any Thing till the Troops were embark'd and landed, there being ſeveral Ships cruizing in the *Streights*

Mouth, for the Protection of our Commerce, and Annoyance of the Enemy, ſome on the Coaſt of *Catalonia*, ſome at *Leghorn*, and others at *Genova*; inſomuch, that he was jealous the Service he was immediately upon, and which was of ſo great Importance, could not, without great Difficulty, be performed.

His Catholick Majeſty's Letter to Admiral LEAKE.

'SIR,

'I Am informed of your happy Arrival in *Italy*, and the 'ſame Time of that of the Queen my Spouſe at *Millan*. 'I hope you have found all the Diſpoſitions ready, as well 'for embarking of her as the Succours which you are to 'bring to *Spain*. I promiſe myſelf from your great Zeal, 'that you'll uſe all poſſible Diligence to procure me with 'Speed, the Joy which I ſhall have at the Arrival of the one 'and the other. The Enemy having beſieged my Town of '*Tortoſa*, ſince the 10th Inſtant, you may judge of the great 'Neceſſity of haſtening the Tranſportation of the Troops and 'of my Queen, by the bad Conſequence that may attend the 'Loſs of this Place, if we ſhould be ſo unfortunate as not to 'relieve it. As I owe the Obligation of the Deliverance of 'this Capital, to the Diligence which you uſed to come to 'my Relief in the Year 1706, I hope you'll do the ſame for 'the Preſervation of the ſaid Town of *Tortoſa*, which I 'think to be of no leſs Conſequence in the preſent Poſture of 'Affairs. In the Interim I pray God to have you in his holy 'Care, and aſſure you of my perfect Eſteem and Thank-'fulneſs.

Barcelona,
June 20, 1708. 'CHARLES.'

This Letter was quickly followed by another from his Majeſty to Sir *John*.

'SIR,

'I Write the preſent to repeat what I acquainted you with 'in my laſt, a Duplicate of which you'll find joined here-'unto. As the Enemy daily carries on the Siege of my 'Town of *Tortoſa* with great Vigour, and that there's great 'Reaſon to fear it cannot hold out long againſt the ſharp At-'tacks of the Enemy, at leaſt, if it cannot be ſuccoured 'ſuddenly; I hope you'll omit nothing that may haſten[a] the 'Tranſporta-

[a] The King of *Spain* has written to Sir *John Leake*, to deſire him to make all poſſible Haſte: But theſe Exhortations ought to have been

'Tranſportation of the Troops, and of the Queen my Spouſe; 'and that the former may be ſpeedily tranſported, and, in 'Conjunction with thoſe already here, attempt the Succour of 'my ſaid Town, and receive the Orders from the Count *de* '*Starembergh*, you'll do me a moſt agreeable Service in diſ-'poſing Affairs in ſuch Manner, that the ſaid Troops may be 'diſembark'd at *Salo*, and if it's poſſible, the Tranſports may 'be ſent before with a Convoy; and the reſt of the Fleet 'may ſerve to conduct the Queen my Spouſe. In the Interim, 'I pray God keep you in his holy Care, and aſſure you of 'my perfect and conſtant Eſteem and Thankfulneſs.

Barcelona, *June* 26,
1708, N. S. 'CHARLES.'

To theſe two Letters, Sir *John* returned the following Anſwer by the *Milford*.

Albemarle, *June* 25, 1708, O. S.

'SIR,

'I Am honoured with your Majeſty's Letter, and moſt 'humbly beg Leave in Anſwer thereto, to lay before 'your Majeſty, that I was obliged on my Arrival here, not 'only to take up a good Number of Embarkations at *Genova*, 'but to ſend four Men of War and 10 Tranſports to *Leghorn* 'for Part of the Forage for the Horſes, which are not yet 'arrived; the fitting thoſe at *Genova*, and loading others at '*Leghorn*, having been retarded by bad Weather; but being 'now all ready, and the Wind fair, I expect them every Mo-'ment: That ſome Part of the Foot are arrived and on board, 'and I hope all the Horſe and the reſt of the Foot will not 'only get hither, but be embark'd by *Monday* or *Tueſday* 'Night; that her Catholick Majeſty is upon the Road and 'expected in two or three Days at *Genova*; ſo that as ſoon as 'it ſhall be her Majeſty's Pleaſure to embark, I ſhall proceed 'without Delay, if the Wind and Weather will permit me; 'and greatly hope to arrive timely enough to give the Troops 'I ſhall bring with me, an Opportunity, in Conjunction 'with your Majeſty's Army now in *Catalonia*, to relieve *Tor-'toſa*. Your Majeſty, by your wonted Royal Goodneſs, en-'courages me to hope, your Majeſty will believe I have been 'as diligent and expeditious as I could in getting ready the 'Embarkation, though I'm afraid the favourable Conſtruc-'tions your Majeſty is pleaſed to put upon my Actions, is 'chiefly, if not altogether, indebted to your Majeſty's Good-

been made ſomewhere elſe; for the Admiral has not loſt one Minute of Time to get the Troops on board. See an Account from on board the Fleet in the *Political Mercury* for *July*, 1708.

'neſs. All that I can ſay is, that I ſhall always, with the 'ſtricteſt Application, take Pleaſure in demonſtrating, that

'*I am, SIR,*

'*Your Majeſty's*, &c.

'J. LEAKE.'

'*P. S.* Juſt as I was cloſing this, I received the Honour of 'your Majeſty's Letter of the 26th Inſtant, N. S. and hum-'bly take Leave to aſſure your Majeſty, that I will do every 'Thing that is poſſible for me to do for your Majeſty's Ser-'vice; but fear, as the Troops are diſpoſed in all the Ships of 'War, I ſhall be obliged to land the Queen before they can 'proceed to *Salo*, and therefore beg your Majeſty will pleaſe 'to give Directions, that her Majeſty may be landed as ſoon 'as I arrive at *Matero*.

'J. LEAKE.'

In the mean Time Sir *John* received the two following Let-ters, in relation to the Queen's Embarkation.

'SIR,

'I Did not think I ought to ſend Captain *Weis* again, with-'out a few Lines, to thank you for the Favours he in-'forms me he has received from you. I am infinitely ſorry 'that I had not this Honour myſelf, to teſtify my Thankful-'neſs to you; but the Obligation I am under to ſerve her 'Majeſty will not allow me to be abſent, and, Sir, you may 'believe this is the Reaſon that I was not with you before, to 'adjuſt every Thing neceſſary relating to the Tranſportation 'of her Catholick Majeſty. I know your Intentions are en-'tirely diſpoſed to ſerve her; I have told mine to the Captain 'above-mentioned, and pray you will allow him the Honour 'to communicate them to you, and ſo to regulate Things in 'general, that the Queen, when ſhe arrives at *St. Pierre de 'Arene*, (which I hope will be *Wedneſday* next) may wait for 'nothing but a fair Wind to proceed on her Voyage. He has 'particular Directions from me to deſire you to find out a 'ſure Way to carry the Queen aboard of Ship, in caſe ſhe 'cannot come to an Anchor near *St. Pierre*. It is neceſſary, 'that his Highneſs the Biſhop of *Daſnaburgh*, and myſelf 'ſhould accompany her Majeſty on board your own Ship, in 'which you are to tranſport her to *Barcelona*, and there give 'her in Charge to the Admirante. I am informed the Road to '*Vado* by Land is impracticable, and Feluccas are too danger-

'ous

'ous for the Queen to come in, and a Ship of the 3d Rate, 'when at Sea, is ſubject to be forced by contrary Winds, 'into ſome other Port; for which Reaſon I pray that you 'will ſeriouſly reflect on it. I am heartily ſorry I could not 'relate this to you myſelf, but hope, in a ſhort Time, to have 'the Honour to kiſs your Hands, and though altogether a 'Stranger, I deſire nothing more, than that you will believe 'me to be with great Sincerity,

'*SIR*,

'*Your moſt*, &c.

'FERDINANDO Count MORLAR.'

'SIR,

'THE Pleaſure which I take to ſerve her Majeſty the 'Catholick Queen, is ſo much the more deſireable, be-'cauſe of having an Opportunity to be acquainted with a Per-'ſon of your Merit, and to tender you my Service. Her Ma-'jeſty is reſolved to depart from *Millan* on *Saturday* next, 'and deſigns to be at *San Pietro Arena*, the 11th at Night; if 'tis 'poſſible to embark her from thence, it may be done the 12th; but, 'Sir, if you judge that cannot be conveniently done, ſhe will 'go by Land and be at *Vado* the 13th, and will follow your 'Sentiments the more willingly, as having an entire Confi-'dence in your Knowledge and Experience. This Courſe 'was deſigned to have been altered; but beſides the Danger of 'Sickneſs and the Badneſs of the Roads, to go to *Final*, 'would have loſt ſo much Time, that her Majeſty could 'not have arrived before the 20th; for it was omitted to no-'tify to his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *Savoy*, the Paſſage 'which ſhe was to make through his State; the Ways were 'likewiſe unrepaired, and to take up new Carriages, to ſettle 'Lodgings, and provide Proviſions for a Retinue of 400 'Perſons, would have conſumed a conſiderable Time, which 'may be employed to much better Purpoſe, in conducting 'your Fleet to *Barcelona* as ſoon as poſſible; which his Ca-'tholick Majeſty impatiently expects. I thought I ought to 'give you this Advice, and aſſuring you of the perfect Eſteem 'with which,

'*I am, SIR, your*, &c.

'CHARLES *Prince of* Larames.'

Sir *John* having conſidered upon the Subject of the Queen's Embarkation, thought it would be moſt convenient as well as

moſt expeditious, to take her at once on board the Ship wherein ſhe was to proceed to *Spain*; and believing, by the Accounts he had received, that her Majeſty was now upon her Journey, the 26th, he ordered Sir *Thomas Hardy* his Firſt Captain, to take under his Command the *Albemarle*, *Defiance*, *Northumberland*, *Dunkirk*, *Colcheſter* and *Iſabella* Yacht, and lie in a Readineſs with them without the Mole of *Genova*, for the Reception of her Catholick Majeſty, her Court and Equipage; and having embark'd her Majeſty on board the *Albemarle*, to conduct her in Safety to the Fleet at *Vado*. Accordingly, the next Day the Admiral ſhifted his Flag from the *Albemarle* on board the *Cornwall*, and Sir *Thomas* ſailed, purſuant to his Orders, for *Genova*. In the mean Time, the Embarkation of the Forces, (which began the 24th,) was carried on as faſt as they arrived at the Sea-Side; and the 26th, the four Men of War, with the 10 Tranſports and the Forage on board, arrived from *Leghorn*, together with the *Centurion*, which had been cleaning and refitting at that Place. Theſe Ships were followed by a Petition from the Merchants, which was brought the Admiral the Day after their Arrival, with a Letter from Mr. *Crow* the *Britiſh* Conſul at *Leghorn*, complaining againſt the Commanders of thoſe Ships for impreſſing Seamen out of the *Engliſh* Merchant Ships in that Port, to the great Diſcouragement and Diſadvantage of their Trade; which, upon Enquiry, being found to be true, Sir *John* directed thoſe very Men that had been taken to be ſent back again; giving at the ſame Time ſtrict Orders to all the Ships of the Fleet, to prevent the like Practices for the future; as he was always very forward to diſcourage any Practices that were injurious to the Seamen, and detrimental to Trade.

He had no ſooner given them Satisfaction in this Point, than he received another Petition from the ſame Merchants, accompanied by a Letter of the 8th of *July*, N. S. from Dr. *Newton* at *Florence*, repreſenting that there were four Gallies of *France* and ſome Galliots, lying off of the Port of *Leghorn*, which did not only intercept the Trade to that Port, but threaten even a total Ruin to it, unleſs they were ſuppreſſed, and ſome of her Majeſty's Men of War could be ſpared from the Fleet and ſent thither, to clear thoſe Seas from the Enemy. Upon this Letter and the Merchants Petition, a Council of War was held on board the *Cornwall*, the 2d of *July*, and it was reſolved, that the *Centurion*, *Poole*, and *Faulcon* Pink ſhould cruize three Weeks between *Corſica* and *Leghorn*, to protect the Trade of her Majeſty's Subjects and her Allies: And Major-General *Stanhope* having requeſted a Ship might be ſent to *Genova*, to receive on board a Sum of Money from Mr. *Chetwynd*, her Majeſty's Envoy at *Turin*, to carry to *Barcelona*, for the Uſe of the King of *Spain* and the Troops in *Catalonia*;

Catalonia; it was agreed, that as ſoon as they had performed the aforeſaid Service, they ſhould then proceed to *Genova*, and from thence bring what Money or Letters they ſhould find there for the Service of the King of *Spain*, the Fleet or Army, to *Barcelona*; where Orders ſhould be left, if the Fleet was not there, for their further Proceeding. Theſe Reſolutions were immediately put in Execution, with theſe further Directions, that from Time to Time, during their Cruize, they were to ſee the Trade into *Leghorn*; and upon Intelligence that the Enemy were at an Anchor at *Corſica*, or any other Port near *Leghorn*, if it was judged practicable, they were to attempt to deſtroy them; but though they had not the good Fortune to do ſo, the Enemy flying upon their Approach, they executed their Orders ſo well, and arrived in their Station ſo ſeaſonably, that the Conſul and Merchants thought themſelves bound to return the Admiral a Letter of Thanks ſome Time after, *for ſo ſeaſonably protecting their Trade, as well as the early and effectual Relief he gave them in relation to the Preſſing of Seamen from the Merchant Ships, which laid them under the greateſt Obligations to him.*

He had likewiſe the Satisfaction to receive a Letter from Captain *Hughes*, who he had appointed Commandant of the cruizing Squadron in the *Streights* Mouth, giving him an Account, that they had taken and forced a-ſhoar near *Marbella*, one Ship of 32 Guns, one of 10, and a Cettee, which the Enemy ſet fire to.

Having diſpatch'd theſe few Occurrences which happened in the Interim, and the Troops being ready to embark [a], it is Time to return to her Catholick Majeſty, who was the Daughter of the Duke of *Wolfembuttle*, born a Proteſtant; but at the Inſtigation of ſome of her Relations perſuaded to change her Religion for a Crown. The 24th of *June* ſhe ſet out for *Pavia*, from whence ſhe proceeded the 27th, on her Journey, and dined at *Cava* in the Duke of *Savoy*'s Territories; where ſhe was complimented and entertained in his Royal Highneſs's Name, by the Marquis *de St. George*, attended by a great Number of Nobility. She lay that Night at *Voghera*, the following at *Saravelle*, and arrived at *San Pietro*

[a] In the Political State of *Europe*, for *July*, 1708, it is ſaid, that the Troops deſigned for *Spain*, being ready to embark, Sir *John Leake* thought fit to wait on the Queen of *Spain* at *Millan*, and arrived there the 17th of *June*. From hence *Ledyard*, in his Naval Hiſtory, has copied this Miſtake, as well as ſending Sir *John Norris* to compliment the Queen. This is not only falſe in fact, but highly abſurd, to imagine, that the Commander in Chief ſhould leave his Command, and neglect the Embarkation of the Troops, to go two or three Days Journey up in the Country, and pay a Compliment which was not expected from him.

Darena

Darena near *Genova*, the 30th of *June* in the Evening, but would not go into that City, becauſe they refuſed to acknowledge her Queen of *Spain*. The next Day they new-birth'd the *Albemarle* nearer to the Place where the Queen lodged, and received the Queen's Baggage on board; and the following Morning her Majeſty deſigned to have embark'd, but blowing a freſh Sea Breeze ſhe was prevented; but about Six in the Evening being calm, and the Sea much down, her Majeſty came on board the *Albemarle*, which for that Purpoſe was made as commodious as poſſible; the great Cabbin and Bed-Chamber for her Uſe being furniſhed and hung with Crimſon Damaſk, and other Conveniencies ſuitable to the Queen, which had been provided ſome Days before, by a Perſon appointed to do it at the King of *Spain*'s Charge. As ſoon as her Majeſty was on board, the *Albemarle* fired 25 Guns, and every other Ship 21, immediately weighing Anchor; and the next Day at Noon joined the Fleet at *Vado*. This happened very opportunely, for the laſt of the Horſes had been embark'd but the Evening before, ſo that as her Majeſty had not waited for the Forces, ſo neither had the Troops waited for her Majeſty, which was altogether owing to the Admiral's unwearied Application; for as he uſed the moſt preſſing Inſtance to haſten the Queen, who thereupon ſet out ſooner than ſhe would elſe have done; ſo if he had not haſtened the Troops to the Sea-Side, and continued upon the Spot, and uſed his utmoſt Diligence for their Embarkation, there were ſo many Obſtacles, that the Queen might probably have waited for them ſome Time: But every Thing was ſo ordered againſt her Arrival, that the Tranſports were all ready, the Fleet unmoor'd, and nothing wanting but a fair Wind. It was the 3d of *July*, about two o'Clock in the Afternoon, when the *Albemarle* with the Queen on board, and the other Ships arrived at *Vado*, and were ſaluted by the Cannon of the whole Fleet; as ſoon as the Salute was over, Sir *John* re-hoiſted his Flag on board the *Albemarle*, and was received by her Majeſty with all poſſible Marks of Eſteem. He endeavoured to ſail that Evening, but a ſtrong Gale blowing from the Sea prevented him. But the next Morning, about five o'Clock, he weighed from *Vado*, and an Hour after, being joined by the Tranſports, made ſail, with about 134 of all Sorts, 2200 Horſe, and 3600 Foot. Coming off of the Caſtle of *Final*, they were ſaluted three Times with 24 Guns each Time, which the Admiral returned with 11 Guns.

In their Paſſage, the 7th Inſtant, a Felucca arrived in the Fleet, being ſent Expreſs from *Barcelona*, which Place ſhe left ſix Days before, with the following Letter from his Catholick Majeſty to Sir *John*, viz.

'SIR,

'SIR,

'IT is with great Uneaſineſs I expect to hear News from 'you, for at this Place I have received none other than of 'your Arrival in *Italy*, and that of the Queen my Spouſe at '*Millan*. I hope at preſent you are on your Voyage, or that 'you'll ſpeedily proceed on it, and bring me the Succours, 'upon which the Preſervation or Loſs of my Town of *Tor-* 'toſa will depend. I told you in my laſt, (a Duplicate of 'which you will find joined hereunto) that it was my Inten- 'tion the ſaid Succours ſhould be put a-ſhoar at *Salo*; I ſhall 'only at preſent add, that the Count *Staremberg* having de- 'ſired that the *Palatine* Horſe may be diſ-embark'd at *Palmos*, 'you'll very much pleaſe me in complying therewith, and in 'putting the reſt of the Troops a-ſhoar at *Salo*. You'll im- 'part this to the Generals who command the Imperial and '*Palatine* Troops for their Directions; and in caſe there 'ſhould be Occaſion to make any further Diſpoſition of them, 'in regard to the Diviſion and Diſtribution of the Troops, 'I'll take Care to give you Notice of it myſelf, or by En- 'voy *Stanhope*. As to what concerns the Perſon of the Queen 'my Spouſe, I refer you to what I told you here, and to 'what the Count *de Cordane* will inform you from me, it be- 'ing always my Intention, for the better Diſpoſition and Pre- 'paration of every Thing for her Reception, that ſhe ſhould 'be diſ-embark'd at *Matero* with her Retinue and Equipage, 'which ſhe ſhall think neceſſary to attend her Perſon, and 'that all the reſt ſhould come directly to this City at preſent. 'I pray God have you in his holy Care, and aſſure you of 'my perfect Eſteem and Thankfulneſs.

Barcelona,
July 11, 1708. 'CHARLES.'

In compliance with his Majeſty's Deſire in this Letter, Sir *John* ordered Sir *Edward Whitaker*, Rear-Admiral of the Red, when he ſhould make the Signal by hoiſting a Blue Flag at the Fore-top-maſt-head, and fire a Gun, to make the beſt of his Way with the *Palatine* Troops for *Palamos*. The 7th, in the Evening, they had very freſh Gales, whereby ſeveral of the Tranſports ſprung their Top-Maſts and received other Damage, which obliged the Admiral to lie by till five the next Morning, when he made ſail again. The 11th, being near *Barcelona*, he diſpatch'd the *Colcheſter* thither with the Count *de Oropeſca* and his Retinue, and a Letter for his Catholick Majeſty, to acquant him of the Approach of the Fleet with the Queen and Troops; which Letter was as follows.

'SIR,

Albemarle at Sea, *July* 11, 1708.

'SIR,

'I Humbly take Leave to acquaint your Majeſty of my Approach towards the Coaſt of *Catalonia*, and hope in three or four Days, if the Wind is any thing favourable, to be at *Matero* with the Queen, your Majeſty's Royal Spouſe. I am honoured with your Majeſty's Letter of the 11th Inſtant, N. S. and ſhall order the *Palatine* Troops to be landed at *Palmos*; but as the Infantry are diſtributed on board all the Ships of War, except thoſe I bring with me to *Matero*; and while we continue at Sea, it is impoſſible to diſtinguiſh the Tranſports which have the *Palatine* Horſe from the others, ſhall therefore be obliged to ſend them all to *Palmos* firſt, and then forward the others with as little Loſs of Time as poſſible.

'*I am*, &c.

'J. LEAKE.'

Two Days after, the *Fowey* was diſpatch'd before the Fleet to *Barcelona*, having Count *Galves* on board, and the following Letter to his Majeſty.

Albemarle at Sea, *July* 13, 1708.

'SIR,

'I Did myſelf the Honour to write to your Majeſty by Captain *Leake* of the *Colcheſter*, the Wind being then Northerly, which would have ſerved to carry the Tranſports to *Palmos*, and there would have been very little Time loſt in dividing the Troops, and forwarding the *Germans* to *Salo*; but the Wind coming Weſterly, it is my humble Opinion, that all the Troops be brought to *Matero*; and if the *Palatine* Horſe be landed there, and the *Germans* ſent by Sea to *Salo*, 'twill facilitate the Service much more than by ſending the former to *Palmos*; for the Men of War that muſt be ſent with them for the Conveniency of their Long-Boats for diſ-embarking the Horſe, have Infantry on board, which muſt afterwards go to *Salo* to land them, and I very much fear *Tortoſa* may be in Danger for want of thoſe Troops; for if the Wind continues Weſterly, it may be at leaſt eight or ten Days before they can get from *Palmos* to *Salo*.

'I have prayed the Favour of Count *Galves*, to wait upon your Majeſty with this, and to inform your Majeſty more particularly of the Inconveniencies that may happen, as

'likewiſe

'likewiſe the Loſs of Time in relieving *Tortoſa*, if the firſt 'Diſ-embarkment be made at *Palmos*; but if there be a Ne-'ceſſity of doing it, the Diviſion may be made at *Salo*, and 'both forwarded at the ſame Time, which is impoſſible to 'be done at Sea, as I have had the Honour already to acquaint 'your Majeſty.

'*I am, SIR,*

'*Your Majeſty's moſt*, &c.

'J. LEAKE.'

The next Morning after Sir *John* had diſpatch'd this Letter, he bore away for *Matero*, and by 11 o'Clock anchored there, and at Noon was joined by the *York*, *Lancaſter* and *Colcheſter* from *Barcelona*, and received the following Letter from the King of *Spain*.

'SIR,

'I Have received your Letter of the 13th Inſtant, O. S. by 'which you inform me of your Approach towards the 'Coaſt, and of the Difficulties which preſent concerning the 'diſ-embarking the *Palatine* Horſe at *Palmos*, and the reſt of 'the Troops at *Salo*, as I deſired in my laſt: I have there-'fore thought fit to let you know, that the Scene of Affairs 'being entirely changed in this Principality by the Loſs of '*Tortoſa*, and by the March of the Troops (which before were 'near *Gerone*) towards the Mountains; I was of Opinion, 'that they ſhould be joined by the *Palatines*. At preſent it is 'my Deſire, that you ſend all the Ships and Veſſels which 'have Troops on board, as well the *Imperials* as *Palatines*, 'to my Town of *Tarragona*, there to be diſ-embark'd, that 'they may the ſooner join the Army, which is encamp'd in 'the Neighbourhood of that Town, and afterwards to under-'take ſuch Operations as ſhall be judged expedient. As to 'what concerns the Queen my Spouſe, her Retinue and Equi-'page, I deſire that they may be brought directly to *Matero*, 'and there be diſ-embark'd, and till I have the Pleaſure 'of ſaluting you, I aſſure you of my perfect Eſteem and 'Thankfulneſs.

Barcelona, *July* 24,
1708, N. S. 'CHARLES.'

In purſuance of this Letter, he countermanded the Orders he had given to Sir *Edward Whitaker*, and directed him with eight Sail, an Hoſpital, a Fireſhip and two Bombs, all the Tranſports,

Tranſports, and the Men of War and Tranſports of the States-General, which had Troops on board, to proceed to *Tarragona*, and having diſ-embark'd them to rejoin him at *Barcelona*.

The Fleet being thus arrived at *Matero*, after a Paſſage of 10 Days from *Vado*, about ſix in the Evening her Majeſty was landed at a Wooden Bridge, which was built for that Purpoſe a conſiderable Way into the Sea, and under a triple Diſcharge of the Cannon of the Fleet. During the Time ſhe was on board, ſhe ſhewed a great Deal of Affability and good Nature; and as it was fair Weather for the moſt Part, ſhe would divert herſelf ſometimes by ſeeing the Sailors perform their Sea Sports, and ſhew their Dexterity upon the Ropes; and at other Times ſit upon the Quarter Deck, whilſt the Marines went through their Exerciſe, without expreſſing the leaſt Fear; and as ſhe was hardly ſea-ſick, the whole Paſſage, it made her think the Voyage very agreeable. The Day after the Queen landed, his Catholick Majeſty went Incognito to ſee her, and was admitted amongſt other Gentlemen to kiſs her Hand; but when he came towards her for that Purpoſe, looking upon his Picture which ſhe had by her Side, ſhe diſcover'd him to be the King. The 21ſt, both their Majeſties made their publick Entry into *Barcelona*, the Queen in a rich Chariot, drawn by eight White *Neapolitan* Horſes, the King riding on Horſeback, attended by his great Officers, Nobility and Magiſtrates; the Streets being lined with the City Militia, Horſe and Foot; in this Manner they proceeded to the great Church of St. *Mary*, and were married by the Archbiſhop of *Tarragona*, from whence they went to the Vice-Roy's Palace to a ſplendid Entertainment, prepared upon that Occaſion. During the Proceſſion, the Cannon of the Fleet kept a continual Fire, and the Evening concluded with Bonfires, Illuminations and Fireworks, and there was a Ball at the Palace. The next Day theſe Rejoicings were renewed, upon the News of the Succeſs of the Duke of *Marlborough* in *Flanders* againſt the common Enemy; the Fleet upon that Occaſion ſpreading all their Colours, and firing every Ship 21 Guns: But theſe Rejoicings were ſomething allayed by the Surrender of the important Town of *Tortoſa*, which happened 14 Days before the Arrival of the Fleet, which however could not have been prevented if they had arrived ſooner, the Enemy being ſtill double to the Allies in Infantry. But to return to the Fleet.

The Queen's Retinue and Baggage being landed, the 16th Sir *John* weighed from *Matero* to go to *Barcelona*; but by reaſon of Calms and the Current ſetting to the Eaſtward, he was obliged ſeveral Times to anchor, and did not reach *Barcelona* Road till the next Day. Soon after he waited upon their Majeſties at their Palace, and met with a moſt gracious Reception.

ception. His Majeſty was pleaſed to thank him very kindly, as well for the Care he had taken of her Majeſty's Perſon, as of the Embarkation of the Troops, which he was ſatisfied had been very much facilitated and haſtened by his zealous Endeavours: And the Queen expreſſed great Satisfaction at the Entertainment ſhe had met with on board his Ship, and returned him her Thanks, as well as to the Officers and Ships Company for the Reſpect and Care they had ſhewed to her Perſon; and by her Majeſty's Directions, a Diamond Ring of 300 Pounds Value had been provided, which was preſented to Sir *John* in the Queen's Name, by one of the Grandees of the Court, who was ſent on board the *Albemarle* for that Purpoſe. At the ſame Time two other Rings of leſs Value, were preſented to Sir *Thomas Hardy* and Captain *Martin*, the Admiral's two Captains, and a handſome Preſent in Money was given to the Ship's Company.

In the mean Time the *York* was diſpatch'd the 18th to *Algier*, with General *Stanhope*'s Letters to the *Britiſh* Conſul at that Place; and the next Day the *Lancaſter* and two Sail more ſailed with Money for the Gariſon of *Denia*, and with Orders to call at *Tarragona* and tranſport ſome Soldiers from thence to *Alicant*; and the Marines at *Alicant* to carry to *Denia*, to re-inforce that Place; and if the Town was beſieged by the Enemy, to give all poſſible Aſſiſtance and preſerve it from falling into the Enemy's Hands. At the ſame Time the *Reſtoration*, *Eſſex* and *Dunkirk* were detach'd to *Tarragona*, to bring all the Marines from thence to *Barcelona*, that they might proceed with the Fleet to *Sardinia*, Sir *Edward Whitaker*, with his Detachment and the Tranſports having joined the Admiral the Day before.

CHAP. IV.

The Taking of Cagliari, *the Metropolis of* Sardinia, *whereby the whole Iſland is reduced to the Obedience of King* Charles.

WHEN Sir *John* had landed the Queen and diſ-embarked the Troops, he immediately applied himſelf to make Preparations for the further Operations of the Fleet that Campaign. The Conqueſt of the Iſle of *Sardinia* was the next Expedition to be undertaken, according to the Diſpoſitions of the King of *Spain*, before they ſailed for *Italy*, as of the greateſt Importance for ſubſiſting the Army of the Allies; and the Neceſſity of undertaking this Enterprize was now

now much greater by the Addition of near 6000 Men, and 2200 Horſes. As Sir *John* therefore expected his Majeſty's Directions every Day for proceeding to *Sardinia*; he ordered every Thing accordingly, that nothing might be wanting to make that Attempt ſucceſsful. For this Purpoſe he wrote to General *Stanhope*, to meet him and confer with him, and likewiſe to ſupply him with ſuch Materials as might be wanting, more than the Fleet could provide, to carry on a Siege, if the City of *Cagliari*, the Metropolis of that Iſland, would not ſubmit without it; and a good Engineer to conduct it; deſiring him at the ſame Time, that the additional Forces deſigned to join the Marines in that Enterprize might be haſtened to *Barcelona*, in order to be embark'd, that no Time might be loſt in proceeding on that Service: For he did not doubt but the Ships he had detach'd to *Tarragona* for the Marines, which were to aſſiſt in the Expedition againſt *Sardinia*, would arrive by the Time thoſe Forces were embark'd. In the mean Time his Catholick Majeſty, whilſt he was preparing for the Solemnity of his Marriage with the Queen, and their publick Entry into *Barcelona*, did not neglect the Conſideration of the publick Affairs; for the 9th he ſent the following Letter.

I the KING.

'Admiral LEAKE,

'IN Conformity to what in a Council of War, held on 'board the Fleet the 29th of *May*, was agreed, declaring the 'great Inclinations you have to employ yourſelves in ſuch Ope'rations, during the remaining Part of the Campaign, (after 'having ſo happily brought back to this Country the Fleet 'with the Queen and Troops on board) as will moſt conduce 'to the Advancement of the Intereſts of my Crown, and the 'Good of the common Cauſe; I have thought it neceſſary 'to inſinuate to you, that conſidering the great Importance it 'is to make uſe of every Moment, in purſuing the moſt pro'miſing Services conducing to ſo great an End, (in which 'Sentiments I perſuade myſelf you will agree with me) the 'moſt ſure to ſucceed in ſeems to be, that ſuch a Number of 'Ships undertake the Conqueſt of *Sardinia*, as ſhall be judged 'ſufficient to obtain a favourable Event; for that Kingdom 'continuing actually to ſhew a great Impatience to put them'ſelves under my Dominion; and the great Abundance of 'Proviſions it affords, may ſupply the Scarcity of Corn, eſpe'cially Forage for the Horſe, we labour under in this Pro'vince; judging it convenient at the ſame Time, there be 'appointed ſome Ships to clear the Coaſts of *Sicily* and *Naples* 'of ſome Privateers of the Enemy, to open a Paſſage for

'the Troops that are in the Kingdom of *Naples* to undertake 'the Expedition of the Kingdom of *Sicily*, which (by Orders 'I will ſend forthwith) will be ready to embark, as likewiſe 'the neceſſary Proviſions for their Subſiſtence; there remain-'ing upon thoſe Coaſts ſome Ships and Tranſports to bring 'Corn to us, and to give us the helping Hand in all Occa-'ſions, that can occur for my Service and the Preſervation of 'this Principality, not doubting but a Council of War (I 'hope you will immmediately call for that Purpoſe) will agree 'to the aboveſaid Services. And you having gained the Glory 'of relieving this Capital, in the Siege which my Royal Per-'ſon was expoſed to in the Year 1706; having likewiſe (to 'the univerſal Satisfaction of all my Subjects) had the good 'Fortune to bring the Queen into this Country with the 'long-wiſh'd for Succour of Troops; and owing to your 'great Conduct, the Reduction of my Kingdom of *Majorca*, 'you will, I hope, perſiſt in your laudable Actions with equal 'Proſperity, as well in Relation to *Sardinia* as *Sicily*. There-'fore, as to the one and the other Expedition, I conſider 'how much it will be convenient for the publick Cauſe, and 'moſt particularly for the Credit of the Fleet, that they be 'executed at the ſame Time; that it may not be ſaid, that 'one ſingle Operation of the two above expreſſed, can ſatisfy 'the Warmth and Zeal which ſo great and powerful a Fleet 'as is under your Command juſtly inſpires.

Barcelona, July 30, 1708, N. S. 'I *the* KING.'

'*Don* RAMON DE VILANA PERLAS.'

This Letter of his Majeſty, having been conſidered at a Council of War the 21ſt of *July*, it was agreed and reſolved, that ſeven Men of War ſhould be left to guard that Coaſt, to prevent the Enemy from bringing any Succours or Proviſions to their Army, and ſome Tranſports to ſupply his Majeſty's Army with Corn; and that as ſoon as the Marines ſhould come from *Tarragona*, and the Regiment of 500 Men ſhould be embark'd, (ſince no more could be ſpared from the Service of *Catalonia*) that they ſhould proceed with the Fleet to *Sardinia*, and endeavour all that was poſſible, to reduce that Iſland to his Majeſty's Obedience, and there to conſider what Ships could be ſpared to cruize upon the Coaſts of *Naples* and *Sicily* for the Purpoſes his Majeſty mentioned in his ſaid Letter. Purſuant to this Reſolution, Sir *John* appointed Captain *Hubbard*, with four *Engliſh* Men of War [a] and three *Dutch*,

[a] *Viz.* The *Elizabeth*, *Sterling-Caſtle*, *York*, *Milford*, *Waſſenaer*, *Vetre*, *Arnhem*.

to cruize upon the Coaſt of *Catalonia*, particularly between *Tortoſa* and *Peniſcola*. Two Days after, the *Reſtoration*, *Eſſex* and *Dunkirk* arrived with 600 Marines from *Tarragona*; and the 24th, the *Spaniſh* Regiment was embark'd, conſiſting of 500 Men under the Command of the Count *de Cifuentes*, whom his Majeſty had appointed to be Governor if they ſucceeded, which was all the Aſſiſtance that could be obtained from his Catholick Majeſty. With theſe he ſailed the next Morning from *Barcelona*, having given out the Line of Battle, which conſiſted of 15 *Engliſh* of the Line, and ſome *Dutch*, with Frigates, Bomb-Veſſels, *&c.* the Rendezvous being *Cagliari* on the Iſland of *Sardinia*. The 26th, the *Colcheſter* and a *Dutch* Man of War were ordered to *Genova* and *Leghorn*, to bring from thoſe Places Letters and Orders for the Fleet, and the *Sorlings* to the latter of thoſe Places to refit. The Fleet had gone with an eaſy Sail all Night, to give the *Eſſex* and *Dunkirk* an Opportunity to join them; the former of theſe waited for his Majeſty's Letters, and the latter to receive on board ſome Natives of *Sardinia*, who were thought proper to be ſent before to ſtir up the People of the Iſland to declare for King *Charles*, upon the Appearance of the Fleet. As Sir *John* ſaw nothing of theſe two Ships, he lay by till towards Noon, when he was joined by the *Eſſex*; but the *Dunkirk* had made the beſt of her Way to *Sardinia*, to land the Gentlemen, which were to promote King *Charles*'s Intereſt there; whereupon the Fleet made ſail, and the 28th, they made the Eaſtermoſt Head of *Port-Mahon*. The 30th, Sir *John* ordered the *Defiance*, *Northumberland* and *Naſſau*, to proceed before to *Cagliari*, in order to ſurpriſe any Veſſels of the Enemy in that Bay; whereupon they made the beſt of their Way thither. The 1ſt of *Auguſt* they ſaw the Land of *Sardinia*; ſoon after which the *Cornwall* took a Cettee with *Moors* on board; and two Half-Gallies of *Sardinia* came into the Fleet with two *Turkiſh* Prizes they had taken. About nine o'Clock the *Dunkirk* joined the Fleet, having landed the *Sardinian* Gentlemen on the Iſland, to excite the Inhabitants to declare for King *Charles*; in the Interim the *Cambridge* ſurpriſed two Brigantines of the Iſland in the Service of the Enemy.

Sardinia, is an Iſland in the *Mediterranean* Sea, from N. to S. about 170 Miles, and about 94 from E. to W. and 450 in Compaſs. The Air is extremely unhealthy; but the Country, although mountainous, is very fruitful, affording abundance of Corn, Wine and Oil, beſides great Numbers of Cattle. *Cagliari*, a great and rich City, and the Metropolis of the Iſland, is ſituated on a Hill upon the Southern Coaſt of the Iſland; it is extremely well fortified with a good Wall and regular Baſtions, mounted with 200 Pieces of Cannon; ſo that with the Advantages, which Nature and Art has given

for its Defence, it might be eſteemed impregnable. As the City is large, ſo it is very populous, being ſaid to contain 40,000 Inhabitants.

Between four and five in the Evening, the Fleet were near the Place, but being calm, Sir *John* diſpatch'd an Officer before the Fleet with a Flag of Truce, and the following Summons to the Vice-Roy of the Iſland, and the Magiſtrates of the City of *Cagliari*, with Inſtructions to demand a poſitive Anſwer in four Hours, that no Time might be loſt when he arrived before the Place, to take ſuch Meaſures as ſhould be neceſſary.

To his Excellency the Marquis of *Jamaica*, Vice-Roy of *Sardinia*.

'SIR,

'MY coming to this Place with the Confederate Fleet and Land-Forces under my Command, is to ſummons your Excellency to ſurrender the City and Caſtle of *Cagliari*, and the reſt of the Iſland of *Sardinia* to the Obedience of King *Charles* the Third, and do expect a ready Compliance, or elſe your Excellency may expect to hear further from me.

'*I am*, &c.

'J. LEAKE.'

To the Chief Magiſtrates and Inhabitants of the City of *Cagliari*.

'GENTLEMEN,

'I Am come into this Bay with the Confederate Fleet and Land-Forces under my Command, to ſummon the City and Caſtle of *Cagliari* to the Obedience of King *Charles* the Third, your lawful King, and to aſſure you of all the Rights and Privileges which you enjoyed in the Reign of King *Charles* the Second; and as I do expect a ready Compliance, that you may have it in your own Power to make your own Terms with me; your Refuſal will oblige me to treat you in another Manner: For when the Troops are once landed, and the Bombs deſtroy your Habitations, it will be out of my Power to ſhew you how much

'*I am, Gentlemen*,

'*Your Friend*, &c.

'J. LEAKE.'

About half an Hour paſt ſix, the Fleet arrived in the Bay of *Cagliari*, and anchored within Cannon Shot of the Town. At ten the Flag of Truce returned, bringing an Anſwer from the Vice-Roy and Inhabitants of the City, that they deſired a Day's Time to conſider of it: But Sir *John* not thinking it proper to give them any Time to parley, ordered the Bomb-Veſſels to take their Station and bombard the City, which they began about eleven the ſame Night, and by three the next Morning hove in 110 Shells: In the mean Time the proper Diſpoſitions were made for attacking the Town early the next Morning. For this Purpoſe, he ordered Major-General *Wills* to repair on board the *Iſabella* Yacht, and there keep himſelf in a Readineſs to land with the Marines then in the Fleet, the *Spaniſh* Regiment, and a Body of Seamen he ſhould order to join him, and endeavour to reduce the City of *Cagliari* to the Obedience of King *Charles* the Third. At the ſame Time he gave Directions to the ſeveral Ships, upon his hoiſting a Blue Flag at his Fore-top-maſt-head and firing a Gun, to ſend their reſpective Marines in their Boats on board the *Iſabella* Yacht, and receive the General's Directions for their landing, each Man being provided with two Days Proviſions, 24 Charges of Powder and Ball, and the Grenadeers each two Grenado Shells with Match; and to ſuſtain the Land-Forces, the Admiral formed out of the Fleet a Regiment of 900 Seamen, in 13 Companies, each Company commanded by a Lieutenant as Captain, and appointed Captain *Evans* Colonel, Captain *Hartnol*, Lieutenant-Colonel, Captain *Smith*, Major, and Mr. *Jonathan Smith*, Adjutant; putting them under the ſame Orders in every Reſpect as before-mentioned to the Marines. Sir *John Norris* was likewiſe appointed with ſeven Sail to cannonade the Town. According to this Diſpoſition, the General and Forces were ready at the Rendezvous on board the *Iſabella* Yacht before Midnight, and as ſoon as it was Day the Admiral making the appointed Signal, the Forces landed to the Eaſtward of the City: But the Bombardment had already put the Inhabitants into ſuch a Conſternation, that in a very little Time after their Landing, being upon their March to the City, the Vice-Roy and Magiſtrates ſent off a Flag of Truce, with the Count *de St. Antonio*, deſiring to capitulate; and they ſubmitted to the Obedience of King *Charles*, upon the Terms Sir *John* thought fit to grant; the Town ſaluted the Admiral with ſeven Guns, which he returned, and the Archbiſhop and Vice-Roy came on board the *Albemarle* to pay him their Compliments. The ſame Afternoon the *Spaniſh* Regiment took Poſſeſſion of the City, and in the Evening the Marines and Seamen were re-embarked on board the reſpective Ships they belonged to.

Articles

Articles of Capitulation, which his Excellency the Marquis of Jamaica, *Count of* Villa Lonzo, *Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber to his Majeſty, and Captain-General of the Kingdom of* Sardinia, *has concluded with his Excellency Admiral* Leake. *Given at* Cagliari, *the 13th of* Auguſt, 1708, *N. S.*

I. THAT the Gariſon is to march out at one of the Ports of the City of *Cagliari*, with loaded Arms, flying Colours, Drums beating, Match lighted, Ball in Mouth, and are to have 12 Shots of Powder and Ball each, the Gariſon having Liberty to take their Wives, Children and Baggage with them.

Anſwer. Granted. But can have no Effect, the Gariſon having taken on.

II. That they ſhall have eight Pieces of Cannon, with that Number of Charges of Powder and Ball for each, with all their uſual Utenſils, mounted on their Carriages.

Anſwer. Not granted.

III. That it be permitted to his Excellency the Vice-Roy, Marquis of *Jamaica*, with the Gariſon, to march to *Alguer* to defend that Place, and for that End they are to have Ships and other Neceſſaries to carry them, and other Things mentioned in the preceeding Article.

Anſwer. Not granted.

IV. That all the aforeſaid Particulars ſhall be carried ſafely to the Place of *Alguer*.

Anſwer. Referr'd to the former Article.

V. That the Conquerors are to ſubſiſt and furniſh them with neceſſary Proviſions, at their Expence.

Anſwer. Referr'd to the preceding Article.

VI. That the City ſhall not be plunder'd, nor any Perſon that remains therein moleſted, leaving to every one the free Enjoyment of their Goods, having Liberty every one to go freely in the Space of ſix Months; and that all Perſons of what Quality, Degree or Condition ſoever, may ſecurely go within the ſaid Space of Time.

Anſwer. Granted, except to the Subjects of *France*.

VII. That no Sort of Perſon within the Place, ſhall be moleſted or ill uſed, either in Perſon or Goods, for any Thing they have done in executing faithfully their Office and Truſt.

Anſwer. Granted, except the Subjects of *France*.

VIII. That at the ſame Time the Gariſon marches out, thoſe of the Conquerors ſhall begin to march in.

Anſwer. Granted.

IX. That all the Baggage and Retinue of his Excellency the Marquis of *Jamaica* ſhall freely march out, without being viſited or moleſted, and ſhall not be detained upon any Pretence whatſoever.

Anſwer. Granted.

X. That in caſe the Place of *Alguer* be ſurrendered, when his Excellency the Marquis of *Jamaica* arrives there, all and every Thing ſhall be granted and continued to the ſaid Marquis which was agreed to, when he marched out of this Capital; and alſo Embarkations, with a free Paſſport to go to *France* or *Spain*, without that the ſaid Marquis, or any of his Retinue be arreſted or detained in any of the confederate Ports, which by Chance they may be put into, and that upon no Motive or Pretence whatſoever.

Anſwer. For what relates to his March to *Alguer*, or any other Port, that is anſwered in the third Article; and for the ſaid Marquis of *Jamaica*, being ſafely conducted with a free Paſſport to a Port either in *France* or *Spain*, it's agreed to land them in *Spain* and not in *France*, and ſhall be done either in the Grove of *Valencia* or *Cartagena*, and that the ſaid Marquis and Retinue ſhall not be arreſted or detained in any of the Confederate Ports, on no Pretence.

XI. That the ſaid Marquis of *Jamaica* and Retinue, of what Quality and Degree ſoever, ſhall be ſafely put on board the Ships for their Tranſportation; and that by no Means the Mob or Soldiers ſhall be ſuffered to inſult or affront him in his Embarkation, and ſhall be civilly treated on board till he comes to either of the Places where he is to land, and for that End he ſhall be allowed a Guard and Officers neceſſary to prevent it.

Anſwer. Granted.

XII. That upon no Pretence the Marquis of *Jamaica* ſhall be obliged to march by Land, by Reaſon of the Unwholeſomeneſs of the Air and the Heats of this Kingdom, excepting what is mentioned in the third Article.

Anſwer. Granted, except what is mentioned in the third Article.

XIII. That the ſaid Marquis of *Jamaica* ſhall be permitted to embark with him his own Guards, and to carry with him a Gally now in Port.

Anſwer. Not granted.

XIV. That all the aforeſaid Articles of Capitulation above expreſſed, ſhall be faithfully obſerved without any Prevarications, and ſhall not be infringed or broke on any Pretence.

Signed, the Marquis of Jamaica.

Articles

Articles of Capitulation made with Sir John Leake, *Knt. Admiral of her* Britannick *Majeſty's Fleet, and Commander in Chief of the Confederate Fleet in the* Mediterranean, *by which the illuſtrious and magnificent City of* Cagliari, *the Head, Key, and Strength of the moſt faithful Kingdom of* Sardinia, *delivers itſelf up to his Catholick Majeſty,* Charles *the Third of* Auſtria, *their lawful King and Governor, (whom God preſerve) the ſaid City, Caſtle, with the reſt of the ſaid Kingdom: The Magiſtrates at this Time being* Franciſco Ligreco; *Monſ.* Ignatio Carta; Salvador Rodaiguez; Diego Lilue, *and* Euſebie Coſſu; *the 13th of* Auguſt, 1708, *N. S.*

I. THAT the ſaid illuſtrious City, the reſt of this Kingdom and the Appurtenances, ſhall have maintained and preſerved in them, all the Privileges which the moſt auguſt Majeſty of *Charles* the Fifth, Emperor, and *Charles* the Second have granted to them, and likewiſe their Acts of Councils and Decrees of their Courts, with the reſt of their Judicatures, which have from Time to Time been granted, and they have enjoyed. And the ſaid City truſting to the Favours they have received, and hope by their Merit to deſerve from his Excellency General *Leake*, humbly begs he would be pleaſed to ſupplicate his Catholick Majeſty, *Charles* the Third (whom God preſerve) the following Condeſcenſions, for the entire Comfort and Satisfaction of this City and Kingdom.

II. That all the Miniſters of Juſtice be changed, and that thoſe which ſhall be new named, be Natives of this Kingdom, and to continue for three Years only, and be obliged to account for their Intermiſſions; and becauſe the Revenues of the Civil Liſt conſiſt of many Particulars, they ſhall only have a Salary, in which ſhall be computed the that they take Care of the principal Affairs, which has been always uſual, but of late Years omitted.

III. That the Cuſtoms and other Profits of Trade, which properly concern this City, ſhall be only in the Counſellors Hands, and without Appeal.

IV. That his Majeſty would be pleaſed to honour this City, to procure the Liberty of the Marquis *de Villa Clara*, of Don *Salvator Locky*, Don *James Salin*, and *Alex. Fereli*, who are now Priſoners in *France*. Signed by the aforementioned Magiſtrates, or Counſellers of the City of *Cagliari*.

Anſwer. To the firſt Article it is anſwered and agreed to, provided they cauſe immediately to be embarked on board the *Engliſh* Tranſports in Port, ſuch a Quantity of Corn as can poſſibly be had for the Service of his Catholick Majeſty in *Catalonia*, his Majeſty promiſing to pay for the ſame. To all the reſt of the Articles, his Excellency Admiral *Leake* promiſes to intercede with his Catholick Majeſty, that they may obtain what is contained in them.

The 4th Inſtant, theſe Articles of Capitulation between the Magiſtrates and City of *Cagliari* were agreed upon, ſigned, and exchanged, and divers Slaves who had made their Eſcape from the Town in the late Confuſion were ordered to be reſtored. Two Days after, the other Articles of Capitulation with the Marquis of *Jamaica*, late Vice-Roy, were ſigned and exchanged: Upon which Occaſion, the new Vice-Roy, the Marquis of *Alconzel*, (better known by his former Title of Count *de Ciſuentes*) gave a grand Entertainment to the Admiral and the reſt of the General-Officers. The greateſt Part of the Gariſon readily lifted themſelves in King *Charles*'s Service; beſides which, above 2000 Horſes were found there ready to be tranſported to *Spain*, for remounting the Enemy's Cavalry, Part of which were diſpoſed of to the diſmounted Dragoons, which were employed in this Expedition; and the new Vice-Roy, having aſſembled the Deputies of the ſeveral States, they gave Aſſurances of their Affection and Fidelity to King *Charles*; and for a Proof of it, offered to furniſh 30,000 Sacks of Corn for his Majeſty's Service, purſuant to the Conditions of Agreement of the firſt Article of their Capitulations. Thus was the Kingdom of *Sardinia* reduced at one Blow to his Majeſty's Obedience; an Iſland, ſo fertile, that formerly it ſerved for a Granary to the Whole Country of *Italy*; ſo that the Scarcity of Corn in *Catalonia* might eaſily be ſupplied from thence for the Subſiſtence of the Troops, which muſt otherwiſe have been tranſported thither with great Charge from the *Milaneze*: And the Iſland abounding with Horſes, would remount their Cavalry in *Catalonia*; beſides ſeveral other Advantages, which the Bay of *Cagliari* affords to Navigation in the *Streights*.

As ſoon as the Articles of Capitulation, above-mentioned, were both ſigned and exchanged, Sir *John* diſpatch'd them to his Catholick Majeſty, with the following Letter.

Albemarle, in the Bay of *Cagliari*, *Auguſt* 6.

'SIR,

'I Humbly take Leave to acquaint your Majeſty, that I arrived with the Fleet before this City, on the 1ſt Inſtant, 'at ſix in the Evening, and immediately ſummoned the Place

'to

'to ſurrender to your Majeſty's Obedience, to which, after 'five Hours waiting, I received no other Anſwer than that 'they deſired the next Day to conſider of it. I did not 'think it for your Majeſty's Service to ſuffer any Delay, and 'therefore ordered the Bombardment of the Town all that 'Night, and the next Morning, by Break of Day, landed all 'the Marines; upon which the Conde *de St. Antonio*, (who in 'my humble Opinion, is entirely devoted to your Majeſty's 'Service) came on board to me from the Vice-Roy, and the 'Magiſtrates, to tender their Submiſſion, and yield the Place 'to your Majeſty's Obedience; and herewith I ſend your 'Majeſty the Capitulations agreed on with the Nobility and 'Magiſtrates; and as they have been pleaſed earneſtly to de-'ſire me to ſupplicate your Majeſty in their Behalf, that ſome 'Matters relating to the former Government may be bet-'ter regulated, that they may live more eaſy than they have 'heretofore done, I ſhall eſteem it the greateſt Favour your 'Majeſty can honour me with, if your Majeſty will be pleaſed 'to make ſuch Alterations therein, as your Majeſty in your 'great Wiſdom and Goodneſs, ſhall think for their common 'Benefit.

'The Tranſports which I have brought with me from '*Barcelona*, I hope in 10 Days to get loaden with 1200 'Tons of Corn for your Majeſty's Service, which I ſhall ſend 'under Convoy of two or three Men of War, with the late 'Vice-Roy of *Sardinia*; who being, by the Articles of Ca-'pitulation, to be tranſported to *Valencia*, I hope your Ma-'jeſty will pleaſe not to detain him, but permit him to be 'carried thither accordingly.

'*I am, SIR*, &c.

'J. LEAKE.'

'*P. S.* The Marquis *de la Guarda*, Don *John Pula*, Capt. 'Commandant *de Capitana*, and Don *Joſeph Roſa*, having de-'monſtrated themſelves to be entirely in your Majeſty's In-'tereſt; I humbly take Leave to recommend them to your 'Majeſty; as likewiſe Don *James Boras de Toriſe*, who your 'Majeſty was pleaſed to ſend with the Fleet.

'*J. L.*'

As the Fleet had Occaſion to take in Water, before they could proceed upon further Service, Sir *John* intended to have ſailed the next Day to the watering Place, called *Pula*, at a little Diſtance from the Bay of *Cagliari*, that no Time might be loſt, when

when the Frigates (which were hourly expected) ſhould arrive from *Genova*, with Letters and Orders from *Great Britain*; but the Wind did not ſerve till the 10th Inſtant, when he weighed, and in a few Hours arrived at *Pula*, having left behind him at *Cagliari*, ſix Tranſports to carry the Corn to *Barcelona*, under Convoy of the *Norfolk* and a *Dutch* Man of War; the *Norfolk* being likewiſe ordered to receive the late Vice-Roy and his Retinue on board, and having ſeen the Tranſports in Safety at *Barcelona*, to proceed to *Valencia*, and land the Vice-Roy, purſuant to the Articles of Capitulation. He likewiſe appointed Senior *Bonenchi*, to be Conſul for the *Britiſh* Nation at *Cagliari*, his Qualification appearing by a Commiſſion of the like Nature, from the late King *William* the Third, dated the 9th of *November*, 1691; and having received Information of two Cettees, ſuſpected to be *French*, in the Gulph of *Palma*, he detach'd the *Dunkirk* thither to examine them, but they were not found there.

Two or three Days after the Fleet came to *Pula*, Sir *John* received the following Letter from his Catholick Majeſty.

The KING.

'Admiral LEAKE,

'DESIRING by all Means poſſible, to loſe no Time 'to encreaſe this Army, ſince the Superiority of the 'Enemy and the Loſs of *Tortoſa*, makes me fear ſome Inva'ſion ſtraitning the Country, may reduce this Capital to the laſt 'Extremity; and not being able to imagine that the Victory 'in *Flanders* can give any Foundation for to cauſe the Ene'my's juſt Fear: It appears, that how great ſoever the Pro'greſs of the Allies in thoſe Parts are, ſo much more pro'bable is it, that their Troops here (being ſuperior to ours) 'will ſtrive, as they have been beaten in *Flanders*, to remain 'victorious in *Spain*, to balance the War, the more to fo'ment the Projects of Peace, which the Enemy will never 'fail to propoſe; for which Reaſon I have already writ to the 'Emperor my Brother; that in Conſideration of theſe great 'Urgencies, he diſpoſes that with all Haſte two Regiments of 'Foot, which will conſiſt of 4000 Men, come hither, of 'thoſe of the *Imperial* Troops which are in the Kingdom of '*Naples*, and have a good Foundation to believe I may expect 'it; ſo on this Conſideration, I deſire you, (after the Expe'dition of *Sardinia* is over) that all the Fleet, or what Part 'of it you may think neceſſary for the Tranſportation of the 'ſame 4000 Men, may go thither, which I expect from 'your Love and Zeal of the common Cauſe, and may join 'to conſult this at General *Stanhope*'s Houſe; where will

'likewiſe

'likewiſe concur the Ambaſſador of the Emperor my Bro-
'ther.

From *Barcelona*, *Auguſt* 3, 1708, N. S. 'I *the* KING.'

He likewiſe received a Letter from General *Stanhope*, ſignifying the King of *Spain*'s Deſire, that he would detach ſuch a Number of Ships, as he ſhould think ſufficient to convoy the Troops from *Italy* to *Barcelona*, his Majeſty having taken ſuch Meaſures, that 4000 Men, (the greateſt Part of them the Emperor's Troops) ſhould be embark'd at *Naples*, on Veſſels of that Country, before the End of *September*: And having ſome Days before, by a Letter from the Conde *de St. Antonio*, received a Propoſal made by the ſaid Count, for an Expedition with the Fleet to *Palermo*, on the Iſland of *Sicily*, the 14th, he called a Council of War; and having communicated to them the afore-mentioned Letters, and at the ſame Time laid before the Council, her Majeſty's Inſtructions to him of the 4th of *May*, for demanding Satisfaction of the Pope: After mature Conſideration, it was their Opinion, with Reſpect to the Conde *de St. Antonio*'s Propoſition, that ſince King *Charles* had wrote to the Emperor for 4000 of his Troops that were at *Naples*, for the Preſervation of *Catalonia*, they thought it of greater Importance, at that Juncture, to tranſport thoſe Troops, as his Majeſty deſired, than the ſaid Conde's Propoſal; and in Conſideration, that Admiral *Waſſenaer*'s Orders for continuing in the *Streights*, would expire in ſix Days, and that the Frigates, which were ſent to *Genoua* and *Leghorn*, for Orders and Letters that might be come from *Great Britain* and *Holland*, were not then arrived, but hourly expected; it was reſolved, to remain where they were three Days longer, and then to proceed with the Fleet, according as it ſhould be determined by a Council of War, if the ſaid Frigates did not arrive before that Time; and that the *Norfolk* and one of the Ships of the States-General, ſhould go Convoy to the Tranſports, that were loading with Corn at *Cagliari*, for the Service of *Catalonia*; and when they had ſeen the Tranſports at *Barcelona*, to proceed in Company with the *Elizabeth*, *Sterling-Caſtle*, and another Ship of the States-General, to *Liſbon* with the Tranſports that were to be diſcharged at that Place, and from thence the *Engliſh* to proceed with the Trade to *Great-Britain*.

According to theſe Reſolutions, Sir *John* appointed the Convoys, with theſe further Orders to the Commadore of thoſe Ships, to call in their Way at *Alicant*, for ſome Mules that had been bought up at that Place, by Direction of the Earl of *Gallway*, for his Majeſty's Service in *Portugal*, which had

had been recommended to the Admiral, by a Letter from Major *Richards*, Governor of *Alicant*, ſome Time before; but to ſtay only three Days for them if they were not ready.

There happened nothing material the reſt of the Time the Fleet remained at *Sardinia*, unleſs it be a Death of one of the *Northumberland*'s Men killed on Shoar, which made ſome Stir amongſt the Seamen. The Sailors, it ſeems (as uſual) whilſt the Fleet lay at *Pula*, would ſometimes borrow of the Inhabitants a Cabbage or a Bunch of Grapes; which indeed was a great Refreſhment, and a ſtrong Temptation to them who had ſo little green Trade. As ſoon as the Admiral underſtood this, he gave ſtrict Orders to prevent the like Practices for the future, and ſeveral Men he cauſed publickly to be puniſhed, that were ſuſpected, declaring he would make Satisfaction to thoſe who had been injured. Nevertheleſs, ſoon after this, one of the *Northumberland*'s Men getting drunk a-ſhoar, they took the Opportunity to ſatisfy their Revenge upon him, murthering him (as the *Spaniſh* Cuſtom is) very barbarouſly. To palliate this Matter, they complained to the Vice-Roy, of having been robbed and plundered by the Seamen, and the Complaint was tranſmitted to the Admiral. In anſwer to which, he acquainted the Vice-Roy, with what Step he had taken upon the firſt Notice, to prevent ſuch Practices, and puniſh the Delinquents; and that his Intentions were to have made Satisfaction to the Inhabitants for all the Loſſes and Damage they might have ſuſtained from the Fleet; but as they had taken upon them to murther one of the Seamen they found a-ſhoar, he could not anſwer giving the Inhabitants any other Satisfaction, ſince they had committed ſo barbarous an Act: And it was with ſome Difficulty he could reſtrain the Seamen from taking Revenge in their Turn. Indeed, conſidering them as Conquerors, and that in their Conqueſts they had no Plunder, it was the more excuſable, to take a few Greens or a Bunch of Grapes, where they found them in ſuch Plenty, in the Country they had ſubdued, theſe Pecadillos ſhould have been overlook'd, if not for Love, yet for Fear of the Conſequences; and it was a little unnatural, to deny them ſome Refreſhment after their Labours, to enable them the better to purſue their future Conqueſts; eſpecially as they treated the *Spaniards*, their Enemies, with great Humanity and Generoſity, though in their Natures, rough and impetuous; whereas the *Spaniards*, who received the Benefit of their Victories; yet looking upon them as Hereticks, could one Hour embrace their Protection, and the next deſtroy them.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Sir John *prepares to put his Orders in Execution againſt the Pope; but at King* Charles*'s Deſire proceeds to the Iſland of* Minorca, *which is reduced by the Fleet and Land-Forces. Upon which he appoints a Squadron to remain Abroad, and returns to* England.

ACCORDING to the Reſolution of the Council of War, the 14th of *Auguſt*, the Fleet having watered, and being then ready to proceed upon further Service, were to remain at *Pula* three Days for the Frigates, expected with Orders and Letters from *Genova* and *Leghorn*. The 3d Day theſe Ships arrived, together with the *Centurion* and *Pool* from thoſe Places, but not any Orders or Letters for the Direction of the Fleet; the *Centurion* having 40,000 *l.* on board for *Barcelona*, the Admiral ordered to join the *Norfolk* at *Cagliari*, and proceed in Company with her thither, and the next Morning intended to ſail with the Fleet for *Italy*, to tranſport the *German* Forces from thence to *Barcelona*; but as by Mr. *Stanhope*'s Letter, they were not to be ready for Embarkation till the latter End of *September*, he propoſed in his Way thither to put in Execution her Majeſty's repeated Orders, for demanding Satisfaction of the Pope, which had hitherto been poſtponed by other more important Services: But the *Dutch*, by the Orders Admiral *Waſſenaer* had received from the States-General, could not accompany him upon that Expedition, as it related only to a particular Affront to the *Britiſh* Nation, which it ſeems they did not think themſelves concerned in: Nevertheleſs, Sir *John* reſolved to proceed to *Cevitta Vecchia* with the *Britiſh* Squadron, and drew up the following Letter to ſend to his Holineſs as ſoon as he arrived there.

'Holy FATHER,

'MY Royal Miſtreſs, the Queen of *Great Britain*, being aſſuredly informed, that your Holineſs, did not only promote and encourage the late intended Invaſion of her Majeſty's Dominions, by the pretended Prince of *Wales*, aſſiſted by the *French*; but alſo advance a conſiderable Sum of Money for that End, and in the moſt publick and inſolent Manner, order Prayers in the Churches of *Rome*, for the Succeſs of the Expedition; which is an Affront of that Nature to her Majeſty's Royal Perſon, her Crown and Dignity, the *Britiſh* Nation, and all her Majeſty's Allies, that her Majeſty (expecting Reparation for ſo high an Indignity, and

'that

'that the Expences to which the ſaid Expedition has put her 'Majeſty and her People be repaid) has commanded me to de- 'mand of your Holineſs the Sum of 400,000 Crowns, and 'to acquaint your Holineſs, that if this Demand is not in- 'ſtantly complied with, your Country will be put under mi- 'litary Execution.

'I deſire your Holineſs will be pleaſed to return me an An- 'ſwer hereunto in three Days at furtheſt; and I hope 'twill be in 'ſuch a Manner, as to prevent your Holineſs's Subjects from 'feeling the rigorous Effects of what my Duty obliges me to 'undertake, and the Naval and Land Force, I have the Hon- 'our to command, will enable me to perform.

'*I am, Holy Father,*

'*Your Holineſs's moſt*, &c.

'J. LEAKE.'

The next Day, being the 18th, early in the Morning, Sir *John* made the Signal to weigh, as likewiſe for a Council of War to have their Approbation of the Meaſures he had concerted to put in Execution againſt the Pope. In the mean Time, a Felucca arrived in the Fleet, Expreſs from *Barcelona*, with the following Letters from the King of *Spain*, and Mr. *Stanhope*, which ſet aſide the whole *Italian* Expedition.

'Admiral LEAKE,

'HAVING had Advice, that the City of *Cagliari*, 'the Metropolis of *Sardinia*, is reduced to my Obedi- 'ence, and conſidering it's entirely owing to your Prudence 'and Conduct, I could not omit to expreſs my Gratitude to 'you thereupon, giving you my Thanks for the Good you 'have done in that important Expedition, expecting you 'will ſend me the Particulars thereof, (as I don't doubt you 'will) and in what Condition the reſt of that Kingdom is 'in, being perſuaded, your wiſe Conduct and Diſpoſition, 'will evidently appear in the entire Execution of that Enter- 'prize. I'll take it kindly you'll thank the Subalterns and 'Captains of the Fleet, for the Service they have done me, 'in being aſſiſtant to you, deſiring you at the ſame Time to 'conſider of what Importance it is, that after you have fi- 'niſhed your Operations in *Italy*, you begin to reduce the 'Iſland of *Minorca* and *Port-Mahon*, that the Fleet may be 'ſecure in thoſe Seas, and better Security of my Royal Per- 'ſon; and likewiſe to guard the Tranſports for the Subſiſ- 'tence of the Army, which this Country cannot afford to

'do;

'do; conſidering the Truth of this Affair and its great Conſequences, I would have you with all poſſible Diligence and Speed put it in Execution.

'I have ordered ſome Troops to be put on board the Ships that are here belonging to your Fleet, under the Command of General *Stanhope*, and the Gallies to convoy the neceſſary Warlike Stores and Proviſions, to begin the Conqueſt of that Iſland and Port, till you arrive to finiſh it (which I promiſe myſelf you will) you'll add to the Glories you have acquired in your Conqueſts, this, which is of ſo great Importance to the Benefit of the common Cauſe and my Royal Intereſt. Given at *Barcelona*, the 23d of *Auguſt*, 1708, N. S.

'*I the* KING.'

Barcelona, *Auguſt* 24, 1708, N. S.

'SIR,

'I Heartily congratulate with you on your happy Succeſs at *Sardinia*, as well on Account of the Publick, as for the particular Honour that will by it accrue to you, who will have the Satisfaction of having yourſelf performed all the eminent Services, which have offered in this War of *Spain*. Having received a few Days ſince, a Letter from my Lord Treaſurer, of which I ſend you incloſed an Extract; at the ſame Time the incloſed Packet for you; I have thought proper to diſpatch a Felucca with it in Search of you, imagining it might contain ſome Directions on the ſame Matter. For my own Part, in order that no Time may be loſt in attempting a Thing of ſuch Conſequence, and upon which our Miniſtry ſeem to lay ſuch a Streſs, I did immediately upon the Receipt of this Letter, order 1800 Men to march to *Barcelona*, who will be here in two Days; I have likewiſe got ready 10 Battering Guns, ſome Mortars, a good Number of Bombs, 15,000 Cannon Shot, and all other ſuch Materials as could be got here, with 1000 Barrels of Powder; I hope to get all on board the Tranſports in five Days.

'I propoſed to the ſix Men of War that are here, to have carried me with theſe Troops ſo ſoon as we had been ready, directly to *Minorca*, where I propoſed to have taken Poſt and put every Thing in a Readineſs for you at your Return this Way, to have concluded your Campaign by this important Service: Incloſed I ſend you their Reſolution, according to which, God willing, I propoſe to ſail this Day ſe'enight to *Majorca*, where I hope to get Aſſiſtance of Men, Cannon, and Ammunition: For you will be ſenſible

'that

'that tho' I have got from hence, more of every Thing 'than I myſelf thought was poſſible; yet ſhall fall very ſhort 'of what will be wanting; and indeed I proceed upon no 'other Hopes, than that you will, upon this Notice, come 'hither with the Fleet. The Force I have will be ſufficient 'to take Poſts, and to make Batteries againſt your Arrival, 'when I hope you will ſpare us your Marines, Guns, Pow-'der, *&c.* and crown all your Succeſſes in theſe Parts by the 'Reduction of this important Fortreſs, which if once in our 'Hands, will make us always Maſters of theſe Seas. I ſhall 'with the greateſt Impatience imaginable expect your Anſwer 'to this Letter, and am ever with the greateſt Reſpect 'imaginable,

'*SIR, yours*, &c.

'JAMES STANHOPE.'

The incloſed Extract of the Lord Treaſurer's Letter was as follows, dated *June* 22.

'———— I have the Honour of a Letter from the King 'of *Spain*, in which he is extremely preſſing, that a Squadron 'may winter in the *Mediterranean*; every Body is ready to 'agree, that nothing could be of greater Uſe; but the 'great Queſtion is, How ſhall that Squadron be ſecure in any 'Port of *Italy* from the Inſults of the *French*, by a ſuperior 'Force from *Toulon?* I conclude upon this Head, that unleſs 'we can take *Toulon* from the *French*, or *Port-Mahon*, this 'Thing is no Way practicable with Safety. I wiſh the 'Duke of *Savoy* may find himſelf in a Condition to attempt 'the former, but I have but little Hopes of that: It remains 'then, that you ſhould diſpoſe yourſelves, without Loſs of 'Time, to be Maſters of *Port-Mahon*; and upon Notice of 'it to us, Meaſures may be taken forthwith for the Winter-'ing of 16 or 20 Ships there, *&c.*'

The Reſolution of the Captains of the Ships upon the Coaſt of *Catalonia*, referred to in General *Stanhope*'s Letter, was as follows.

At a Conſultation, held on board her Majeſty's Ship, the Elizabeth *in* Barcelona *Road*, Auguſt 23, 1708, *N.S.*

PRESENT,

Captain *John Hubbard*, Captain *Francis Dove*, Captain *Nicholas Trevanion*, Captain *Philip Stanhope*.

WHEREAS Requeſt has been made to Captain *Hubbard*, Commander of her *Britiſh* Majeſty's Ships on

on the Coaſt of *Catalonia*, by the King of *Spain* and Lieutenant-General *Stanhope*, that Aſſiſtance may be given by him and his Squadron, for tranſporting Troops from *Catalonia* to *Minorca*, in order to reduce that Iſland to his Catholick Majeſty's Obedience. Having conſidered the Orders left us by the Admiral, by which we are at Liberty to appoint two Ships of this Squadron, as ſhould be deſired by his Catholick Majeſty or Lieutenant-General *Stanhope*, to convoy Corn-Ships from *Algier* or *Majorca* to *Catalonia*: In order to ſhew our Readineſs to comply with his Catholick Majeſty's Commands, as far as poſſible, we are come to this unanimous Reſolution; that in Regard the two States-Generals Ships of this Squadron, are not by their Orders at Liberty to proceed from this Place after the laſt of this Month, N. S. That the *York* and *Milford* do proceed with Lieutenant-General *Stanhope* and the Tranſports and Troops afore-mentioned, to *Majorca*, in order to take under their Care ſuch other Embarkations with Stores, Proviſions, *&c.* as ſhall be got ready for this Expedition, and to attend the Service propoſed by his Majeſty, till ſuch Time as the Admiral, (who is acquainted hereof by Expreſs) ſhall give further Orders in this Affair; and in Caſe we receive no contradicting Orders from the Admiral, we proceed with the other two *Engliſh* Men of War with them to *Majorca*, and then the two ſaid Ships to return back to *Barcelona* to expect further Orders.

Signed, JOHN HUBBARD.
FRANCIS DOVE.
NICHOLAS TREVANIAN.
PHILIP STANHOPE.

In the incloſed Packet, which Sir *John* received likewiſe at the ſame Time, he had the following Letter from *England*, from the Secretary of State, which came by the ſame Conveyance, as that from the Lord-Treaſurer to General *Stanhope*.

Whitehall, June 22, 1708.

'SIR,

'I Have received your Favour of the third Inſtant, O. S. 'from *Vado*, which I have laid before the Queen, who 'does well approve of the Reſolution which was taken in the 'Council of War of the ſame Date; but hopes when you 'have carried the Troops to *Spain*, you will then have Time 'and Opportunity, to put in Execution your Inſtructions in 'relation to the Pope, her Majeſty having that Matter very 'much at Heart; provided it can be done with Conſiſtency 'to the main Service, which you have an Account of before 'this Time. The Queen has ordered the States ſhall be ac-

'quainted with this Inſtruction, in relation to the Pope, that 'they may ſend the like to their Admiral. I wiſh you all 'good Succeſs, and am with great Truth,

'*SIR*,

'*Your moſt obedient*,

'*Humble Servant*,

'SUNDERLAND.'

Upon the Receipt of theſe Letters, Sir *John* having read them, immediately laid them before the Council of War then ſitting, which he had aſſembled, in order to approve his Meaſures againſt the Pope, that he might proceed directly upon that Service: But the Council deliberating upon theſe Letters, and conſidering how far the Seaſon of the Year was advanced, and that by the Orders Admiral *Waſſenaer* had received from the States-General, he could not accompany the Fleet upon the Expedition againſt the Pope: It was unanimouſly reſolved to proceed with the Fleet to *Minorca*, and endeavour all that was poſſible, to reduce that Iſland to his Majeſty's Obedience, as judging it to be more for the common Benefit of the Allies, than any other Service that could be undertaken by the Fleet that Campaign; and that the Beginning of the next Month, a Squadron of Ships ſhould be detach'd to tranſport the Troops from *Naples* to *Barcelona*.

Having come to theſe Reſolutions, Sir *John* diſpatch'd the *Defiance* to *Majorca*, with a Letter to General *Stanhope*, to acquaint him, that he hoped to be at *Port-Mahon* as ſoon as him; but if the General was not at *Majorca*, then the Captain was to leave the Letter for him there, and go to *Barcelona* in queſt of him; if he was not at *Barcelona*, to follow him to *Majorca*; and if he did not then meet with him, to join the Fleet off of *Port-Mahon*. At the ſame Time he wrote the following Letter, and ſent it to his Catholick Majeſty.

Albemarle, Auguſt 18, 1708.

'SIR,

'THIS Morning I was honoured with your Majeſty's 'Letter of the 23d Inſtant, N. S. and having com-'municated the ſame to the Flag-Officers and Captains in a 'Council of War, do herewith ſend your Majeſty the Reſolu-'tion taken thereupon, and ſhall ſail for *Port-Mahon* this 'Evening. What I have further to add, is, that the whole 'Iſland of *Sardinia* is entirely at your Majeſty's Obedience,

'and the City of *Cagliari* is ſo ſtrongly fortified by Nature as 'well as with Cannon, (of which there are about 70 mounted 'upon the Wall) that it is the Opinion of thoſe that are bet-'ter Judges than I can be, that 5 or 600 might defend it 'againſt an Army of 20,000. I have furniſhed the Maga-'zines with 100 Barrels of Powder out of the Fleet, ſo that 'they have between 5 and 600 in all, and all other Ammu-'nition (as far as I can learn) ſufficient to maintain the Place. 'I am with all Submiſſion,

'*SIR*,

'*Your Majeſty's*, &c.

'J. LEAKE.'

Minorca is an Iſland in the *Mediterranean* Sea, ſituate about 15 Leagues from *Majorca*, and 35 from *Barcelona*; extending from South-Eaſt to North-Weſt; in Length about 14 Leagues, and in Breadth about 7 Leagues; well ſtored with Wood, large Cattle, and Mules; the Chief City is *Citadella*, on the Weſt Side, and 15 Miles to the South-Eaſt, lies *Port-Mahon*, with one of the beſt Harbours in the World, defended by the Caſtle of *St. Philip*, the Strength and Key of the Iſland.

The ſame Day in the Evening, (*viz.* the 18th,) Sir *John* ſailed with the Fleet from *Pula* near *Cagliari*, and arrived off of *Port-Mahon* the 25th following, in the Afternoon; but not finding General *Stanhope* or any Troops there, it was reſolved at a Council of War, to cruize off of that Place, without making any Attempt, till Lieutenant-General *Stanhope* ſhould arrive, or they ſhould receive further Advice from him; it being their Opinion, they could not land a Strength ſufficient to do any Thing with Succeſs till then: In the mean Time he detach'd two Ships to *Majorca*, to haſten the Embarkation of the Troops which were to be furniſhed from that Iſland; and if the General was not there, to ſtay till he came, or till further Order; giving all Aſſiſtance in convoying the Tranſports and obſerving the Lieutenant-General's Directions. By them he likewiſe ſent a Letter to acquaint him of his Arrival before *Port-Mahon* that Morning, and the Reſolutions they had taken, not finding him there: That one of the Iſlanders came off and acquainted him, that the Gariſon conſiſted of between 4 and 500 *French*, and the like Number of Iſlanders; but believed the latter would do no Miſchief, withal, deſiring the General to adviſe him of his Arrival at *Majorca* by his Brother, or ſome other ſmall Ship that might be with him.

In the mean Time the Fleet kept plying off of the Iſland, and were not wholly unemploy'd: The *Iſabella* Yacht, with the Boats, the Admiral ſent in under the Protection of two Men of War, to ſound for a convenient Place to anchor, as well as to land the Forces at. In this Attempt, the Caſtle at the Harbour's Mouth endeavoured to diſturb them, firing a great many Shot, but did little or no Damage, and could not prevent them making what Obſervations they thought fit; and the 29th, the *Colcheſter* brought a Prize into the Fleet, ſhe had taken off of Port *Fornella* in that Iſland, which came from *Toulon*, laden with Proviſions and Cloathing for the *French* Gariſon in *Port-Mahon*. In this Interval, Sir *John* thought proper to take into Conſideration the Diſpoſition of the Fleet for the Winter Seaſon, as the Campaign now drew towards the Cloſe. For this Purpoſe, he called a Council of War the 1ſt of *September* off of *Port-Mahon*; and having therein maturely conſidered his general Inſtructions, of the 8th of *January*, particularly that Part relating to the guarding the Coaſt of *Portugal*, upon the Approach of the Winter Seaſon; it was unanimouſly the Opinion of the Council of War, that he was at Liberty to go to *Great Britain*, with ſuch a Number of her Majeſty's Ships, as ſhould be thought proper at a Council of War, when the Winter Seaſon ſhould render it neceſſary, leaving behind him a Squadron of Ships to guard the Coaſt of *Portugal*, and to perform what other Services ſhould be required by their Majeſties, the Kings of *Spain* and *Portugal*. The ſame Day the *Northumberland* and *Cambridge* returned from *Majorca* with ſome Cettes, having Materials of War on board for the Army, and bringing the following Letter from General *Stanhope* to the Admiral.

Milford, September 14, 1708, N. S.

'SIR,

'HAVING received your Commands to ſignify to you, 'wherein the Fleet can be aſſiſting to carry on the At- 'tempt againſt *Port-Mahon*; I am to acquaint you, that the 'Number of regular Troops with me, when all joined, will 'fall ſhort of 2000 Men, which you muſt be ſenſible are few 'for ſuch an Enterpriſe, eſpecially, ſince the Nature of the 'Iſland will not admit of Ships riding near the Attack, 'whereby, in other Attempts of this Kind, great Aſſiſtance 'has been given from the Sea. Since therefore we cannot 'expect any Aſſiſtance from Sea when we are once on Shoar, 'I ſhall beg of you, that as many Marines as can be ſpared 'from the Fleet, be put on Shoar to continue there during 'the Siege. And I would likewiſe offer it to your Conſidera- 'tion, whether, in caſe we have the good Fortune to ſucceed, 'it would be moſt proper to gariſon the Caſtle with Marines.

'I

'I ſhall likewiſe pray you to furniſh us with 1000 Bags of Biſcuit, to be repaid you from *Tarragona* whenever called for there. As to what you have been pleaſed to mention to me concerning the Ships which were deſigned to be ſent up to *Italy* to fetch *German* Troops, in purſuance to your laſt Conſultation at *Barcelona*, I am of Opinion, that his Majeſty will ſo far give the Preference to the Service in Hand, that he will be ſatisfied, if thoſe Ships be detained here, either till the Matter be over, or that we are in a Condition to ſpare them.

'I am commanded by his Majeſty, to repreſent to you, that by the Proviſion made for this Expedition, *Barcelona* is entirely drained of Cannon Shot; and I muſt further acquaint you, that we are diſappointed of 22,000, which were embark'd in *England* for this Country, but were left behind; we are aſſured, that Ships ſhould be ſent to *Liſbon* with the firſt Convoy, we muſt therefore pray you to furniſh us with what Quantity of Shot you can conveniently ſpare, and thoſe Ships which go to *Liſbon*, may be aſſured of being repaid there. I am commanded alſo by his Majeſty, to repreſent to you, that it might be of dangerous Conſequence for *Majorca*, at this Time, to remove the few *Engliſh* Marines which are there, and the ſame has lately been confirmed to me there by the Vice-Roy. I am ever, with the greateſt Reſpect imaginable,

'*SIR*, *Yours*, &c.

'JAMES STANHOPE.'

The ſame Day likewiſe the *Milford* and three *Dutch* Men of War arrived, the *Milford* having Lieutenant-General *Stanhope* on board; but the reſt of the Ships, with the Tranſports and Troops being abſent, Sir *John* detach'd the *Northumberland* to *Majorca*, and the *Eſſex* to *Barcelona*, to look for them and haſten them to *Minorca*; and the 3d Inſtant they arrived. Whereupon he held a Council of War, and they came to the following Reſolutions: That her Majeſty's Ships which were to return to *Great Britain*, ſhould leave behind them, to aſſiſt in the Attempt upon *Minorca*, all the Marines they had above their higheſt Complement of Men allowed to each Ship; and that the Squadron which was to be left under the Command of Sir *Edward Whitaker*, Rear-Admiral of the Red, for the Winter Service, as the Treaty with his Majeſty the King of *Portugal* required, together with the Ships of the States-General, ſhould (notwithſtanding the Reſolution taken at a Council of War, held the 14th *ultimo*) remain there, and with their Marines and Seamen, give

all poſſible Aſſiſtance to the Lieutenant-General in the reducing of *Port-Mahon*, and continue upon that Service as long as he ſhould deſire, with Regard to the Seaſon of the Year, the Time his Proviſions might laſt, and the tranſporting from *Naples* to *Barcelona* 4000 of the Emperor's Troops for the Service of his Catholick Majeſty in *Catalonia*: And it was further reſolved, the *Engliſh* Ships ſhould ſupply the Lieutenant-General with as much Bread as could poſſibly be ſpared, and both *Engliſh* and *Dutch* all their Cannon Shot, above what was neceſſary for their own Defence; and that ſince the Seaſon of the Year was ſo far advanced, and that there was an abſolute Neceſſity to go to *Majorca*, or ſome other convenient Place to water, which in all Probability would take up ſome Time, it was further reſolved, That when the Troops, Cannon, and every Thing elſe was landed for carrying on the Siege, to proceed with the Ships for *Great Britain*, after they were watered, leaving the reſt under the Command of Sir *Edward Whitaker*, to perform the Winter Services. Her Majeſty's Inſtructions for demanding Satisfaction of the Pope having alſo been re-conſidered; it was their Opinion, if Sir *Edward Whitaker* had Time, and could do it with Conſiſtency to the other Services he was to perform, that he ſhould put the ſaid Inſtructions in Execution; and Sir *John* ſent the following Letter thereupon to General *Stanhope*.

'SIR,

'I Herewith ſend you a Copy of the Reſult of a Council of War I held this Morning, which will inform you how far the Fleet is capable of aſſiſting you; and as I cannot but join in Opinion with you, that 'twill be moſt proper to gariſon the Caſtle with Marines, if you ſucceed in the Enterpriſe; ſo I ſhall order Sir *Edward Whitaker* to reduce the Ships, that ſtay abroad under his Command, to their proper Complements of Men, and to leave the ſupernumerary Marines to gariſon the Caſtle as you deſire. I am faithfully,

'*SIR, Your*, &c.

'J. LEAKE.'

'*P. S.* I deſire you'll not forget the Gariſon of *Majorca*.'

It ſeems, the Admiral and General concurred in Opinion for putting a Gariſon of Marines in the Caſtle of *Mahon*, being ſenſible, not only of the immediate Benefit of that Conqueſt to the King of *Spain*, and the Allies, in the preſent War, but the future Advantage it might be to *Great Britain*, if we could keep it, either in War or Peace. The Admiral was more particularly ſenſible of this, having often ſuffered great Incon-

Inconveniencies for want of ſuch a Harbour in the *Mediterranean*; for this End Marines were the propereſt Gariſon, as not being ſo liable to be drawn off upon any Occaſion as other Troops, and being not under the Direction of the Land-Generals. Whether our Miniſtry at Home had any Deſign to ſecure this Iſland to *Great Britain*, when they firſt deſigned the Conqueſt of it, I don't know; but the Meaſures Sir *John* and the General took in the Buſineſs were very agreeable to ſuch a Deſign, and they certainly had ſuch Thoughts [a] ſoon after the Iſland was reduced.

In the Evening after the Council of War, the Fleet anchored near the Harbour, and the Forces were landed. The next Morning the Marines were put on Shoar, (except thoſe which had been taken on board from off the Coaſt of *Spain*, which the Admiral ordered to man the Ships that were to go home with him:) Whereupon all the Inhabitants declared for King *Charles*, and the Magiſtrates of the Town of *Mahon* came and delivered up the Keys of their City, only Fort *Charles* and the ſtrong Caſtle of *St. Philip* held out. The 7th, the Admiral ordered the *Dunkirk*, *York*, and *Centurion* to anchor near the S. E. Point of the Iſland, to cover the landing of the heavy Cannon, to be placed on the Battery they had made on the South Side of the Harbeur. This was the greateſt Difficulty that attended them in the Siege; for there was no Place to land them, but in a Creek, within half Cannon Shot of the Enemy's Batteries, which was wholly impracticable in the Day-time, and not to be done in the Night but with great Hazard: Nevertheleſs, it was attempted that Evening, and effected with little Loſs. In the mean Time, two *Engliſh* and two *Dutch* Men of War were diſpatch'd to *Barcelona*, to convoy the Tranſports from thence to *Liſbon* and ſo to *Great Britain*, (purſuant to the Council of War of the 14th of *Auguſt*,) and the *Colcheſter* and *Fowey* Pink, the Admiral ſent to *Leghorn* to refit and victual, and cruize off of that Harbour for the Protection of the Trade till further Orders, ſending by them Directions to Mr. *Crow*, the *Britiſh*

[a] In a Letter from the Earl of *Sunderland* to General *Stanhope*, upon the Reduction of *Minorca*, dated *October* 20, 1708.—Every Body looks upon our being in Poſſeſſion of *Port-Mahon*, as of the laſt Conſequence to the carrying on the War in *Spain*, beſides the other Advantages; which, if we are wiſe, we may reap from it, both in War and Peace.—I don't ſay any Thing of what you mention in Relation to the Troops from *Naples*, becauſe you will receive by Mr. *Craggs* the Queen's Approbation of what you have done in Relation to it.—I muſt not omit telling you, that the Queen does entirely approve of your leaving an *Engliſh* Gariſon in *Port-Mahon*, for the Reaſons you mention, though ſome of them muſt be kept very ſecret. *Boyer*'s Life of Queen *Anne*, Folio, p. 351.

Conſul and Agent for Victualling her Majeſty's Ships at that Place, to provide Proviſions for 5000 Men for 30 Days, againſt the Arrival of Sir *Edward Whitaker* at *Leghorn*, with the Squadron under his Command. Theſe Diſpoſitions being made, the City of *Mahon* reduced to the Obedience of King *Charles*, and the Batteries opened againſt the Caſtle of *St. Philip*; every Thing being in ſuch a Condition, that it was impoſſible the Enemy could hold out long, one Half of the Gariſon of the Caſtle being Natives of the Iſland, and well affected to King *Charles*: The 8th Inſtant, Sir *John* left *Minorca*, with ſeven *Engliſh* and eight *Dutch* of the Line, in order to water at *Majorca*, and then proceed to *England*, purſuant to the Reſolution of the laſt Council of War; leaving Sir *Edward Whitaker* with 17 Sail, to attend the Reduction of the Caſtle of *Mahon*, and thereby compleat the Conqueſt of that Iſland; together with the following Inſtructions for his Conduct, in relation to *Minorca*, and the other Services to be performed by him, during his Command in the *Mediterranean*, and elſewhere, for the Winter Service.

By Sir John Leake, *Knt. Admiral of the White, and Admiral and Commander in Chief of her Majeſty's Fleet.*

PURSUANT to the Reſolution taken at a Council of War held the 3d Inſtant: You are hereby required and directed, to take the Ships of her Majeſty and thoſe of the States-General, named in the Margin [a], under your Command, and give all poſſible Aſſiſtance, with the Marines and Seamen, to Lieutenant-General *Stanhope* and the Forces under his Command, in the reducing *Port-Mahon*, and the reſt of the Iſland of *Minorca*, to the Obedience of his Catholick Majeſty; and when that Service is performed, or that the Lieutenant-General is in a Condition to carry on the Siege without the Aſſiſtance of the Squadron under your Command; (Regard likewiſe being had to the Seaſon of the Year, the Time your Proviſions may laſt, and the tranſporting 4000 of the Emperor's Troops from *Naples* to *Barcelona*, for the Service in *Catalonia*,) you are then to proceed to *Leghorn*, and after you have taken on board all your Ships a Month's Proviſions, at whole Allowance, for their higheſt Complements of Men, which I have ordered the Agent-Victualler at that Place to get ready againſt your Arrival there; you are then to

[a] *Chicheſter, Torbay, Firme, Northumberland, Naſſau, Defiance, Eſſex, Dunkirk, York, Colcheſter, Centurion, Wincheſter, Sorlings, Milford, Fowey, Faulcon, Medway* Prize, *Terrible* Fireſhip, *Blaſt* and *Granado* Bombs, two Hoſpitals, *Gouda, Rotterdam, Arnham.*

make

make the beſt of your Way to *Naples*, and tranſport from thence to *Barcelona* the afore-mentioned Troops; but if they are not ready, nor Orders from the Emperor for their being embarked for the afore-mentioned Service, you are then to proceed, as afore-mentioned, without them; and having acquainted the King of *Spain* with your Proceedings, and performed any Service his Majeſty or Lieutenant-General *Stanhope* may propoſe to you, which may be judged by a Council of War practicable to be undertaken by the Whole, or Part of your Squadron, with Regard to the Time your Proviſions may laſt, and the Seaſon of the Year; you are to repair to *Liſbon*, and with all poſſible Diligence get the Squadron cleaned and refitted for the Sea upon any emergent Occaſion: Only you are to appoint four or five Frigates to cruize upon the Coaſt of *Catalonia* and *Valencia*, and to perform any other Services which may be deſired by his Majeſty's the King of *Spain*, or Lieutenant-General *Stanhope*, leaving ſuch Orders with their reſpective Commanders, as you ſhall judge moſt for the Service; and that they clean and refit at *Genova*, *Leghorn* or *Majorca*, (if the latter may be convenient) once in two Months, if the Service they may be upon will admit thereof.

And whereas you will receive herewith, her Majeſty's Inſtructions to me of the 4th of *May* laſt, for demanding Satisfaction of the Pope; you are to put the ſaid Inſtructions in Execution before you leave the *Mediterranean*, if you have Time, and can do it with Conſiſtency to the other Services you are to perform, and it ſhall be judged practicable by a Council of War to be undertaken.

When you proceed to *Liſbon*, you are to take under your Care and Convoy, all the Tranſports and others employed in her Majeſty's Service which are at *Barcelona*, except thoſe which are appointed to ſupply the Army in *Catalonia* with Corn; and on your Arrival at *Liſbon*, to ſend to *Great Britain* by the firſt Convoy, thoſe that are to be diſcharged in the River of *Thames* and other Places, and order the reſt to be diſcharged at *Liſbon*.

In caſe Application ſhall be made to you, by the Commanding Officer at *Gibraltar*, for ſuch Ammunition, Stores or Proviſions, as the Gariſon may be in need of, you are to cauſe the ſame to be ſupplied from Time to Time from *Liſbon*, or the Ships under your Command, ſo far as can well be ſpared, taking Care that Receipts be taken from the proper Officers, into whoſe Cuſtody the ſaid Proviſions, Stores, *&c.* ſhall be delivered.

And as you are to inform yourſelf, from Time to Time, of the Condition of *Gibraltar*, ſo are you to endeavour, in the beſt Manner you ſhall be able, to have cruizing Ships in thoſe Parts,

Parts, to protect the Trade of her Majesty's Subjects, and of her Allies, and annoy the Enemy, taking Care as much as in you lies, that the Ships you order upon that Service, may be ready to join you, if the King of *Spain*'s Affairs in *Catalonia* shall require your going to his Assistance; and in such Case you are to consider at a Council of War, whether to go yourself with all the Squadron, or send Part of them, according to the Intelligence you may receive of the Enemy's Naval Strength at Sea.

If *Port-Mahon* and the rest of the Island of *Minorca* shall be reduced; you are to take off as many of the Marines as will man each Ship of your Squadron to their highest Complements, and leave the rest to garison the Place; otherwise you are to take them all on board, and cause them to be borne upon the Ships Books as usual, till they shall be otherwise disposed of.

You are, from Time to Time, to send an Account of your Proceedings to Mr. Secretary *Burchet*, for the Information of his Royal Highness, Lord-High-Admiral of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, &c. for which this shall be your Warrant. Dated on board the *Albemarle* before *Port-Mahon*, *September* the 7th, 1708.

J. Leake.

By Command of the Admiral, E. Archdale.

To Sir *Edward Whitaker*, Knt. Rear-Admiral of the Red Squadron of her Majesty's Fleet.

The 11th of *September*, the Fleet arrived at *Majorca*; the next Morning the Vice-Roy came on board to pay his Compliments to the Admiral, having received great Civilities from him in the Campaign of 1706, when he reduced that Island to the Obedience of King *Charles*. Here Sir *John* staid six Days to water the Fleet, and after a very honourable Reception and the hearty Wishes of the People for his good Voyage, the 17th, he sailed from *Majorca*, the Vice-Roy having taken his Leave of him on board the *Albemarle* the Evening before. The Place of Rendezvous in case of Separation, with the Wind Westerly, before the Fleet got out of the *Mediterranean*, was *Roqueta*, Cape *Malaga*, or *Gibraltar*; if after, *Spithead* was the Place. The next Day after he left *Majorca*, being off of *Ivica*, he was joined by the *York* from *Minorca*, with Letters from Sir *Edward Whitaker*, and the following from his Catholick Majesty to Sir *John*.

The

The KING.

'Admiral LEAKE,

'IN Anſwer to yours of the 17th, and another of the 29th of laſt Month, containing the Capitulations and the Council of War held at *Pula*; I take Occaſion to ſignify to you my entire Approbation of them, as they redound to your own Praiſe, and give inconteſtable Proofs of your glorious Operations; the Conſequence of ſo important an Expedition as that of the Kingdom of *Sardinia:* So that I promiſe myſelf, by means of your Activity and prudent Conduct, to ſee it happily concluded; as I have experienced in every Thing that has come under your Care. And I doubt not but you will with equal Zeal apply yourſelf to the Expedition of the Iſland of *Minorca*, on account of the great Conſequences that will follow to the Service of the Alliance, and conſidering the approved Experience of thoſe who were at the Council, to whom you will give Thanks in my Name: I hope, when you have finiſhed this Enterpriſe, you will provide in the moſt proper and effectual Manner, that there may remain a ſufficient Squadron in thoſe Seas to ſecure them this Winter from Privateers, who may eaſily cut off the Subſiſtance of the Army, which the Country of itſelf is not able to ſupport; and at the ſame Time defend this Principality from the Invaſions it is expoſed to by the Neighbourhood of the Enemy: This Point I have laid before her *Britannick* Majeſty, not doubting from the Sincerity with which ſhe endeavours by all Means to facilitate whatever tends to the greater Advantage of the common Cauſe, but ſhe will come into it, and approve of your Proceedings, and your informing me of the Reſolution taken; for which you may depend upon my Benevolentia, and that Eſteem which I have always had and ſhall have for your Perſon.

From *Barcelona*,
September 10, 1708. 'I *the* KING.'

To this Letter of his Majeſty's, Sir *John* returned the following Anſwer.

'SIR,

'I Am honoured with your Majeſty's Letter of the 10th Inſtant, N. S. and humbly take Leave to acquaint your Majeſty, that I arrived with the Fleet before *Port-Mahon*, on the 5th Inſtant, N. S. and Lieutenant-General *Stanhope* in the *Milford* joined me the 13th, as did likewiſe the reſt of the Men of War and Tranſports, with the Forces on board, two Days afterwards. I then called a Council of War, to conſider how far the Fleet could be ſerviceable to

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'the Lieutenant-General in reducing *Port-Mahon*, and the 'reſt of the Iſland of *Minorca*, to your Majeſty's Obedience, 'the Reſult of which I herewith ſend your Majeſty. And 'ſince the Seaſon of the Year obliges me to return to *Great* 'Britain, purſuant to my Orders; I have taken ſeven of 'her Majeſty's Ships, and the like Number of the States-'General to call at this Place to water, and left Sir *Edward* 'Whitaker, Rear-Admiral of the Red, to give needful Aſ-'ſiſtance in reducing *Port-Mahon*, and to perform the other 'Winter Services; and that he may remain in the *Mediter-*'ranean ſome Time longer than the Ships under his Com-'mand are victualled for, I have ordered him (when the 'Service of *Port-Mahon* is over) to ſtop at *Leghorn*, in his 'Paſſage to *Naples*, and take on board at that Place ſix 'Weeks Proviſions: But as to what your Majeſty is pleaſed 'to deſire, that a Squadron may winter at *Port-Mahon*, I 'cannot poſſibly comply therewith without Orders, nor can 'it be done, till Proviſion be made of Naval and Ordnance 'Stores, and Conveniency for careening the Ships, the ſend-'ing of which from *Great Britain* will take up ſome Time: 'But hope, if *Port-Mahon* is reduced, and I have the Honour 'to wait upon your Majeſty the next Summer, that every 'Thing will be accommodated more for your Majeſty's Ser-'vice. In the mean Time, I have ordered Sir *Edward* 'Whitaker to leave four or five Frigates, when he goes to '*Liſbon*, to attend the Coaſt of *Catalonia*, and to perform 'any other Services your Majeſty ſhall be pleaſed to require 'of them. It is with all imaginable Gratitude and Pleaſure, 'that I receive your Majeſty's Approbation of my Services, 'and ſhall always eſteem it my greateſt Happineſs, if your 'Majeſty will be pleaſed to believe, that though I may not be 'ſucceſsful, my beſt Endeavours ſhall always be dedicated to 'your Majeſty's Intereſt. I wiſh your Majeſty, and the 'Queen, your Majeſty's Royal Spouſe, all the Happineſs this 'World can afford, and remain,

'*SIR*,

'*Your Majeſty's moſt*, &c.

'J. LEAKE.'

By the Letters, which Sir *John* received at the ſame Time from Sir *Edward Whitaker*, he had the agreeable News, that two Ships had reduced the Caſtle of *Fornella*, with the Loſs only of 6 Men killed and 12 wounded, to which Place all the Tranſports and Bomb-Veſſels were ſent, which before had no ſecure Place to ride in; and that the Caſtle of *St. Philip* could not hold out long; and before he left the *Mediter-*ranean, viz. two Days after the Receipt of this Letter, the Caſtle

Caſtle ſurrendered, and conſequently the whole Iſland; whereupon Sir *Edward* having left a Gariſon of Marines in the Caſtle, according to the Orders given him by Sir *John Leake*, he left that Place, to proceed upon further Services enjoined him by his Inſtructions.

Upon the taking of *Sardinia* and *Minorca*, a publick Medal was ſtruck at the *Tower*, having on one Side her Majeſty's Buſt, and on the Reverſe, *Victory*, ſtanding on a Sea Couch, holding in her Right Hand, a Palm Branch, and in her Left the Union Standard, the two Iſlands appearing at a Diſtance, and this Epigraphe. *SARDINIA ET BALEARIS MINOR CAPTÆ: Exergue*, MDCCVIII.

I have now given a full and genuine Relation of this important Conqueſt; but I cannot paſs over Mr. *Boyer*'s Account of it, in his Hiſtory of the Life and Reign of Queen *Anne*, without ſome Remarks; an Author, otherwiſe of great Credit, but in this Particular, was either greatly deceived, or extreamly partial. Mr. *Boyer* had certainly very great Opportunities to come at the Truth, which he ſtrictly follows upon moſt Occaſions; but here, whatever was the Motive, the Reputation of the Admiral is wholly ſacrificed to raiſe the Glory of the General, by a Miſrepreſentation of ſome Circumſtances, which it was impoſſible he could be ignorant of. His Relation begins in this Manner: The Conqueſt of the Iſland of *Minorca*, (ſays he) which followed ſoon after [*Sardinia*] was entirely owing to Major-General *Stanhope*, ſince he was the firſt Projector, and had the principal Share in the Execution of the Deſign. Having propoſed it to Sir *John Leake*, and finding him backward to engage in it, Mr. *Stanhope* prevailed upon King *Charles* to exert his Power, and to command three Ships of War to whatever Service the *Britiſh* General ſhould think proper, with which the Admiral readily complied. It is a little inconſiſtent, to admit, as he does, that the General had but a Share in the Conqueſt, when it is aſſerted to be entirely owing to him; by which I ſhould be willing, however, to think he meant, that the Deſign or Project was entirely owing to the General, were that true; but it falls out very unlucky, that it was quite otherwiſe. For Method's Sake therefore, I ſhall conſider the Relation of this Author, under the following Heads of Enquiry. 1ſt, If Mr. *Stanhope* was the firſt Projector of the Expedition againſt *Minorca*? 2d, If Sir *John Leake* was backward to engage in it? 3dly, If the General prevailed upon King *Charles*, to exert his Power, and command three Ships to follow his Directions, which the Admiral (however, as he ſays) readily complied with? And laſtly, Whether Mr. *Stanhope* had the principal Share in the Conqueſt? Which, in ſhort, is to aſſert, that the Admiral was averſe to the Enterpriſe, and would not aſſiſt therein, till the King

King of *Spain*, at the Inſtigation of the General, obliged him to it by his Authority: It is to impute the Whole to Mr. *Stanhope*, and the greateſt Diſhonour upon Sir *John*, who would, doubtleſs, deſerve the ſevereſt Cenſure, were it true.

But Lieutenant-General *Stanhope* is ſaid to be the *firſt Projector* of the Enterpriſe againſt *Minorca*, as of ſomething that he had ſtarted, which had not elſe been thought of. Now, beſides the Impropriety of this Epithet, ſo far was he from having the firſt Intention, or indeed any Thought of himſelf to attempt it, that what he did in it was in purſuance of Orders he received from *England*, in Conſequence of the Application which his Catholick Majeſty had made to the Queen, for having a Squadron winter in the *Mediterranean*; as appears by the Lord-Treaſurer's Letter, and Mr. *Stanhope*'s own Letter of the 24th of *Auguſt*, incloſing a Copy of it to Sir *John* (before inſerted;) theſe Letters ſhew, that Mr. *Stanhope* ſet about it, as a Matter, which (as he expreſſes it) the Miniſtry *laid ſuch a Streſs upon*. It had been propoſed to the Admiral as a uſeful and neceſſary Conqueſt, three Months before Mr. *Stanhope* thought of it, by the Count *de Savillac*, Vice-Roy of *Majorca*; but though Sir *John* would have gladly undertaken it, he could not at that Time, being obliged to poſtpone it for other Services, to which the King of *Spain* had given the Preference. The firſt Time his Majeſty had propoſed this Conqueſt to the Admiral in this Campaign, was by his Letter of the 23d of *Auguſt*, received at the ſame Time with that of the General's, who had never mentioned any ſuch Project before; and both theſe Letters were in Conſequence of the Lord-Treaſurer's from *England*. But this Deſign had been projected by King *Charles* and Sir *John*, even ſo long before, as the Year 1706 [a], and came, as indeed it was moſt natural, from the Fleet, which every Day were made ſenſible of the Benefit that Harbour would be, from the Inconveniencies they ſuffered by the Want of it; and by Sir *John*'s Letters to the Earl of *Peterborough* and Mr. *Stanhope* [b], and the Reſolutions [c] taken, with Regard to *Minorca*, it is obvious the Admiral intended the Conqueſt of that Iſland in that Campaign, and would certainly have accompliſhed it could he have procured the Aſſiſtance of a few Land-Forces from the Earl of *Peterborough*. I will not however ſo roundly aſſert of Sir *John*, what Mr. *Boyer* does of General *Stanhope*, that he was the firſt Projector, (though I think he was.) But I may ſay, that if he was not the firſt, he had had his Eye

[a] See the King of *Spain*'s Letter, of the 14th of *June* and 20th of *July*, 1706.

[b] To the Earl of *Peterborough*, *July* 26, 1706. To Brigadier *Stanhope*, *July* 28.

[c] Council of War, 19 and 21 *July*, 1706.

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very early upon it, and was the firſt who made his Catholick Majeſty truly ſenſible of the Importance of that Conqueſt to the Allies in the War, and inſinuated to the Lord-High-Admiral, the Benefit it might prove to the *Britiſh* Nation, if it was in their Cuſtody, both in War and Peace.

As Mr. *Stanhope* was not the firſt Projector, let us examine the next Aſſertion, that Sir *John* was backward to engage in it, which muſt reflect great Diſhonour upon him, in Proportion to the Importance of that Conqueſt. But how falſe this Suggeſtion is, may appear by a bare Recital of the Admiral's Proceedings. Mr. *Stanhope* firſt propoſed it by his Letter, of the 24th of *Auguſt*, N. S. deſiring the Aſſiſtance of the Fleet and Marines; whereupon, Sir *John* immediately laid aſide the Expedition he was going upon againſt the Pope, and the Tranſportation of the Troops from *Naples*; and calling a Council of War the ſame Day, reſolved to give the General all poſſible Aſſiſtance; and it follows, as *judging it to be more for the common Benefit of the Allies than any other Service that could be undertaken.* This was ſurely far from Backwardneſs, it ſhewed rather an Eagerneſs to undertake it; and accordingly he carried it into Execution; for having ſent the Reſolution of the Council of War, with this ſhort Anſwer, to Mr. *Stanhope*, *That he would be at* Minorca *as ſoon as him*, he ſailed directly with the Fleet thither; but not finding the General there, he diſpatch'd Ships to *Barcelona* and *Majorca*, to haſten him and forward the Troops. He waited here ſeven Days for Mr. *Stanhope*, and two more before the Forces joined him, which yet could not have been done ſo ſoon, had he not ſent Ships to haſten and aſſiſt in the Embarkation. In the mean Time he block'd up the Enemy, cut off all Supplies, and made ſome Preparations for the landing of the Forces. Who then was backward upon this Occaſion? Was it the Admiral? He uſed the greateſt Diſpatch that was poſſible upon the moſt urgent Neceſſity; but the General, admitting him to be as zealous, was not ſo forward and expeditious; neither would he have begun and executed the Conqueſt of that Iſland ſo ſoon, if Sir *John* had not preſſed him on. The General indeed did, upon the Receipt of the Lord-Treaſurer's Letter, recommending the Conqueſt of *Minorca*, propoſe to the Commadore [a] of the cruizing Squadron upon the Coaſt of *Catalonia*, the Tranſportation of ſome Troops from thence to *Minorca*; which Propoſal could he have joined in immediately, without the Conſent of the Admiral, would have been ineffectual with the few Ships he had, as well as by Reaſon of the Want of the Marines of the Fleet to re-inforce them, and the neceſſary Supplies requiſite to carry on the Siege, which were to come

[a] See the Council of War thereupon, p. 368.

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from the Admiral. It was a little unſoldier-like to propoſe to the Commander of a Detachment, to go from his Station, break his Orders, and leave the Coaſt of *Catalonia*, which he was to guard, expoſed to the Enemy; and therefore it muſt be ſuppoſed the General made this Propoſition, well-knowing Sir *John* would approve of any Steps to promote that Undertaking. But as the Commadore was well acquainted with the Admiral's Sentiments in this Reſpect, he readily concurred with the General as far as was poſſible, aſſiſted him immediately with two Ships, and diſpatch'd an Expreſs to the Admiral for further Directions, as may be ſeen by the Reſolution of a Council of War [a], the Commadore called upon that Occaſion; ſo that upon no Account was there any Backwardneſs or Delay in this Affair from the Fleet. The Ships here mentioned, are thoſe which the Hiſtorian ſays *Mr.* Stanhope *prevailed upon King* Charles, *to exert his Power over, and command to whatever Service the* Britiſh *General ſhould think proper.* But ſurely this Writer could not be ſo wholly ignorant of Military Oeconomy and the Nature of confederated Forces. The King of *Spain* had no Power to exert over a ſingle Ship of the Queen's, unleſs ſuch Ship had previouſly been put under his Majeſty's Direction by the Admiral; and in Squadrons or Fleets, nothing is done, but under the Reſolution of a Council of War. The Orders, even of the Queen or Lord-High-Admiral, (unleſs poſitive, which hardly ever happens) are thus to be conſidered at a Council of War, and as they find ſuch Orders conſiſtent with the Circumſtances of the Fleet and the public Service to be performed, they may either execute or poſtpone them; for Fleets and Armies are liable to ſuch various Contingencies, that it is inconſiſtent to give poſitive Orders: But it is remarkable, the Writer has made his Catholick Majeſty exert this Authority, before he had propoſed the Matter to the Admiral, and had been refuſed; ſuppoſing then ſuch a Power in King *Charles*, there was no Room to exert it but upon that Neceſſity; but as to the Backwardneſs pretended, I think I have ſufficiently proved the Contrary; ſo that it ſeems foiſted in, in order to raiſe the Reputation of the General, as if he had made this Conqueſt in ſpight of the Admiral; whereas, had he been averſe to it, it could never have taken Effect. But as there was no ſuch Power aſſumed, by his Catholick Majeſty, or any ſuch Backwardneſs in the Admiral as is pretended; ſo the extroardinary Merit, as well as Contrivance our Author would attribute to Mr. *Stanhope*, appears to be nothing elſe but a Trophy of his own Imagination, to raiſe the Character of his Hero.

[a] See the Council of War thereupon, p. 368.

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I will allow the General to have had a *principal Share* in the Enterprize, but not that he had *the principal Share:* Mr. *Boyer* ſeems to have forgot, that *Minorca* was an Iſland when he ſaid this, and that ſuch a Conqueſt muſt principally be owing to the Fleet: But after having attempted to make the General do it with a few Ships; and finding he could not do it without bringing the Fleet to his Aſſiſtance, he admits the Admiral conſented to the Commands King *Charles* had given the three Ships; but as if that was all the Aſſiſtance he gave, nothing more is ſaid, only that the Fleet continued cruizing off of the Place; but by the General's Letter it appears [a], he undertook it with no other View of Succeſs, than under the Protection and with the Aſſiſtance of the Fleet, and as an Action, wherein he was to be rather a Party than a Principal; the Fleet contributing much the greater Share, and the General with the Forces he brought with him were neceſſary, only, upon a Suppoſition that the Caſtle would have made a much better Defence than it did. I have already ſhewn how readily Sir *John* concurred in the Attempt; what Expedition he uſed, not only to get thither himſelf, but to haſten the General and Forces; that they were brought thither under the Protection of the Fleet, and ſucceeded chiefly by their Influence: For Sir *John* having firſt block'd up the Place with his Shipping and cut off all Hopes of Relief, he then made the proper Diſpoſitions for landing the Forces, which was effected without Loſs. The greateſt Difficulty that attended the Conqueſt, was the landing the Cannon and Mortars, which could not be done but in a Creek, within half Gunſhot of the Caſtle, and which the Seamen effected with great Hazard and Difficulty. Moreover, they mounted the Cannon upon the Batteries, which they got thither through the Rocks, and by Ways, impaſſable for Horſes; and this with little or no Aſſiſtance from the Soldiers; and the Gunners of the Fleet were employed to manage the Guns upon the Batteries: The Marines likewiſe of the Ships made no ſmall Part of their Land-Forces which carried on the Siege, and Fort *Fornella* was reduced by the Ships, without the Aſſiſtance of the Soldiers; as indeed, all the Iſland ſubmitted, except the Caſtle of *St. Philip*, without any previous Act of the Land-Forces; and the Whole might as well have been effected with the Marines only, but for the Caſtle. This indeed the General conducted with Succeſs, but the Action was not otherwiſe conſiderable than by the Conſequence; the firſt Battery was open'd the 17th, and the next Morning the Enemy beat a Parley and capitulated, with the Loſs on our Side of but 40 Men killed or wounded. Taking away then the firſt Projection

[a] Of the 24th of *Auguſt*, N. S. p. 367.

of this Affair, and the Merit derived to the General from the Admiral's Backwardneſs, and the Influence the General uſed to excite the King of *Spain* to command the Ships to follow his Orders; it is ſubmitted, whether the taking of *Minorca* was entirely owing to Mr. *Stanhope*, as the Hiſtorian aſſerts; and conſidering how much the Admiral contributed by the Aſſiſtance, Countenance, and Protection of the Fleet, the Seamen and the Marines; by the Supplies of Gunners, Ammunition, and every Thing to carry on the Siege; whether, I ſay, conſidering all this, the Fleet or Army contributed moſt to the Reduction of *Minorca*. There is no other Way to eſtimate a joint Action of this Nature; Sir *John* was certainly in the firſt Station, and had the principal Charge in this Undertaking; Mr. *Stanhope* was acceſſary only: The Fleet was the main Force that ſubdued the Iſland; the Attempt could not have been made but by the Fleet, therefore the King of *Spain* always recommended this Conqueſt to the Admiral, as being in his Province, and depending upon his Conduct; and though it was neceſſary to throw ſome Land-Forces on board the Ships, it no Ways altered the Nature of the Conqueſt, which could not be effected but by Sea. But as there were Land-Forces jointly concerned, let it be ſaid, that the Iſland of *Minorca* was taken by Sir *John Leake*, and Lieutenant-General *Stanhope*.

The Advantages of this Conqueſt, as well as that of *Sardinia* to the Allies was very conſiderable; for as by the Reduction of *Sardinia*, King *Charles* was ſeaſonably ſupplied with vaſt Quantities of Corn and great Numbers of Horſes to remount his Cavalry; ſo by the taking of the Iſland of *Minorca*, the Maritime Powers, and *Great Britain* in particular, obtained a ſpacious and ſecure Harbour for their Fleets in the *Mediterranean*, which they had ſo long wanted. This Conqueſt likewiſe brought a further Advantage to the Allies, by defeating the Pope's and the *French* King's Project, of unitiug the Princes and States of *Italy*, in a League againſt the Emperor, in order to re-kindle a War in that Country; the Confederate Fleet being at Hand to aſſiſt the Imperialiſts, who made a conſiderable Progreſs in the Eccleſiaſtical State, in order to force the Pope to acknowledge King *Charles* and give Satisfaction to the Emperor. His Holineſs had been under continual Apprehenſions from the victorious Fleet under Sir *John Leake* for ſome Time, and he would have felt the Effects of her Majeſty's juſt Reſentment, had he not been prevented in the Meaſures he had concerted againſt that Prince, by the Interpoſition of more important Services; nevertheleſs, the Terrors of the Fleet, whilſt Sir *John* was in the *Mediterranean*, ready to ſtrike, though no Stroke was given, did not a little contribute to bring him into a better Temper, and prevailed upon him ſoon

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after to acknowledge King *Charles* for King of *Spain*: Whereupon, by the Interceſſion of the Emperor and the Duke of *Savoy*, her Majeſty was at length prevailed upon to ſuſpend the Execution of the Orders ſhe had given for bombarding and deſtroying *Cevitta Vecchia*, and putting his Holineſs's Country under Military Execution. And I muſt further obſerve, in Relation to this Conqueſt of *Minorca*; it has been ſuch a Curb upon the *Barbary* Rovers in the *Mediterranean*, that they have never broke with us ſince we have been in Poſſeſſion of it.

The Campaign being brought to ſo happy a Concluſion, by the important Conqueſt of *Minorca*, Sir *John* made the beſt of his Way down the *Mediterranean*, to proceed directly with his Squadron for *Great Britain*. The 26th, as he paſſed by *Gibraltar*, he was joined by a Felucca from that Place with Letters from *England*, adviſing, that four *French* Ships of War from *Cadiz*, were cruizing off *Cape Spartel*, and had taken ſeveral *Engliſh* Runners, and were to continue upon that Station ſome Time; upon which the Admiral left the *Reſtoration* and *Burford*, with Orders to join the *Wincheſter* and *Medway* Prize, that were cleaning at *Gibraltar*, and almoſt ready for the Sea; and in Conjunction with them, to endeavour to intercept the Enemy, not doubting but theſe four Ships would be able to drive them from that Station, and open a free Paſſage for the Trade. The next Day in his Paſſage, he diſcovered three of the four *French* Men of War, in Chaſe of an *Engliſh* Runner and a *Dutch* Merchant Ship, (both which they had taken, if the Fleet had not appeared in Sight,) and obliged them to leave the Chaſe; but they were too nimble for any of our Ships to come up with. The 10th of *October*, being in the Latitude of 48 D. 30 M. the Lord *Durſley* with ſix Sail and a *French* Prize of 24 Guns, joined the Fleet, being under Orders to cruize in the *Soundings*. The Admiral kept him with him till the 12th in the Morning, and then taking the Prize under his Care, he left his Lordſhip to continue upon that Station. The 15th, they made the *Land's End*; the next Morning the *Cambridge* was diſpatch'd with the Prize for *Plymouth*, to ſee her within the *Edyſtone*, and then to follow the Admiral to *Spithead*. The 18th, the Fleet were off of *Portland*, whereupon the *Dutch* parted Company to go for *Holland*, their Admiral ſaluting Sir *John* with 21 Guns at parting, which he anſwered with 19. The next Day in the Afternoon, he anchored two Miles without *St. Hellens*, and at 11 at Night turned in, and anchored there at three the next Morning, and in the Afternoon arrived with his Squadron of ſix Sail at *Spithead*, and was ſaluted by the Gariſon of *Portſmouth* with 31 Guns, which he returned with the like Number. Two Days after, he ſtruck his Flag and went for *London* to wait

upon her Majeſty, and had the Happineſs to meet with ſuch a Reception, as his long, eminent, and ſucceſsful Services juſtly merited.

CHAP. VI.

Sir John *is appointed of the Council to Prince* George *as Lord-High-Admiral, and choſen a Member of Parliament; is made Admiral of the Fleet the ſecond Time, and Rear-Admiral of* Great-Britain; *cruizes with a Squadron in the Channel; is made one of the Lord-Commiſſioners of the Admiralty; with other Proceedings in the Year* 1709, *and* 1710.

SIR *John* returned with great Honour to his native Country, after the late ſucceſsful Campaign, having performed himſelf, every conſiderable Action which had been done by Sea in the War with *Spain*, from the Battle of *Malaga*; and as after this he went no more Abroad, ſo it is remarkable nothing more of any Conſequence was performed by Sea in the *Mediterranean*, during the Continuance of the War. He therefore well deſerves the Epithet of Brave and Fortunate, which the Writers of Queen *Anne*'s Reign have given him. This juſtly merited the Attention and Favour of the Queen and Prince, and gained him the univerſal Eſteem of the whole Nation; which appeared by ſome Circumſtances that happened in his Favour at home, during his Abſence: For ſoon after he ſailed for the *Mediterranean*, the Prince appointed him one of his Council as Lord-High-Admiral, a Promotion indeed not only natural, as he was Admiral of the Fleet, but even neceſſary at that Time to give a Sanction to their Proceedings; for the Buſineſs of the Admiralty had been very looſely managed by thoſe of the Council, who, though moſtly Admirals, had ſhewn very little Judgment or Application. Mr. *Churchill* was one of the Council, and was very aſſiduous to have Sir *John* amongſt them, as well to ſerve his Friend, as for the extraordinary Opinion he had of his Judgment and Integrity. About the ſame Time likewiſe, her Majeſty having diſſolved the Parliament, and ordered Writs to be iſſued for a new one returnable the 8th of *July*; Sir *John*, though then Abroad, was choſen both for the City of *Rocheſter* and the Borough of *Harwich*, each of theſe Places ſtriving to be moſt unanimous in the Choice of him to repreſent them in Parliament. Accordingly, he had Application made to him from

from both thoſe Places, each deſirous to have the Preference; but as it is eſteemed more honourable to repreſent a City than a ſmall Borough, he choſe to repreſent that City. Thus, what others cannot obtain but with great Aſſiduity and Expence, he acquired by Merit only, and the Fame of his Actions; a Happineſs few Men attain to.

In the mean Time, the Joy the Nation was in for the Succeſſes of the laſt Campaign, was ſoon allayed by the Death of the Prince, her Majeſty's Royal Conſort, who died the 28th of *October* at *Kenſington*; a Prince, whoſe Virtues had endeared him to the whole Nation, and whoſe Loſs gave Room for thoſe unhappy Miſunderſtandings which ſoon after followed. By this Misfortune, the Power of his Highneſs's Council was at an End. Indeed Sir *John* had been little more than nominally ſo; for though he had been appointed ever ſince the *April* before, yet, as he did not return to *London* from the *Mediterranean* till the 22d of *October*, he had conſequently been but very few Days in the Execution of that Office. Upon the Prince's Death, her Majeſty took the Affairs of the Admiralty into her own Hands, till ſhe ſhould think of a fit Perſon to ſucceed his Highneſs in that Station, and ſhe was not long in making the Choice; for the 25th of *November*, her Majeſty appointed the Earl of *Pembroke*, to be Lord-High-Admiral of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*; a Perſon, no doubt, very proper for that Station, (if proper to be veſted in a Subject and a Land Lord) having in the Year 1702, executed it with great Reputation, the ſhort Time he was in it.

We ſhall now conſider the State of the War, for the Year 1709. The *French* King having the foregoing Year miſcarried in all his Projects, and their Finances being in a Manner exhauſted, they began to entertain very ſerious Thoughts of Peace. Hereupon, the Beginning of the Year 1709, they made Overtures, and Preliminary Articles were actually agreed upon and ſigned by the Confederates, and ratified by the Queen; but the *French* Miniſters pretending, they could not ſign it, not having full Powers ſo to do; and the *French* King himſelf ſoon after refuſing to ratify them, the Whole broke off, and ſeemed only to be a Feint of that Monarch, to gain Time, and make a Shew, as if he was diſpoſed for Peace, the better to amuſe and deceive his miſerable Subjects. But this did not ſtop the neceſſary Preparations of the Allies for the next Campaign, which were carried on with all poſſible Vigour; and Sir *John* was a ſecond Time appointed Admiral and Commander in Chief of her Majeſty's Fleet, by Commiſſion, dated the 21ſt of *December*, 1708, and ſoon after received Orders from the Lord-High-Admiral, to proceed to *Chatham*, to view the Condition of the Fleet in that Harbour. Purſuant to theſe Orders, he went thither, and

hoiſted his Flag on board the *Royal Sovereign*, the beſt Man of War in *England*, intending to go to Sea in her; and for that Purpoſe, his Brother-in-law, Captain *Martin*, was diſcharged from the *Albemarle*, and appointed Captain of that Ship, and all the Ship's Company were turn'd over likewiſe. He ſtaid here only a few Days, to give ſuch Directions as he thought proper upon the Occaſion, and returned to *London*; and in his Way, at *Rocheſter*, had the Satisfaction to be received with as much Honour and Eſteem, as had ever been ſhewn to any Member of that Corporation. In *January* he went again to *Chatham*, to give ſome further Directions; and the 7th of *February*, he hoiſted his Flag again at that Place, but ſtruck it three Days after. The 21ſt of *February*, he received the Lord-High-Admiral's Orders to go to *Chatham*, to forward the fitting out the Ships at that Port; accordingly, he went down in the *Mary* Yacht, and hoiſted his Flag the 26th of *February*, continuing the ſame till the 6th of *March*; and from the 14th to the 18th following, at *Blackſtakes*, when he returned in the ſame Yacht to *Chatham*, and ſo to *London*. The Reaſon of the Diſpatch uſed upon this Occaſion, was to haſten the Equipment of a Squadron, intended to be ſent to the *Baltick* under his Command, and the *Royal Sovereign* and ſeveral other Ships were aſſembled at the *Nore* for that Purpoſe; but before they were ready to proceed thither, the Lord-High-Admiral thinking an inferior Flag ſufficient, appointed Sir *John Norris* to command that Squadron: Whereupon the *Royal Sovereign* was ordered to return into *Chatham* River, and the *Ruſſel*, a third Rate of 80 Guns, then at the *Nore*, was appointed for the Admiral, for *Channel* Service, and Captain *Martin* and the Crew were turned over into her. Whilſt theſe Things paſſed with Regard to the Fleet, Sir *John* did not neglect his Seat in Parliament, but conſtantly attended the Buſineſs of the Seſſions, till they were prorogued, except in the few Inſtances before-mentioned, when he was required to perform his Duty as Admiral.

The 24th of *May*, her Majeſty was pleaſed to conſtitute Sir *John*, Rear-Admiral of *Great Britain*, and of the Admiralty thereof, by Patent, under the great Seal, as uſual; the ſecond that had been appointed in that Poſt, (Sir *Cloudeſley Shovell* being the firſt) which before the *Union* was called Rear-Admiral of *England*, &c. a Poſt of great Honour; the ſaid Officer and the Vice-Admiral, being next, and immediately under the Lord-High-Admiral, for the Direction of Maritime Affairs, and this of Rear-Admiral is generally conferred upon the Senior Admiral and Commander in Chief of the Fleet by Way of Eminence above others, who have or may have that Command.

Soon

Soon after Sir *John*'s intended Expedition to the *Baltick* was laid aſide, he was appointed for the home Service in the *Channel*, and the Beginning of *June*, he received the Lord-High-Admiral's Orders to take upon him the Command of a Cruizing Squadron then in the *Downs*. He went thither accordingly, and found ſeven [a] Sail of Men of War, ready to proceed upon Service, only wanting an additional Supply of Proviſions, which he immediately ordered to be provided. It was the 17th Inſtant he arrived at *Deal*, where he received the Lord-High-Admiral's Orders the ſame Evening, dated the 13th, relating to the Service he was to go upon, which were as follows.

Thomas, *Earl of* Pembroke, *&c. Lord High-Admiral of* Great Britain *and* Ireland, *&c.*

WHEREAS her Majeſty has received Advices, that the Enemy have bought up a very great Quantity of Corn in the *Baltick*, which they do intend to bring to ſome Port of *France*, under the Protection of four or five of their Ships of War, to ſupply their preſent Neceſſities; and whereas it is of great Importance to her Majeſty's Service; that all poſſible Endeavours ſhould be uſed for the intercepting the aforeſaid Veſſels and their Convoys, for which Reaſon I have ordered Sir *John Norris* to proceed with ſeveral of her Majeſty's Ships, to look out for them in their Paſſage out of the *Sound*, and the Commander in Chief of her Majeſty's Ships in the *Soundings* to do the like, in caſe they ſhould bend their Courſe North about for *Breſt* or *St. Malo*. But ſince they may be come from the *Sound* before Sir *John Norris* can arrive there; and that it is therefore neceſſary a Squadron of her Majeſty's Ships ſhould cruize in ſuch Manner as may be moſt proper for intercepting them, ſhould they attempt to come to *Dunkirk*, or ſome other Ports in theſe Parts; and thinking it neceſſary for her Majeſty's Service, that you ſhould on this extraordinary Occaſion, take upon you the Command of the Ships named in the Liſt hereunto annexed; (which I have ordered to rendezvous in the *Downs* as ſoon as poſſibly may be:) You are therefore hereby required and directed, forthwith, to repair to the *Downs*, and ſo ſoon as any five or ſix of the ſaid Ships ſhall be there, you are to proceed with them, and place yourſelf in ſuch a Station as you ſhall judge the moſt proper for the meeting with the ſaid Ships with Corn, and their Convoys, ſhould they be deſigned to *Dunkirk*, or any Port in theſe Parts, as aforeſaid; and upon your getting Sight of them, you are to

[a] *Newark, Oxford, Dover, Mary* Gally, *Pearl, Strombolo, Lyme.*

uſe your beſt Endeavours to take, ſink, burn, or otherwiſe deſtroy them; and you are to leave Orders with the Muſter-Maſter at *Deal*, for ſuch of the Ships before-mentioned, as ſhall not be in the *Downs* when you ſail, to follow you without Loſs of Time, to the Station which you ſhall make Choice of to lie in; but you are to take Notice, that two of the ſaid Ships, namely, the *Oxford* and *Arundel*, are firſt to proceed with the Trade to *Oſtend*, from thence to *Margate* Road, to convoy the *Venetian* Ambaſſador to *Holland*, and then to join you; and therefore you are to give an Account to my Secretary, for my Information, of the Station which you do appoint, that ſo I may ſend Orders to the Captains of thoſe two Ships to join you there, when they ſhall have performed the aforeſaid Services.

You are to continue to look out for the aforeſaid Ships of the Enemy, until you receive my further Orders, (which will be ſent you to the *Downs*, *Harwich* and *Yarmouth*,) unleſs you ſhall have Advice, which you can certainly depend on; that theſe *French* Ships of War and Veſſels with Corn are got into Port; and in that Caſe, you are to repair with the Ships under your Command to the *Downs*, and remain there till further Orders, ſending as frequent Accounts as you can of your Proceedings to my Secretary for my Information. Given under my Hand, this 13th of *June*, 1709.

PEMBROKE.

To Sir *John Leake*, Knt. Rear-Admiral of *Great Britain*, and Admiral and Commander in Chief of her Majeſty's Fleet.

By the Liſt annexed of the Ships appointed for this particular Service, the Squadron was to conſiſt, when united, of 11 Sail and a Yacht, *viz.* the *Ruſſel*, *Newark* and *Burford*, 3d Rates; the *Dreadnaught*, *Montague*, *Rocheſter*, *Oxford* and *Tilbury*, 4th Rates; and the *Lyme*, *Mary* Gally, and *Arundel*, 5th Rates: But of theſe, one 4th, and one 5th, were firſt to proceed upon other Services; and of the reſt, three were ordered from the *Nore* to the *Downs*, one from *Torbay*, two more were cleaning at *Chatham*, and the remaining three on the Coaſt of *France*; a very inconſiderable Squadron when united, to be commanded by the Admiral of the Fleet; who, for the Honour of the *Britiſh* Flag, ſhould never appear without another Flag in Company; but to be ordered to Sea with five Sail only, and perhaps ſmall Ships too, (for it was to be the firſt five that ſhould arrive,) was certainly very unſuitable to the Poſt he was in, and rather a Command for a Commadore or a Senior Captain, than the Admiral of the Fleet, which likewiſe would have been more proper for the Service intended.

intended. Few Admirals in his Place would ſo readily have ſubmitted to it; but (as I have had Reaſon to mention upon ſome former Occaſions) he would never ſuffer any Punctillos of Command, or any perſonal Regard whatever, to come in Competition with the publick Service.

Though he found ſeven Sail of Men of War in the *Downs*, yet there was only the *Newark*, *Rocheſter*, *Mary* Gally, *Lyme* and *Iſabella* Yacht, which were under his Orders. On board the former of theſe he hoiſted his Flag the 19th Inſtant, his own Ship the *Ruſſel* not being arrived from the *Nore*, upon which Occaſion he was ſaluted by the Caſtle, and all the Ships in the *Downs*. He remained here two Days, getting the Proviſions on board, and in hopes of being joined by ſome more of the Squadron; but none arriving, the 21ſt, he ſailed with the four before-mentioned Ships and the Yacht, in order to lie in the fair Way, to meet thoſe that were to come from the *Nore*, and the next Morning, upon the *Flats*, off the *North Foreland*, was joined by the *Burford* and *Ruſſel*, on board the latter of which Ships he removed his Flag, and ſoon after, the *Burford* having ſprung her Main-Maſt, he was obliged to come to an Anchor, in hopes to have put her in a Condition to have proceeded with him; but upon a Survey, finding it would take up at leaſt 48 Hours to ſecure the Maſt, he left her behind, with Orders to follow him to the Rendezvous. Here he received Advice, from the Maſter of a Ship that had been Priſoner at *Dunkirk*, that the Enemy's Ships were in great Forwardneſs in that Harbour; whereupon the next Morning very early he weighed from the *North Foreland*, in order to proceed to the Coaſt of *Flanders* to look into *Dunkirk*, and then repair to his Station off of *Oſtend*, having appointed the Rendezvous S. E. by E. three or four Leagues Diſtance from *Oſtend*, but if not there, to follow him N. W. about 10 Leagues from *Scawen*; at Noon he anchored within Sight of *Dunkirk*, and ſoon after ſent in the *Mary* Gally, *Lyme*, and *Iſabella* Yacht, to look into the Harbour, the latter going within two Miles of the Pier Heads, but could not perceive any Preparations that were making, for there was not a Ship in *Flemiſh* Road, nor above eight great and ſmall in the Baſon, and not any of thoſe had their Topmaſts through the Caps. In the Harbour they ſaw between 20 and 30 Merchant Ships with their Yards and Topmaſts down, and one ſmall Privateer of about 12 or 14 Guns lay off of the Pier-Head, and ſeemed to be ready for the Sea; in the Evening the *Tilbury* joined him. The following Day they anchored off *Oſtend*, and the 25th, the *Burford* joined him, bringing ſome Letters of Intelligence relating to the Corn Ships. They met with ſuch bad Weather, (except the firſt Day Sir *John* got upon the Coaſt,) that the *Lyme* and *Iſabella* Yacht drove to Sea, and the

the Weather continuing extremely bad for two Days after, the Admiral was under Apprehenſions they were loſt; however, the third Day they joined him again, but the Yacht having loſt two Anchors, and ſprung her Main-Maſt, he ordered her under Convoy of the *Lyme* to go to *Harwich* to refit, and then to proceed up the River, as being of little or no Uſe upon that Station.

The 29th, he received a Packet from *England*, with a Letter of Intelligence from Mr. Secretary *Boyle*, giving an Account of the ſailing of four *French* Ships from *Dantzick*, loaden with Corn for *Dunkirk*. Whereupon, having called a Council of War, and at the ſame Time communicating to them the Lord-High-Admiral's Inſtructions to him of the 13th Inſtant, it was unanimouſly their Opinion, (after having conſulted the Pilots) that that was the moſt inconvenient Place for intercepting the ſaid Corn Ships, by Reaſon of the Sands, and the great Draught of Water the Ships of that Squadron required, and therefore it was agreed, and reſolved, to proceed and cruize from 6 to 15 Leagues N. W. from *Scawen*, and that the Place of Rendezvous ſhould be 10 Leagues N. W. from the ſame Place. He likewiſe obſerves to the Secretary, in his Letter, accompanying this Reſolution, that the Enemy's Corn Ships being ſo ſmall, as mentioned in Mr. Secretary *Boyle*'s Advice, if he had remained where he was, he could only have been a Witneſs of their getting into *Dunkirk*, the Pilots not knowing the Coaſt well enough to take Charge of any of the Squadron to follow them over the Sands.

Purſuant to what had been reſolved in the Council of War, he weighed from *Oſtend* the next Morning with his ſmall Squadron, which now conſiſted of five Sail only. Soon after a ſmall Privateer was taken, who reported, that about 15 Sail of light Frigates were gone to the *Baltick* for Corn, and that ſome Men of War and Privateers were ordered to be armed at *Dunkirk*, but could not be ready in leſs than ſix Weeks; and the 3d of *July* by the *Swallow* Prize, he received a Letter from Mr. *Burchet*, confirming the ſaid Maſter's Report, and incloſing an Order from the Lord-High-Admiral for ſeizing all neutral Ships with Corn on board, bound for any Port in *France*. The *Swallow* Prize being out of Proviſions was ordered directly for *Harwich* to get a Supply, and then return, and all the Ships of the Squadron being ſhort of Water, in order to lengthen it out as much as poſſible, the Admiral directed the Beef as well as Pork to be boiled in ſalt Water. The Reaſon why they had no greater Stock of Water, (as Sir *John* obſerves in his Letter of the 3d of *July*, by the *Swallow* Prize) was, that two of the Squadron, *viz.* the *Ruſſel* and *Burford*, had been hindred by bad Weather, and the Time loſt by their Payment at the *Nore*; and the other Ships

Ships being allowed but a ſmall Quantity of Water Caſks for *Channel* Service; that therefore it would not be long before he ſhould be obliged to return to the *Downs* to water, and propoſed it as the moſt expeditious Method to have 200 Tons filled at *Dover*, and put on board Hoys to lie ready againſt he ſhould come or ſend for it; and alſo, that a ſufficient Quantity of Beer might be in a Readineſs, the Squadron not having for above three Weeks. The ſame Day the *Lyme* returned from *England*; the next Day they diſcovered a great Fleet, which at Noon they ſpoke with, being a Fleet of Merchant-Ships from *Holland* and other Parts, under Convoy of five Sail of Frigates. The 5th, the *Montague*, one of the Ships appointed of his Squadron, joined the Admiral from the *Nore*, bringing him Letters of Advice, that the Lord *Durſley* would ſpeedily be ſent to relieve him. The 7th, they ſpoke with a *Dutch* Flyboat, which left *Copenhagen* the 26th of *June*, and informed the Admiral, that the Day after he ſailed, he met 13 *French* Privateers cruizing for the *Dutch* Corn Ships; and alſo reported, that the Day before he ſailed, a Flyboat came in and told him Sir *John Norris*'s Boat had been on board him for a Pilot, and that Sir *John* was cruizing in the *Cattigate* with ſeven Sail for the *French* Corn Ships, and by a *Dutch* Flyboat from *Amſterdam*, that 18 Sail of *Dutch* Men of War were ſailed to bring home their Corn Ships. The 10th, the *Swallow* Prize joined the Squadron from *England*.

The 12th Inſtant in the Morning, they diſcovered three Sail, upon which the Signal was made to chaſe, and a *Dunkirk* Privateer of 24 Guns was taken, with about 150 Tons of Corn on board; and in the Afternoon another of 18 Guns, with 120 Tons of Corn, both from the *Baltick*. They likewiſe re-took a loaden Collier, and ſeized a *Dane* laden with Corn, bound for *Liſbon*, as the Maſter reported; but not being able to ſhew any Bills of Lading for that Place, nor any Letters, the Admiral thought fit to ſecure him, not doubting but he was going for *France*. They likewiſe chaſed another Corn Frigate ſome Hours, till the Pilots would not venture nearer the Sands, but being followed by two *Dutch* Privateers, was taken within Sight of the Fleet. The Captains of theſe *French* Privateers were ſtrictly examined, and all agreed, that there were only four of them ſent to the *Baltick* to load Corn, and that one of them ſailed before them ſome Time, which they believed was got into *Dunkirk*, and this was confirmed two Days after by a *Dutch* Dogger that came out of *Dunkirk* the Day before, giving an Account, that there was one Frigate arrived from the *Baltick* with Corn, and that there were not any Ships fitting out at that Port. The two Prizes Sir *John* ſent to *Oſtend* two Days after to be ſold, under Convoy of the *Mary* Gally and *Swallow* Prize; and as it was probable

probable the Army of the Allies might be in want of Corn, they were directed not to diſpoſe of the Cargos to any Perſon till they had offered the ſame to her Majeſty's Commiſſary there. The 17th, the *Deal Caſtle* joined the Squadron; and the 21ſt, the *Tilbury* from *England*, bringing the Admiral ſome Letters from the Secretary, with Copies of Sir *John Norris*'s Letter and Proceedings.

Whilſt they remained upon this Station, there was ſeldom a Day paſſed, but ſome of the Squadron ſpoke with Ships from the Eaſt Country, none of whom had Corn on board; but ſeveral *Dutch* Privateers gave an Account, that there had been taken and carried into *Holland*, about eight Sail of *Danes* and *Swedes* laden with Corn, ſuſpected to have been bound for *France*. Sir *John* continued in this Manner cruizing with his ſmall Squadron, every Day in chaſe of ſomething, till the 24th in the Afternoon, when he was joined by the Lord *Durſley* with four Sail, off of *Scawen*, by whom he received the following Orders from the Lord-High-Admiral.

Thomas, *Earl of* Pembroke, *&c. Lord-High-Admiral of* Great-Britain *and* Ireland, *&c.*

WHEREAS her Majeſty's Ships named in the annex'd Liſt [a], are under Orders to cruize from the Latitude of 50 to 48 Degrees, and Weſting from *Scilly*, from 20 to 30 Leagues, and to make the ſaid Iſland of *Scilly* every 10 Days; and whereas I think it fit for her Majeſty's Service, ſince the Fleet (of which you are Admiral and Commander in Chief,) is divided on various Services, both at home and abroad, that you ſhould be employed in the *Soundings*. I do therefore hereby direct and require, that ſo ſoon as the Lord *Durſley*, Vice-Admiral of the White, ſhall arrive in the Station where you are, to take Charge of the Ships that are with you; you do with her Majeſty's Ship the *Ruſſel*, (where you now hoiſt your Flag,) and ſuch other three Ships as ſhall then be with you, as you judge moſt proper, repair into the *Soundings*, and take under your Command the aforementioned Ships cruizing there, and ſuch others as ſhall be appointed by me from Time to Time to join you; and in your Paſſage you are to range along the Coaſt of this Kingdom as far as *Plymouth*, to free the ſame of the Enemy's Privateers, and to protect the Trade of her Majeſty's Subjects; and when you come off of the ſaid Port of *Plymouth*, you are to ſend your Orders thither for ſuch of the afore-mentioned Ships to

[a] Third Rate, *Kent*; fourth Rates, *Monk*, *Saliſbury*, *Plymouth*, *Deptford*, *Medway*, *Sunderland*, *Romney*; fifth Rate, the *Sweepſtakes*, and the *Phœnix* Fireſhip.

come

come out to you as ſhall be there, taking thoſe with you, if any, into the cruizing Station of the others, as ſhall be ready to ſail, and leaving Orders for the reſt, which ſhall not be in a ſailing Condition to follow you.

You are with the Ships under your Command to cruize till further Order, or ſo long as your Proviſions and Water will laſt, either in the Station aforeſaid, or in ſuch other Station or Stations as you ſhall judge moſt proper for protecting the Trade of her Majeſty's Subjects and that of her Allies, from the Enemy's Ships of War and Privateers, which you are to uſe your utmoſt Endeavours to take, ſink, burn, or otherwiſe deſtroy; and if you meet with any of our homeward-bound Merchant Ships, you are to take the neceſſary Care for their being ſeen into ſome ſafe Port, by ſome of the Ships under your Command, in caſe you ſhall not judge the Convoy they have with them of ſufficient Strength to protect them. And ſince the Advices received from *France*, give an Account, that the Enemy do not think of cruizing with leſs then nine Ships, and probably more, you are therefore to uſe your beſt Endeavours not to cruize but with a proportionable Strength.

You are to give frequent Accounts of your Proceedings to my Secretary for my Information, and from Time to Time, to inform him of the Station you ſhall appoint to cruize in, that ſo I may the better know how to diſpatch Orders to you, when her Majeſty's Service ſhall render it neceſſary; and once in every 12 or 14 Days you are to ſend a Frigate into *Plymouth*, with Orders to her Commander to return to you without Loſs of Time, with ſuch Packets as may be lodged for you there, and that if he finds not any, he makes no longer Stay than ſhall be abſolutely neceſſary. Given under my Hand, this 4th of *July*, 1709.

PEMBROKE.

To Sir *John Leake*, &c.

According to theſe Inſtructions, Sir *John* appointed the Lord *Durſley* with a Squadron of 10 Sail, to remain upon that Station, and himſelf in the *Ruſſel*, with the *Newark*, *Burford* and *Montague*, parted from them the ſaid Night about 10 o'Clock, making Sail to the Weſtward, having been 31 Days upon his Station on the Coaſt of *Flanders* from *Dunkirk* to *Scawen*, the very worſt and moſt dangerous Station in the *Britiſh* Channel for great Ships, by Reaſon of the Banks and Sands, and rendered ſtill worſe by continual bad Weather; being likewiſe conſtantly in chaſe of ſomething or other, and in want of Water: All theſe Circumſtances conſidered, together with the Nature of the Service he was upon, with

five or ſix Ships only, very unſuitable to the Rank he bore in the Navy, could not but give him ſome diſguſt, and certainly was one of the moſt vexatious and fatiguing Services he was ever put upon. But he was the more eaſy under it, as he had been promiſed from the Beginning, that the Lord *Durſley* ſhould be ſpeedily ſent to relieve him; but when he had waited above a Month for this, and his Lordſhip did arrive upon the Station; inſtead of the Relief he expected, he found himſelf only relieved from one Difficulty to another, without any Regard to his Safety, or the Honour of the Flag. Indeed there ſeems to be an Apology in the very Orders for doing ſo, by urging the Neceſſity of it, namely, that the Fleet of which he was Admiral and Commander in Chief, was divided on various Services, both at home and abroad; but certainly this was the ſtrongeſt Argument why it was not neceſſary or proper to employ him, ſince, if there was not a Fleet to command, there needed no Admiral and Commander in Chief of the Fleet; for inferior Flags are to command Squadrons; and as he had not, during the Cruize, above four Sail of the Line and two Frigates, and ſometimes but one Frigate under his Command, it was fit only for a Captain with a broad Pendant. Let us admit ſome urgent Neceſſity, (which there was not) that he ſhould command a cruizing Squadron in the *Soundings*, as theſe laſt Orders directed; it was not to be parallel'd, that an Admiral of the Fleet ſhould be ſent from the Coaſt of *Flanders* into the *Soundings* with four Sail only, when it was known, (and even the Orders ſuggeſt) there was a Squadron of *France* at Sea treble that Number, which probably might intercept him before he reach'd *Plymouth*; and in that Caſe, what Satisfaction could the Lord High-Admiral have made to the Nation for ſo great Diſhonour to the Admiral Flag of *England*, and what Glory would have accrued to the Enemy thereby? It was impoſſible this could have happened but under the Direction of a Land-Admiral; for I will not ſuggeſt there was Treachery to the Nation, or that the moſt envious Malice could have perpetrated the Deſtruction of ſo brave and good an Officer.

After Sir *John* parted from the Lord *Durſley*, he met with hard blowing Weather, and the 25th at Night, he was oblig'd to anchor about five Leagues S. by E. from *Callis Cliffs*. The next Morning he weighed again, plying to Windward, but was forced to anchor again, and the Ships could not purchaſe their Anchors any more that Day, but the following being the 27th, they got into *Dover* Road, where he intended to water the Ships and then proceed to *Plymouth*; and by the Precaution he had taken ſome Time before, he found a Supply of Beer and Water for the preſent Exigency (which enabled him without Loſs of Time to proceed directly to *Plymouth*;)

without

without ſtopping at *Portſmouth*. From *Dover* he wrote to the Secretary, to acquaint the Lord-High-Admiral of what he had done in Purſuance of his Orders, and of his Arrival at that Place; but he takes no Notice of the Danger he was expoſed to, by going to *Plymouth* with four Sail, and the Probability of meeting a ſuperior Force of the Enemy, (as thoſe very Orders ſuggeſt) he does not ſo much as hint at this. He only obſerves, with Regard to the publick Service he was going upon, that he hoped when Ships could be ſpared from other Services, to have a Re-inforcement, for that he (the Secretary) muſt be ſenſible of the ſeveral Services which he was enjoined by his Inſtructions to perform, and unforeſeen Accidents might leave him in little Time inferior to the Enemy in thoſe Seas; for that when he ſhould get all his Squadron together at *Plymouth*, they would be but 13 Sail of the Line, one fifth Rate and a Fireſhip; and that ſince they were not making any Preparations at *Dunkirk*, and that the Corn Ships were expected from the *Baltick* under Care of the *Dutch* Convoy. It was his Opinion, that five Sail might be ſufficient to cruize off of *Scawen*, or thereabouts. And we may obſerve upon this, that he had ſeldom above five Sail with him upon that Station, though the Lord *Durſley*, an inferior Flag, who relieved him, was appointed 10 Sail.

Having watered the Ships, and taken in ſome Proviſions at *Dover*, he left that Road the 29th, not without Apprehenſions of meeting with the Enemy's Squadron. With ſome Difficulty he reached *Torbay* the 5th of *Auguſt* in the Evening, where he found Rear-Admiral *Baker* with ſix Sail of Men of War, and a Fleet of Tranſports for *Ireland*, and was ſaluted by the Rear-Admiral with 21 Guns, which he anſwered with two leſs as uſual. The next Morning he ſailed from *Torbay*, and the 7th arrived ſafe in *Plymouth Sound*, and received the uſual Salute from the Citadel of 21 Guns, and ſeven from each Ship in the Harbour. Here he was confirmed that the Report of the Enemy's Squadron had not been groundleſs; for he found Orders from the Lord-High-Admiral, (who, it ſeems, began to be in ſome Pain for him) acquainting him, that Monſ. *Du Caſſe* was at Sea with 12 Sail, and that Monſ. *Du Gue* with 14 Ships was fitting with all Expedition at *Breſt*, requiring him therefore to cruize with the Squadron in a Body, to ſtrengthen Admiral *Baker*'s Squadron, and to take Care of the *Turkey* and *Liſbon* Convoy.

To theſe Orders and Letters Sir *John* returned an Anſwer the ſame Day, *viz.* that he had diſpatch'd a Letter to Rear-Admiral *Baker*, to acquaint him, that the *Newark* and *Burford* ſhould be ready to join him, upon giving him Notice of his ſailing from *Torbay*, which he preſumed might be Re-inforcement ſufficient; but if there was ſo much to be feared from

from the Enemy, as the Advice mentioned, he was doubtful there might be ſome Danger in thoſe two Ships returning to him. He therefore gave it as his Opinion, they ſhould remain at *Cork* till he got out with his Squadron, and either called himſelf or ſent a Ship for them; but if there was not ſo much Haſte for Mr. *Baker*'s ſailing, and that he could ſtay 8 or 10 Days, he might then be in a Condition to go with him himſelf with all the Squadron. That at preſent he had only the two afore-mentioned Ships remaining with him ready for the Sea; and he preſumed my Lord-High-Admiral would not think it very convenient for him to go to Sea with three Ships with Mr. *Baker*, and lie in the *Soundings* till joined by the reſt of the Squadron. He likewiſe wrote to Admiral *Baker* to keep the *Reſtoration* with him if ſhe was not ſailed from *Torbay*, and iſſued Orders to Captain *Vincent* of the *Newark*, with the *Berwick* to join that Admiral, agreeable to the Opinion he had given in his Letter to the Secretary. Nevertheleſs ſome few Days after he received another preſſing Letter, expreſſing a great Uneaſineſs for the Safety of Rear-Admiral *Baker*'s Convoy; this was the 12th Inſtant, and he immediately anſwered it. I wiſh (ſays he) there was as little Difficulty in meeting the Trade from *Portugal*, as there is to ſecure Rear-Admiral *Baker* to *Ireland*; but however, my Lord-High-Admiral may be aſſured I will take the beſt Care I can to comply with his Lordſhip's Commands; that if any Thing hindered his going to Sea on *Tueſday* next, it would be the Want of Beer. He was alſo informed by a ſubſequent Letter from the Secretary, that the *Lancaſter*, *Reſtoration* and *Auguſt*, were ordered to tide it to *Plymouth*; wherefore being in continual Expectation of their Arrival, and being himſelf now ready to ſail, he ſent only the *Newark* to join the Admiral in *Torbay*, leaving Directions for thoſe three Ships at *Plymouth*, immediately upon their Arrival, to do ſo likewiſe; and whereas Captain *Vincent*, by his former Orders, was directed to remain at *Cork* till Sir *John* ſhould call himſelf or ſend a Ship to fetch him out; now the Admiral being ready to proceed with his Squadron to the appointed Station, where he would arrive before Admiral *Baker* was on the Coaſt of *Ireland*; Captain *Vincent* was ordered not to go into *Cork*; but as ſoon as he had ſeen Mr. *Baker* off of that Place, to take the *Lancaſter*, *Reſtoration* and *Auguſt* under his Command, and proceed directly to join him at the Rendezvous, from the Latitude of 47 D. 30 M. to 50 D.

Theſe previous Diſpoſitions being made, the 16th in the Afternoon, Sir *John* ſailed from *Plymouth* in the *Ruſſel*, with 11 Sail, diſpatching an Expreſs at the ſame Time to the Lord-High-Admiral's Secretary to acquaint him of it; and likewiſe, that when he returned to that Place, and his Lordſhip thought

thought he might be ſpared from that Service, he ſhould be very willing to be relieved.

The 18th, in the Afternoon, they ſpoke with the *Queen* Packet Boat from *Liſbon*, which Place ſhe left the 7th Inſtant, and gave an Account, that Sir *John Jennings* was there with ſix Sail, and that in his Paſſage, the 14th, he overtook the *Turkey* and *Liſbon* Fleet with their Convoy, 100 and odd Leagues W. by N. from *Cape Finiſter*, ſteering N. E. whereupon Sir *John* altered his Courſe, in Hopes to fall in with them. The next Day the Fleet brought to, being in the appointed Station. In the Evening they had hard blowing Weather, wherein two of the Squadron ſprung their Fore-Maſts; whereupon the Carpenters of the Squadron were ſent to aſſiſt them; and having caſed their Maſts round, and compleated fiſhing them, the Fleet made ſail again. The 22d, they diſcovered four Sail of large Privateers, which they chaſed from ſix in the Morning till ſix at Night; and if there had been a moderate Gale of Wind, muſt have taken them all, but by rowing and towing they got off. In this Chaſe, Sir *John* finding the *Ruſſel* ſailed ſo heavily, that he could not ſee what was done a-head in Chaſing, ſhifted his Flag, (the Day after) on board the *Kent* a 70 Gun Ship, and one of the beſt Sailers. The ſame Day, about Noon, they diſcovered a Sail to Windward, bearing down upon them, but ſoon after haul'd upon a Wind, whereupon the whole Squadron chaſed, and in little more than half an Hour, the *Kent* came up with her and took her, being a Privateer of *St. Malo's*, of 18 Guns and 150 Men, who had been 12 Days from *Breſt*, and reported, that Monſ. *Du Caſſe* and Monſ. *Du Gue* were then there; that there were ſix Sail ready, from 50 to 70 Guns, and ſix more to join him at Sea, and four Privateers, two of 40 and two of 24 Guns each, which were the Ships the Squadron chaſed the other Day, and had certainly taken every Ship if they had not wanted Wind, they coming up with them whenever they had any; but ſome of the Ships Crew ſaid, that 12 Ships were careening for Monſ. *Du Caſſe*, in order to go to the *Weſt-Indies*, and might be ready in about three Weeks, and that *Du Gue* would be out with ſix or ſeven Sail, the latter End of the next Month, or Beginning of *October*. Others reported, that no Ships were fitting out, and that they were in great Expectation of Peace, ſo that nothing could be concluded from this various and uncertain Intelligence.

Whilſt the Fleet were upon this Station, they ſpoke with ſeveral ſmall Convoys, ſome outward, and others homeward-bound, and were in continual Expectation of diſcovering thoſe with the *Turkey* and *Liſbon* Trade. Accordingly, the 25th, at five in the Morning, they ſaw four Sail, when the Admiral made

the Signal for the whole Squadron to chaſe; ſoon after they ſaw ſeven Sail, and by ſix o'Clock diſcovered a Fleet, which in three Hours joined him, being the *Turkey* and *Liſbon* Trade, with their reſpective Convoys, making together 11 Sail; and ſoon after he was joined by the *Newark* and *Reſtoration* from *Ireland*. Upon this Junction, the Admiral tack'd with his Squadron, ſteering the ſame Courſe with them for *England*, in order to ſee them ſafely within *Scilly*. The next Day in the Evening, obſerving two Sail to Leeward a-ſtern, which he ſuſpected to be *French*, and that they might alter their Courſe in the Night and follow the Fleet, he ordered a Couple of Frigates, as ſoon as it was dark, to fall a-ſtern and watch their Deſigns; they proved to be as the Admiral ſuſpected; and probably would have pick'd up a Merchant Ship or two, if it had not been for this ſeaſonable Precaution; but finding themſelves diſcover'd, they made the beſt of their Way in Time, but not without ſome Hazard of being taken.

The 29th, having ſeen the *Turkey* and *Liſbon* Trade with their Convoys as far as the *Lizzard*, and fairly into the Shoar, he proceeded to his Station, into the Latitude of 49 Deg. and a Half, and weſting 46 Leagues from thence; and the Wind proving Eaſterly, he run upon that Meridian to 45 Deg. one Half, in hopes to have met with the *Nottingham*. After that, he cruized between the Latitude of 46 and 47 for the Enemy's Trade; and the 8th of *September* took a *French* Ship from *Martinico* of 16 Guns, whoſe Maſter informed him, he came out in Company with 12 Sail, but that they were ſeparated by bad Weather three Days before, and that two of them were Men of War, both rich Ships, of 50 and 40 Guns, but pretended he did not know to what Port of *France* thoſe Ships were bound. From thence Sir *John* went into his former Station, where he intended to cruize as long as his Proviſions would laſt, and to lengthen the Time, cauſed the Ships to go to ſhort Allowance; and the *Newark*, *Ruſſel*, *Monk*, and *Reſtoration*, being very foul, and ſailing heavily, he was obliged to ſend them to *Plymouth* to clean, the bad Weather he had met with, having likewiſe injured them and all the reſt of the Ships in their Maſts and Sails. At Night the *Auguſt* joined him from *Plymouth*, having in her Way taken a *French* Banker.

By the *Auguſt*, he received an Order from the Lord-High-Admiral, of the 22d *ultimo*, for ſending a Ship to convoy the Trade from *Milford* to *Dublin*, in purſuance whereof he diſpatch'd the *Sweepſtakes* upon that Service, and then to make the beſt of her Way to *Plymouth*; and as the Secretary had intimated, that another Flag ſhould ſhortly be ordered to join him; he acquainted him in Anſwer thereto, that if he was to remain longer on that Station, there would be no Occaſion for

his being joined by another Flag-Officer, it being his humble Opinion one was ſufficient, unleſs there was ſome other Service to be performed.

After this, continuing his Cruize, a ſmall Privateer was taken, and not long after a *French* Man of War of 40 Guns and 250 Men, of whom 30 were kill'd in the Action, with the firſt and ſecond Captain and ſeveral Officers, beſides 50 wounded. Both theſe Prizes he ſent into *Plymouth* under Convoy of two Men of War. The 18th, the *Auguſt* was ſent to *Plymouth* to clean and refit; and Proviſions being now very ſhort, he was obliged himſelf to follow in a few Days after, and arrived with the reſt of his Squadron at that Place, (being only five Sail,) the 24th of *September*.

Upon his Arrival at *Plymouth*, he found ſome Orders from the Lord-High-Admiral, and Letters of Advice, which his Lordſhip had received from Captain *Cammock*, giving an Account, that 11 Sail of *French* Privateers, ſeven from 30 to 46 Guns, and the reſt from 24 to 12, were cruizing between *Dungannon* and the Iſland of *Lundy*, to deſtroy the Trade, and particularly thoſe large Wool Fleets from *Dublin*, *Waterford* and *Cork*, bound to the *Severn*; and that the Enemy were fitting out at *St. Malo's*, three Ships of 40 odd Guns each, and 17 from 56 to 60 Guns at *Breſt*, which Intelligence Captain *Cammock* affirmed might be depended upon; that therefore Sir *John* was to conſider in what Manner the ſaid Privateers might be intercepted and the Trade protected, but with particular Regard to the Safety of the rich Fleet expected from *Barbadoes*; which by another Order he was directed to cauſe a Squadron to cruize for in the *Soundings*, the Months of *October* and *November*, and that as ſoon as the Lord *Durſley* arrived in the *Soundings* from *Portſmouth* he might go to *London*.

To theſe Letters, Advices and Orders, Sir *John* returned an Anſwer the ſame Day; acquainting the Secretary, that as to the Condition of his Squadron and the other Ships at *Plymouth*, the *Newark*, *Ruſſel*, *Auguſt*, *Romney* and *Saliſbury* were cleaning, and he hoped would be ready for the Sea in about eight Days, and then if the Lord-High-Admiral pleaſed, he would ſend them to cruize in the *Soundings*, under the Command of Captain *Vincent* of the *Newark*, to look out for the Trade expected from the *Weſt-Indies*, &c. and that he would take all poſſible Care to diſpatch the Cleaning and Refitting the reſt of the Squadron; and it's my Opinion (ſays he) that if the Ships of the Weſtern Squadron were cleaned every ſix Weeks, the Enemy would ſoon be weary of ſending out Privateers to intercept our Trade: That Captain *Cammock*'s Account of the Naval Preparations at *Breſt*, ſeemed to be much the ſame with that he had from the Captain and other

Officers of the Privateers he took at his firſt going into the *Soundings*, as he had acquainted them in a former Letter; and if Monſ. *Du Caſſe* was bound to the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, he could hardly believe he would cruize for our Trade before he proceeded thither; and as to Monſ. *Du Gue*, if he did come to Sea, it was every Body's Opinion, it would not be with above three or four Sail; but as to the 11 Privateers that Captain *Cammock* ſaid were cruizing off of *Lundy*, he could propoſe no other Expedient for ſuppreſſing them, but ſending two or three clean Frigates, when he had them: But as he knew what Number of Ships he had with him, (which he was ſenſible if any of them were otherwiſe employ'd, the Service in the *Soundings* muſt ſuffer,) he therefore rather recommended, that two or three Frigates, (when they could be ſpared) ſhould be appointed particularly for that Service, and rendezvous and clean at *Kingſale*.

This Letter he diſpatch'd by Expreſs, that he might the ſooner receive the Lord-High-Admiral's Commands, in Relation to the firſt five Ships that ſhould be ready, and the cleaning the reſt of the Squadron; and the 29th, received an Order by Expreſs, directing him, (as he had propoſed) to ſend the five Ships that ſhould be firſt ready into the *Soundings*, to cruize for the *Weſt-India* Trade (but ſtill with ſome Diffidence and Apprehenſions of the Enemy) *if, by all the Advices he had received, he ſhould think them of ſufficient Strength*; which was making him anſwerable for the Event; a Caſe, wherein few Admirals would care to run the Riſque, however they might eſteem it for the publick Service: After Sir *John* had given his Opinion, and his Reaſons for that Opinion, he ſhould have had a poſitive or a negative Order; but they had been frightened, it ſeems, by ſome Accounts of a *French* Squadron in the News Papers; and as Perſons acting in Affairs where they are wholly ignorant, conſequently act with Fear and Circumſpection; ſo the Lord-High-Admiral was willing to leave the Judgment of this Matter to the Admiral, which was certainly the ſafeſt for himſelf. But as Sir *John* proceeded with Judgment, and acted always for the beſt, he neither feared nor neglected to put in Execution any Deſigns for the publick Service, out of Regard to his own Security; becauſe, poſſibly, they might not be attended with deſired Succeſs: This extreme Caution in ſome has prevented many a brave and fortunate Enterprize. But however apprehenſive the Lord-High-Admiral was of the Danger the Ships he propoſed to ſend into the *Soundings*, might be expoſed to, from a Squadron of the Enemy; Sir *John* thought it proper they ſhould proceed on that Service; and accordingly, the next Day, after he had received his Lordſhip's indeterminate Order, he ſent the following Letter to the Secretary.

'SIR,

Kent at *Plymouth*, *September* 30.

'SIR,

'THIS owns the Receipt of your Letters of the 27th Inſtant, and my Lord-High-Admiral's Orders of the 26th and 27th Inſtant by Expreſs, and is to acquaint you, that the continual bad Weather has much retarded the fitting of the Ships, and the Spring-Tides not falling out to take them into the Dock for theſe five or ſix Days, have ordered ſome of them to be careened, that no Time may be loſt; and the *Northumberland* being the firſt, (the *Sweepſtakes* not being here) hope to get her ready to proceed with the five Sail mentioned in my former Letter. It ſeems pretty ſtrange, if (according to the Accounts given in the Prints) 'twas Monſ. *Du Gue* that Captain *Huntington* ſaw, that he ſhould ſteer a different Courſe from that of the *Lancaſter*. I am therefore apt to believe, if this happened in the Latitude of 49 or 49 and a Half, that the Squadron he ſaw was mine, or Sir *John Jennings*'s, both conſiſting of the Number of Ships mentioned; and if the *Lancaſter* was to the Weſtward of us, as the Weather was extreme hazy for ſeveral Days, they might ſee us, though we could not ſee them; however, I cannot help being of Opinon, that the aforementioned ſix Ships will be of ſufficient Strength to encounter thoſe that Monſ. *Du Gue* may have with him, notwithſtanding the terrible Account that is given in the *Poſt-Boy*; and ſhall therefore ſend them into *Soundings* accordingly, unleſs I receive Orders to the contrary; though in all Probability my Lord *Durſley* will be here with the *Royal Oak*, *Wincheſter*, and *St. Alban's*, before they can be got ready; and then do think of leaving the Command to his Lordſhip, and coming to Town; having ſome of my own Affairs to diſpatch there, which requires my immediate Preſence.'

Soon after this, the Ships being in ſome Forwardneſs, he gave the following Inſtructions to Captain *Vincent*.

By Sir John Leake, *Knt. Rear-Admiral of* Great Britain, *and Admiral and Commander in Chief of her Majeſty's Fleet.*

WHEREAS it has been repreſented to my Lord-High-Admiral, that 11 of the Enemy's Privateers from 12 to 46 Guns, are cruizing between *Dungannon* and the Iſland of *Lundy* to deſtroy the Trade, particularly thoſe large Wool Fleets from *Dublin*, *Waterford* and *Cork*, bound to

the *Severn*; and it being therefore abſolutely neceſſary, that Endeavours ſhould be uſed to intercept the ſaid Privateers: You are hereby required and directed, with the Ships under your Command, (as ſoon as they ſhall be ready for the Sea) to proceed with all poſſible Diligence, and range over the ſaid Station, between *Dungannon* and *Lundy*, and there uſe your beſt Endeavours to intercept, take, and deſtroy the 11 Ships afore-mentioned.

And whereas the Merchants trading to the Iſland of *Barbadoes*, have repreſented to my Lord-High-Admiral, that they do expect from thence upwards of 70 Sail of Ships, under Convoy of two Frigates only, and ſeveral other Fleets from the *Weſt-Indies*, valued in the Whole at a Million Sterling; and that they may arrive by the 15th of this Month, and will probably fall into the Latitude of 49, or 49 Deg. and a Half, from 15 to 25 Leagues from *Scilly*, where they will part with the Trade bound to *Briſtol*; and whereas the Security of the aforeſaid Trade is of very great Conſequence to the Kingdom; you are (after you have performed the afore-mentioned Service between *Ireland* and the *Severn*; wherein you are to have eſpecial Regard to the Time of meeting the *Weſt-India* Trade) with all your Squadron to repair to the Station afore-mentioned, and there keep a good Look-out for the aforeſaid Fleets from *Barbadoes*, and the other Parts of the *Weſt-Indies*; and on your meeting them, if you ſhall find (according to the Intelligence you ſhall receive of the Enemy) you can ſpare a Ship or two to ſtrengthen their Convoy; you are to appoint them to accompany the ſaid Convoy as far as *Spithead*, with Directions to their Commanders to return to you again from thence with all poſſible Diligence; otherwiſe you are to order ſome of the Ships under your Command, to ſee them in Safety to *Plymouth* only, to which Port you are to order any Part of the ſaid Fleet to be convoy'd, in caſe you ſhall meet them ſeparated; but if you ſhall only meet with one or two of the ſaid Ships, you are then to keep them with you for 10 Days, in Expectation of meeting the Whole; that ſo your Squadron may not be weakened, by ſending any of them in with thoſe ſingle Ships, until you ſhall find that there ſhall be a Neceſſity for it; and you are to give effectual Orders, to the reſpective Captains of the Ships under your Command, not to impreſs any of the Men belonging to the ſaid Merchant Ships, that ſo they may continue their Service in them until they arrive at the *Buoy of the Nore*.

You are to continue on the aforeſaid Service as long as your Proviſions will laſt, and till you ſhall be joined by the Lord *Durſley*, Vice-Admiral of the White, and then you are to put yourſelf under his Command, and obſerve all ſuch Orders and

and Directions as you ſhall from Time to Time receive from his Lordſhip.

And whereas Monſ. *Du Gue* has been ſeen at Sea with ſeven Sail of the Enemy's Ships of War, and three of 40 odd Guns are fitting out, or more probably are already at Sea from *St. Malo's*; you are to give the neceſſary Directions to the Captains of the Ships under your Command, that they be careful not to loſe Company, leſt the Squadron, by being divided, ſhould be expoſed to a ſuperior Strength of the Enemy.

You are to take under your Care and Protection, when you ſail from hence, the Packet-Boat, under the Command of Captain *Bourne* for the *Weſt-Indies*, and convoy him as far into the Sea, as his and your Way ſhall lie together, for her better Security; and when it ſhall be neceſſary for you to return to this Place, you are to ſend one of the Ships under your Command to *Scilly*, with Orders to her Captain, to convoy from thence to this Port a Prize lately taken by the *Revenge* Gally Privateer, loaden with Sugar, Cocoa and Indigo, to a conſiderable Value, and any other Trade which may then be there, and bound this Way.

And whereas Sir *John Duddleſton*, of *Briſtol*, has acquainted my Lord-High-Admiral, that ſix of their Ships were to ſail from *Virginia* by the End of *July* laſt, and deſired that ſome of her Majeſty's Ships might cruize off of *Cape Clare*, and in *Briſtol Channel*, for their Protection; you are to provide for their Security in the beſt Manner you can, with Reſpect to the Time they may be expected, for which this ſhall be your Warrant. Dated on board the *Kent* at *Plymouth*, *October* 2, 1709.

J. LEAKE.

To Captain *Vincent*, &c.

By Command of the Admiral, G. Archdale.

The extreme bad Weather they had had, and which ſtill continued, had very much retarded the refitting of the Ships; though, as Sir *John* acquainted the Secretary, it was not in his Power to make more Diſpatch than he did, and, that if the bad Weather continued, he could not tell when they would be in a Condition for the Sea; for it had hitherto been impoſſible for any Proviſions to be ſent from *Plymouth*, either into *Hamoze* or the *Sound:* However, ſome few Days after, the Weather proving more moderate, they began to ſend the Proviſions on board.

In the mean Time the Lord *Durſley* arrived, two Days before Captain *Vincent* was ready to ſail, upon which the fore-

going Inſtructions were given to his Lordſhip for his Direction, together with the ſeveral Advices and Orders which had been received, relating to the Security of the Trade expected from the *Weſt-Indies* and other Parts; and Captain *Vincent* had other Orders relating to the Cruize, under the Direction of the Lord *Durſley*; purſuant whereto, the 10th Inſtant, he ſailed from *Plymouth* with ſix Sail, three whereof were 3d Rates, and three 4th, and proceeded to the appointed Station, where he was joined ſoon after by my Lord with five Sail more.

The ſame Day that Captain *Vincent* ſailed, Sir *John* ſet out for *London*. The Corporation of *Plymouth* having expreſſed a very great Regard to him during his Stay at that Place, and as a grateful Acknowledgment of the Favours he had done them, they preſented him with the Freedom of that Borough in a Silver Box; and upon his Arrival at *London*, her Majeſty was pleaſed to receive him very graciouſly.

From what has been ſaid, it appears, the Service of this Campaign was not very agreeable: His Cruize upon the Coaſt of *Flanders* with a few Ships; the Orders he received afterwards to proceed with four Sail only into the *Soundings*; and keeping him upon that Station till *October*, were neither proper Services or ſuitable Commands for the Admiral and Commander in Chief of the Fleet, eſpecially as no Neceſſity of Affairs required him to be thus employ'd; and there were Junior Flags and Commanders, who ought rather to have been employed for theſe Purpoſes. And when he came to *London*, he could not help complaining of this Treatment, which, with ſome other Inſtances of Miſmanagement in the Admiralty Affairs, was the Reaſon that the Earl of *Pembroke* was ſoon after removed from the Poſt of Lord-High-Admiral, or at leaſt haſtened his Removal. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, that his Lordſhip entered on that high Poſt with great Uneaſineſs, and a juſt Apprehenſion of the Difficulty of maintaining it well in a Time of War. It is therefore difficult to apprehend, why he entered upon it at all: For beſides that his Lordſhip was wholly unqualified, he could not act by a Council, as his Royal Highneſs had done, for that Commiſſion was judged illegal, though out of Reſpect to the Prince their Authority was never called in Queſtion. But my Lord was to tranſact the Whole himſelf, a Charge too great for the beſt Admiral to undertake, much more for his Lordſhip, whoſe Unſkilfulneſs in Maritime Affairs put him under the Neceſſity of ſubmitting himſelf to other Mens Opinions; and indeed, all the Orders that were given by his Lordſhip, betrayed a great Diffidence and Want of Judgment; and ſhewed, that he had not the beſt Adviſers. From the Impoſſibility therefore, that his Lordſhip could make any Figure in this Poſt, it ſhould ſeem that he took this troubleſome Office upon him, after the Death of the

the Prince, only till her Majeſty had conſidered how to diſpoſe of it in Commiſſion, and not with any Intention to continue in it. It was however a great Honour to his Lordſhip, to ſucceed the Prince in that high Poſt, and entitled him to a Penſion of 3000 *l.* a Year, upon his Removal, which happened the Beginning of *November*. The 8th of that Month her Majeſty was pleaſed to appoint the Earl of *Orford*, Sir *John Leake*, Sir *George Byng*, *George Doddington*, and *Paul Methuen*, Eſqrs. Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Lord-High-Admiral of *Great Britain*. And the 12th, Sir *John* was ſuperſeded in his Poſt of Admiral and Commander in Chief of her Majeſty's Fleet, by *Matthew Aylmer*, Eſq; [a].

Three Days after, the Parliament met, purſuant to their laſt Prorogation. The firſt Thing they did, was to aſſure her Majeſty, they would grant ſpeedy and effectual Supplies to carry on the War; and theſe Aſſurances they made good, for they had hardly ſet a Month before they had granted all that was neceſſary for the next Year's Service. But the moſt difficult and troubleſome Affair of this Seſſions, was the Impeachment and Trial of Dr. *Sacheverel*, which cauſed ſo great a Fermentation in the Nation; upon which Occaſion Sir *John* was one of thoſe who voted him Guilty. And with theſe Proceedings of the Parliament I ſhall conclude this Chapter.

CHAP. VII.

Proceedings in the Year 1710 *and* 1711. *A new Parliament. An Inquiry into the Affairs of* Spain. *Sir* John *is appointed Admiral of the Fleet the third Time, with his Proceedings in the* Channel, *and other Matters.*

UPON the vigorous Proceedings of the Parliament of *Great Britain* to proſecute the War, the Court of *France* thought fit to make new Overtures for Peace. This they

[a] A Commiſſion for Admiral of the Fleet, is frequently given to others beſides the Senior Admiral, (as I have before obſerved in the Notes of the firſt Chapter;) for which Reaſon, the Senior Admiral is uſually made Rear-Admiral of *Great Britain*, and one of the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty; the firſt as being an higher Office gives him the Rank above other Admirals, that may ſuperſede him in the Command of the Fleet for the Time being; and the other is a Recompence in lieu of the Half-Pay of Admiral of the Fleet, which otherwiſe,

they did the Beginning of *January*, 1709-10; and the *March* and *April* following, Conferences were held at *Gertruydenbergh*, but attended with no better Succeſs than they had formerly been; the *French* ſeeming to intend rather to divide and amuſe the Allies, than ſhow any ſincere Diſpoſitions for Peace. Theſe Conferences were afterwards renewed again, and continued moſt Part of the Summer, but did not hinder the Operations of the Campaign, which, however, proved very inconſiderable in *Flanders* as well as by Sea. Mr. *Aylmer*, as I obſerved above, was appointed Admiral and Commander in Chief of th Fleet for the Service of the Year 1710; ſo that Sir *John* was not employ'd at Sea all this Year, but was wholly taken up in the Execution of his civil Employments, as one of the Lord Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, and as a Member of the Houſe of Commons.

Soon after the Riſing of the Parliament, (*April* 5, 1710,) her Majeſty reſolved to make ſome Changes in the Miniſtry, whereupon followed great Revolutions of Places and Employments; amongſt the reſt it was rumour'd, (upon the Earl of *Orford*'s reſigning his Place of Firſt Lord-Commiſſioner of the Admiralty,) that either the Earl of *Peterborough*, or the Earl of *Nottingham* would be put at the Head of that Commiſſion: But the Queen having taken ſome Days to conſider of her Choice, it was at laſt declared, that her Majeſty had appointed Sir *John Leake*, Sir *George Byng*, *George Doddington*, Eſq; *Paul Methuen*, Eſq; Sir *William Drake*, Bart. and *John Aiſlabie*, Eſq; Lords Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Lord-High-Admiral of *Great Britain*.

By this Appointment, Sir *John* found himſelf at the Head of the Admiralty, contrary to his Inclination. For though it had been thought neceſſary, that an Admiral ſhould preſide at that Board; and upon the Earl of *Orford*'s laying down the Poſt of Firſt Commiſſioner, it naturally devolved upon Sir *John*, as being Rear-Admiral of *Great Britain*, the Senior Admiral, and Second at the Admiralty Board; Yet thoſe very Reaſons, which induced the Lord *Orford* to lay down, were Motives to prevent his taking it, as he was likewiſe truly ſenſible how difficult a Taſk it was to diſcharge that important Truſt in Time of War, to the Satisfaction of the Publick, and how invidious and diſagreeable it would more eſpecially be at this Juncture. He therefore declined to be Firſt Commiſſioner, as well for the before-mentioned Reaſons, as becauſe he would not ſeem to ſupplant that noble Lord. Her Majeſty was not a little perplexed upon this Occaſion, and not

otherwiſe, being unemploy'd, he ought to have, but cannot regularly be paid whilſt another is at Sea as Admiral, nor whilſt he has any other Employment.

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being able to pitch upon any other fit Perſon to ſucceed his Lordſhip, that Place remained vacant, and Sir *John* continued the firſt in the new Commiſſion, though not Firſt Commiſſioner. Some of his Friends blamed him for refuſing it, ſince he was ſaddled by this Means with the Trouble of Firſt Commiſſioner, without the Honour or Advantage of it; but he thought otherwiſe; For the Firſt Commiſſioner is always eſteemed a Miniſterial Officer: Hence is imputed to him the Honour or the Blame of every Thing done at that Board, as being done under his Adminiſtration; whereas in the preſent Caſe, though Sir *John* was the Firſt acting Commiſſioner, and as ſuch was Chairman, and repreſented a Firſt Commiſſioner; yet he was but a Member only, and as ſuch, nothing more could be imputed to him than to the reſt, and he ſat in the Chair no otherwiſe than as Second Commiſſioner in the Abſence of the Firſt.

In the mean Time, *viz.* *May* 8, 1710, died Admiral *Churchill*, Sir *John*'s old Friend; a Man of great Honour and Integrity, and who had ſhewed his Bravery upon ſeveral Occaſions whilſt he was a Captain, but particularly at the Battle of *La Hogue*; afterwards was made a Flag, and in ſome ſhort Time, Admiral of the Fleet, though but little of a Seaman; which made him admire the more, thoſe Qualifications in Sir *John Leake*; and often expreſs'd great Satisfaction, that he had contributed to the Promotion of one ſo eminently ſerviceable to his Country. Upon the Death of the Prince, he retired from Buſineſs, being much afflicted with the Gout; and tho' he had great Means to acquire Wealth, yet all his Employments he diſcharged with ſuch Integrity, that he left a very inconſiderable Eſtate behind him.

As Sir *John* was at Home all this Year, the Tranſactions at Sea do not properly fall under our Obſervation, otherwiſe than as the Diſpoſitions of the Fleet for the Campaign, were concerted and executed at the Admiralty Board, where he ſat the Firſt acting Commiſſioner. I ſhall therefore go on to the Proceedings of the Parliament. The 21ſt of *September*, the old Parliament was diſſolved by Proclamation; and the 26th, her Majeſty in Council, ordered another to be publiſhed for calling a new one, the Writs to bear Teſte the 27th of that Month, and be returnable the 25th of *November*. Upon this Occaſion, Sir *John* was choſen for *Rocheſter* the ſecond Time, and at the appointed Day the Parliament met. The firſt Thing they entered upon, was (in Anſwer to her Majeſty's Speech) to give her Majeſty their Aſſurances, that they would effectually and ſpeedily grant the neceſſary Supplies for a vigorous Proſecution of the War in all its Parts; and this they did with ſuch Diſpatch, that on the 23d of *December*, the Land-Tax-Bill received the Royal Aſſent, after which both Houſes adjourned to the 2d of *January*. It

It is not to my Purpoſe, to enter into all the Proceedings of this Seſſions of Parliament; but the Enquiry into the Affairs of *Spain*, which took up a conſiderable Part of their Time, I cannot paſs over without Animadverſion, as having a near Relation to ſome Tranſactions in the former Part of this Work. What gave Riſe to this Enquiry, was a Meſſage the Houſe received from the Queen, *February* 2, 1710-11, upon an unſucceſsful Engagement of our Land-Forces, which happened about that Time in *Spain*. This gave the Court Lords a fair Opportunity, to examine into the Management of the War in that Country, and at the ſame Time [a] (which they had principally in View) an Opportunity to give the Duke of *Marlborough* a Side Wind Mortification, by calling the Earl of *Gallway* to an Account, and paſſing a Compliment on the Earl of *Peterborough*; a Favour the Duke's Friends had not been able to procure his Grace from either Houſe that Seſſions. This Affair was the more extraordinary, becauſe in the Year 1707, when that Lord's Conduct was examined in the Houſe of Peers; and the Party then in Oppoſition to the Court in that Houſe, as they had previouſly reſolved, found him blameleſs; and his Lordſhip's Friends thereupon laboured to have the Thanks of the Houſe returned him, yet they could not carry it; for many of thoſe who had determined to acquit him, would not however agree to thank him for what he had done, knowing how lately the King of *Spain* had (with Reaſon) complained of him to the Queen, by Count *Gallas* his Majeſty's Miniſter at the Court of *Great Britain*. His Lordſhip, no doubt, was very well ſatisfied, to let an Affair, which was liable to an Impeachment, paſs without a Compliment; much leſs could he ever think to have it revived three Years afterwards for that Purpoſe: Such a Compliment, ſo out of Time, could be very little Honour, having been refuſed in its proper Place, and plainly intimated, it was not intended as a real Honour to him, but to ſerve a Turn. The Earl of *Peterborough* was now upon his Departure for *Vienna*, to concert Meaſures at the Imperial Court, for the vigorous Proſecution of the War; but at the Lords Deſire his Journey was ſtopp'd for ſome few Days, that they might make uſe of ſuch Lights and Informations as he might give them concerning the Affair of *Spain*. Five Queſtions were put to him, to which he gave diſtinct Anſwers, containing in the main, what was publiſh'd ſome Time before by Dr. *Friend*, in a Book entitled, *An Account of the Earl of* Peterborough's *Conduct in* Spain; not without ſome Reflections upon the Earl of *Gallway* and the other Generals, which plainly ſhewed the whole Contrivance. After this, the Lord *Gallway* and the Lord *Tyrawley* were examined, and being withdrawn, ſeveral Peers ſpoke

[a] See an Account of this in *Boyer*'s Hiſtory of Queen *Anne*.

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in Favour of the Lord *Gallway*, and amongſt the reſt the Duke of *Marlborough*, with the utmoſt Concern, and even Tears in his Eyes, ſaid, it was ſomewhat ſtrange, that Generals, who had acted to the beſt of their Underſtandings, and had loſt their Limbs in the Service, ſhould be examined like Offenders, about inſignificant Things: And he could not imagine the Meaning of ſuch Proceedings, nor where they would ſtop. After a ſmall Debate, the Lords adjourned, and the next Meeting, having received the Lord *Gallway*'s Narrative in Writing, and the Lord *Peterborough*'s Recapitulation of his Anſwers, which was all but Court Juggle; ſome Queſtions were propoſed, highly reflecting upon the Conduct of the Earl of *Gallway*, Lord *Tyrawley*, and General *Stanhope*, in order to be debated in the Committee appointed ſome few Days after: Whereupon the two before-mentioned Lords petitioned for Time to put in their Anſwers, before their Lordſhips came to a Determination; but their Petitions were rejected: The 12th of *January*, in a Committee of the whole Houſe, the Queſtions were made Reſolutions, with ſome others equally reflecting on the Conduct of the late Miniſtry; the Lords of the High-Church Party, having, by the Help of the *Scotch*, who voted every one of them on that Side, carried all the Queſtions. The Duke of *Buckingham* then moved, that the Earl of *Peterborough* have the Thanks of the Houſe for his eminent and remarkable Services, and that the Lord-Keeper return him the Thanks of the Houſe immediately; which being agreed to, the Lord-Keeper accordingly returned him the Thanks of the Lords, for his many eminent and faithful Services to his Queen and Country, during his Command in *Spain*, with fine Encomiums upon his truly noble Temper, Generoſity, Bravery, Conduct and amazing Succeſs, and how impoſſible it was to enumerate all his Services, tho' he had had as many Days allowed him as he had had Minutes. 'Tis true, this was reſolved to be the Senſe of the Houſe, by a Majority of about 20; and Numbers muſt have their Weight: But the Proteſt of the Lords, not only contradicted all the Aſſertions againſt the Earl of *Gallway* and the other Generals, but declared, that they had not a fair Examination, to ſatisfy what they apprehended to be the Rule of natural Juſtice: That the Proofs before the Houſe were not ſufficient to warrant the Facts, and did not ſupport the Conſequences drawn from the Facts. As to the pretended Services of the Earl of *Peterborough*, we have already ſhewn in many Inſtances in the Courſe of this Hiſtory, that he betrayed the Intereſt of the King of *Spain* and the common Cauſe; neither was he eſteemed as a General, to have Judgment to form, or Conduct to execute any conſiderable Action; And wherever any may be called his, it will always be found raſh and inconſiderate;

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and therefore the Succeſs attending it truly miraculous. This Man had the particular Favour to be ſkreened twice by the Houſe of Lords, from whence he might have juſtly apprehended exemplary Puniſhment; and both Times to ſerve the Turn of a Party: Firſt, in Oppoſition to the Court, and now by Court Influence; and the Reputation of three noble Gentlemen ſacrificed to make Way for it, and raiſe a Clamour againſt the late Adminiſtration. This was an ill Return to the Earl of *Gallway*, for the Loſs of an Eye and an Arm, and ſo many Years faithful Services, without adding one Shilling to that ſmall Fortune his Parents brought with them out of *France*; involving the Lord *Tyrawley* likewiſe, who had certainly acted, as he judged, for the beſt; and condemning Mr. *Stanhope* too, who was a Priſoner abroad, abſent and unheard: An Act very unworthy the firſt Court of Judicature in *Great Britain*, and a great Inſtance of the Weakneſs and Inſufficiency of human Polity; when ſo auguſt and numerous a Body could be brought, ſo readily, to give up their Faith and Honour for ſuch Purpoſes. But add to this, the Thanks and Praiſes of the Houſe, given to an Offender, for Actions, which had ſo lately demanded, and hardly eſcaped their Condemnation, and to colour it by falſe Aſſertions and baſe Flattery, was the greateſt Offence to the Juſtice of the Nation, the greateſt Affront to the King of *Spain*, who had never received Satisfaction for the Injuries he had complained of, and the meaneſt Proſtitution of the Honour of that noble and venerable Body that ever was.

I could not avoid ſaying thus much in Juſtice to the other Generals and Admirals concerned in the *Spaniſh* War: Thoſe that would be more particularly informed of his Lordſhip's Conduct, may be fully ſatisfied, in a Book, entitled, *An impartial Inquiry into the Management of the War in* Spain, (*in Anſwer to an Account of the Earl of* Peterborough's *Conduct in* Spain.) Who was the Author of it, does not appear; but he ſufficiently juſtifies the Earl of *Gallway*, and the other Generals and Admirals concerned in that War, and ſhews the Earl of *Peterborough* to have been the very Reverſe of what his Writer would make him; that he performed no conſiderable Action, and that all the Misfortunes that attended the King of *Spain*, whilſt he was abroad, were entirely owing to his Lordſhip's Incapacity, Folly or Treachery; proving every Thing by the inconteſtible Evidence of his own Letters, and other original Papers, which he declares himſelf ready to produce: Some of theſe he had from the Executors of Sir *Cloudeſley Shovell*, who freely contributed them to the Work, knowing how much that worthy Admiral deteſted the Uſage his Lordſhip had given the King of *Spain* in the Affair of *Barcelona*, where he was jointly concerned. Others were lent

to

to the Author by Sir *John Leake*, upon Application to him, in order to juſtify the injured Gentlemen, (particularly the Earl of *Gallway*,) who had been ſo barbarouſly treated; which Papers I have now in my Cuſtody.

All this while, the Commons were no leſs intent than the Lords, on the principal Buſineſs of this Seſſions, which, it ſeems, was to caſt an Odium on the late Miniſters. With this View it was, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer informed the Houſe, that in Examinations relating to the Navy, ſome very conſiderable Abuſes were diſcovered in the Victualling, and the ſame being laid before the Houſe, a Member [a] was actually expelled, but was not proſecuted, and continued to ſerve the Navy as before: For upon a ſtrict Examination, it appeared the Publick had ſuffered no Wrong. The ſame Heats and Diviſions which prevailed in Parliament, diffuſed itſelf through all Orders of Men: This, Sir *John* was very ſenſible of at the Admiralty Board; and therefore he was deſirous to reſume his Command as Admiral of the Fleet, and leave the civil Oeconomy of the Navy to thoſe at the Board, who could act more agreeable to the Times. According to his Deſire, the 26th of *January*, 1710-11, he was appointed Admiral and Commander in Chief of her Majeſty's Fleet the third Time, and upon that Occaſion, made Choice of his Brother-in-law, Capt. *Stephen Martin*, to be his firſt Captain, in the Room of Sir *Thomas Hardy*, who had been lately made Rear-Admiral of the Blue.

In the mean Time, new Propoſitions of Peace were made by the *French* King, to cheriſh and improve the Diſpoſitions he found in the new Miniſtry towards Peace, and private Negotiations were carried on for that End; and the Death of the Emperor *Joſeph*, who died at *Vienna* the 17th of *April*, N.S. very much promoted it, by the Project which the Miniſtry formed thereupon, for leaving *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies* to King *Philip*; not only becauſe the Regaining of them was attended with inſuperable Difficulties, but alſo, becauſe, if it could be done, it would render the Houſe of *Auſtria* too potent, and deſtroy the very End for which the War was undertaken, *viz.* to preſerve the Balance of Power in *Europe*. This Deſign, however, could not preſently take Effect; and as the Parliament had made ſuch vigorous Reſolutions for carrying on the War, ſo no leſs Application was uſed to carry them into Execution. The Admiralty on their Part were very aſſiduous, to concert the proper Meaſures for the enſuing Campaign; and it was agreed, that Sir *John*, as Admiral of the Fleet, ſhould command a conſiderable Squadron for the home Service, to ſecure the narrow Seas and protect the Trade.

[a] *Thomas Ridge*, Eſq;

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This Squadron was ordered to be equipp'd with the utmoſt Expedition, and to aſſemble in the *Downs*, conſiſting of 3 ſecond Rates, 9 third Rates, 16 fourth Rates, 9 fifth Rates, and 7 ſixth Rates.

As ſoon as the Squadron appointed for his Command was in a Forwardneſs for the Sea, and Part of the Ships at the Rendezvous in the *Downs*, he received his Orders, dated the 6th of *May*, 1711, to the following Effect. That whereas the Ships, as above-mentioned, were ordered to rendezvous in the *Downs*; he was to take them under his Command, with any Ships the States-General might ſend to join him; and being informed, the Enemy were fitting out Ships at *Breſt* and the Ports in *Weſt France*, and others at *Dunkirk*, he was to endeavour to prevent their Junction, or to intercept them if they got out; and alſo to appoint ſome Ships, when he could ſpare any, to protect the Trade and clear the Coaſt of the Enemy's Privateers.

Purſuant to theſe Orders, he ſet out for *Deal*, and the 8th Inſtant, in the Afternoon, arrived there, and hoiſted his Flag on board the *Warſpight*. The next Day, he diſpatch'd the *Dover* and *Advice* Prize off of *Dunkirk*, to diſcover the Enemy's Preparations in that Port; and the following Day he had Intelligence, that ſeven Ships ſailed from *Dunkirk* the 3d Inſtant, bound for *Cadiz*; which was confirmed by the Ships he had ſent thither, and with this further Advice, that they diſcovered in the Harbour but one Ship of 60 Guns ready to ſail, two others at Anchor in *Flemiſh* Road of 40 and 50 Guns, and ſeveral Ships unrigged. Upon which he detach'd the *Ruby* and *Looe*, to join the *Centurion* and *Wincheſter*, that were cruizing between *Dover* and *Calais*, in order to intercept the ſaid Ships, if they ſhould come out of that Harbour, or any the Enemy's Ships that ſhould attempt to proceed to the Weſtward.

The 11th, the *Cumberland*, *Dunwich* and *Newport* came into the Fleet from the Weſtward, with 30 Sail of Coaſters, and the *Chicheſter* with five Sail of Merchant Ships from the Eaſtward. The ſame Day, the Admiral iſſued Orders to all the Ships to put themſelves in a Poſture for Action, and to exerciſe the Men at their great Guns and ſmall Arms, as often as the Weather would permit. The 13th, he ſhifted his Flag from the *Warſpight* on board the *Cumberland*, a 3d Rate of 80 Guns, which Ship had been fitted for the Admiral by his own Appointment, to go to Sea in that Summer's Expedition. The following Day he delivered out the Line of Battle, and detach'd the *Dover* and *Speedwell* to cruize between *Beachey* and the *French* Coaſt for the Space of ſix Days, and then to call at *Shoreham* and *Newhaven* for the Trade, and convoy them to the *Downs*. The 15th of *May*, he received further Advice,

vice, that 15 Sail of Privateers from 20 to 36 Guns, were fitting out at *Dunkirk:* In order therefore to prevent their getting out, the ſame Day he ordered Sir *Thomas Hardy*, Rear-Admiral of the Blue, with 10 Sail, to proceed off of that Place and obſerve the Enemy's Motions; but if, notwithſtanding that Precaution they ſhould get out, he was then to follow them as long as there ſhould be a Proſpect of coming up with them; but that if he ſhould, upon the beſt Information he could get, have Reaſon to believe, that there was not any Number of Ships fitting out at that Port, he was then to remain upon that Station only five Days. It was the next Day in the Afternoon, before Sir *Thomas* could ſail to proſecute theſe Orders; in the mean Time the Signal was made for calling in the Cruizers, and the *Newport* was diſpatch'd to ſee ſome Trade in Safety over the *Flats*.

The 17th, at Midnight, Sir *John* received an Expreſs from the Admiralty, with Orders and Letters of Advice, importing, that Monſ. *Du Gue*'s Squadron conſiſted of 10 or 12 Ships, on board of which were to be put 3000 Land-Men, which it was believed were deſign'd for the *Weſt-Indies*; likewiſe a Copy of the Examination of *Alexander Dalziel*, taken the 11th Inſtant, before the two Secretaries of State, *viz.* That he heard in *France*, the *French* would make another Attempt to land in *Scotland* this Year at the *Sound* in *Mull*, which was told him by Father *Creighton* and Father *Linch*, and one *Carrin* the Letter-Carrier between *Scotland* and *Dunkirk:* That a Boat from *England* gave Intelligence of the *Virginia* Fleets: That the *French* had conſtant Intelligence of the Ships in the *Downs:* That the *Breſt* and *Dunkirk* Squadrons were to join, and were almoſt ready to ſail, only waiting to ſee how the Armies were in *Flanders*, and propoſed to go through *St. George's Channel:* That the Boat between *France* and *Scotland* left their Letters at *Buchaneſſe*; and that the open *Deal* Boats with three Men, went over conſtantly to *Calais*, and gave an Account of every Thing that paſſed. The Orders which accompanied theſe Advices, (dated the 16th,) were therefore to direct him, forthwith, to proceed to the Weſtward, with the Ships mentioned in a Liſt annexed [a], or ſuch of them as were

[a] Ships ordered to the *Downs*, viz. 2d Rates; *Triumph*, at *Spithead*; *Neptune*, *Vanguard*, at the *Nore*. 3d Rates; *Cumberland* and *Chicheſter*, in the *Downs*; *Breda*, at the *Nore*; *Ruſſel*, at *Spithead*; *Berwick*, at *Portſmouth*; *Kent* and *Eſſex*, in the *Soundings*; *Aſſurance*, at *Plymouth*. 4th Rates; *Plymouth*, in the *Soundings*; *York*, *Litchfield* and *Medway*, at *Plymouth*; *Romney*, at *Spithead*; *Wincheſter* and *Centurion*, cruizing in the *Channel*; *Hampſhire* and *Mary* Gally, in the *Downs*. 5th Rates; *Pearl*, in the *Downs*; *Speedwell*, cruizing off of *Beachy*; *Royal Anne* Gally, at *Sheerneſs*; *Sea-Caſtle* cruizing.

then in the *Downs*; leaving Orders for the others to follow him, which were to come from the *Nore*, and to pick up the reſt from the Weſtern Ports, as he could meet with them in his Paſſage, to prevent any Deſigns the Enemy might have with their Ships fitting out at *Breſt*, and the other Ports of *Weſt-France*, and thoſe which were ſailed for *Dunkirk:* He was to proceed for that Purpoſe off of the aforeſaid Port of *Breſt*, and uſe his beſt Endeavours to prevent the Enemy's Ships from getting to Sea from thence, or to intercept them if they got out; and in order thereto, to place himſelf from Time to Time in ſuch Stations off of *Breſt*, or between that Place and the *Lizzard*, as he ſhould judge moſt proper for anſwering the aforeſaid Service, and for protecting the Trade. By the ſame Orders he was likewiſe directed to leave 13 [a] Sail (therein mentioned) in the *Downs*, to remain there under the Command of Sir *Thomas Hardy* till further Order.

The Liſt of Ships annexed to the Order, which were put immediately under Sir *John*'s Command for this Expedition, conſiſted of three 2d Rates, eight 3d Rates, eight 4th, five 5th, and one 6th: But of theſe, two only were then in the *Downs*, viz. the *Cumberland* and *Chicheſter*; of the reſt, four were at *Portſmouth*, four at *Plymouth*, four at the *Nore* and *Sheerneſs*, and eight a cruizing in the *Channel* and *Soundings*, and three with Sir *Thomas Hardy* off of *Dunkirk*, making together 25 Sail, a ſufficient Squadron, had they been together; but being diſperſed as above-mentioned, it made it impoſſible for him to comply with his Orders immediately, by ſailing with ſuch of the Squadron as were then in the *Downs*, which would have been ineffectual for the Purpoſe intended, and riſquing the Hazard of overthrowing the whole Deſign: A General muſt therefore mix Diſcretion with that Obedience, which, it is ſaid, ought to be implicit in Military Affairs, elſe he will frequently err; and though he may be juſtified by ſtrictly following the Letter; yet the Intention is principally to be conſidered; and the different Circumſtances of Things, which thoſe that give Orders at home cannot always be apprized of at the Time ſuch Orders are made. It is highly abſurd to imagine an Admiral ſhould be ordered upon this Service with ſuch Ships as were then in the *Downs*, ſuppoſing there were only two Ships there at that Time, which was the Caſe; and yet by the Liſt (annexed to the Order) of the Ships to proceed with him upon that Service, which ſpecifies, where they were at that Time, it appears by their own Ac-

ing. 6th Rate; The *Squirrel*, cruizing, and the *Iſabella* Yacht, in the *Downs*.

[a] *Warſpight, Canterbury, Advice, Southampton, Deptford, Dover, Ruby, Norwich, Folkſtone, Greyhound, Mermaid, Newport, Lizzard.*

count, they did not know of any more then in the *Downs* than five; of which three had been ſent to *Dunkirk* with Sir *Thomas Hardy*: Thoſe three Ships Sir *John* immediately ſent Orders by the *Deal Caſtle* to return to the *Downs*; and likewiſe directed Sir *Thomas* to return thither with the reſt of the Ships as ſoon as he had looked into *Dunkirk*. In the mean Time he made Preparations to ſail, in Hopes ſome Ships would drop in; and the 20th, was joined by Sir *Edward Whitaker*, with four of the Ships which were to form his Squadron; and not being able to ſail that Day, as he intended, he was joined the next Morning by three more from the Weſtward, and one from the *Nore*; and in the Afternoon, Sir *Thomas Hardy*, with his Squadron came in, and the three Sail he had ordered to join him, and ſhortly after, he was joined by another; ſo that now having, by good Fortune, got together 14 Sail, he gave out the Line of Battle, and Signals for each Day in the Week, and the Word, *Queen Anne*, the other to reply, *God preſerve*; and the Wind favouring him, the 22d, he weighed from the *Downs*, leaving Sir *Thomas* behind with the reſt purſuant to his Orders.

May the 27th, Sir *John* arrived with his Squadron at *Plymouth*, and the next Day had a Letter, by Expreſs, from the Secretary of the Admiralty, to acquaint him, that the Enemy's Ships which lately ſailed from *Breſt*, had been put back to that Port to refit, recommending it therefore to him to proceed before that Place without Loſs of Time; upon which, the next Day he left *Plymouth*, appointing the Rendezvous off of *Breſt*; and if he was not there, after they had look'd out for him three Days, then to cruize off of the *Lizzard* five Days; and if they did not join him in that Time, to return to *Plymouth*. Soon after he ſailed, and was joined by the *Neptune*, *Vanguard*, and two other Men of War; ſo that his Squadron now conſiſted of 20 Sail. The 31ſt, in the Evening, the Fleet being within two Leagues of *Uſhant*, the Admiral detach'd the *Romney* and *Wincheſter* to look into *Breſt*; which they did accordingly, and returned the next Morning, giving an Account, that they ſtood in within two Miles of *St. Matthew's Fort*, and not diſcovering any Ships in *Breſt Water*, they ſent a Lieutenant in a Pinnace to look as near in as poſſible; who, in the Entrance of *Breſt* Harbour ſpoke with a *French* Fiſhing Boat, that gave an Account that Monſ. *Du Gue*, had been ſailed 20 Days, with 15 Sail fitted out at that Port, and ſix out of *Rochel*, two of which were a Fireſhip and a Bomb-Ketch; that there were not then any Ships in *Breſt*, nor would they give any Account where that Squadron was deſigned for, but that they had all Soldiers on board, and that ſome of them were Ships of three Decks.

Upon this Advice, having called a Council of War the ſame Day, (the firſt of *June*,) it was agreed, to be more for her Majeſty's Service, to proceed with the Fleet off of the *Lizzard*, and cruize there for the Protection of the Trade, till Sir *John* ſhould receive further Orders from the Admiralty. Theſe Reſolutions and Intelligence, were immediately diſpatch'd Expreſs to the Admiralty, and the proper Diſpoſitions made upon leaving this Station. The Rendezvous was appointed off the *Lizzard*; but if the Fleet was not there, to ſend a Boat to *Falmouth* to the Poſt-Maſter for Orders: The *Romney* was ordered to remain and cruize three Days off of *Uſhant*; and four Ships were detach'd to make ſail a-head to cruize off the *Lizzard*, and continue there till joined by the reſt of the Fleet.

The 3d of *June*, the Fleet came upon their Station off of the *Lizzard*. Three Days after, the *Litchfield* and *Pearl* were ſent to *Plymouth*, to ſtrengthen the Convoy to *Liſbon*, and to bring from thence and the Northern Ports of *Portugal* the Trade for *England*. The 9th, by a Boat from the Poſt-Maſter at *Falmouth*, Sir *John* received an Order from the Admiralty, for permitting the King of *Pruſſia*'s Ships to trade to *France*, having Paſſports, and likewiſe a Letter from Mr. Secretary *Burchet*, ſignifying their Lordſhips Commands for ſending ſome Ships to look into *Breſt*; whereupon he appointed the *York*, *Kent*, and *Mary* Gally, to proceed forthwith upon that Service. About the ſame Time he had another Letter from the Admiralty, giving him an Account of a dangerons Conſpiracy amongſt the Seamen under his Command; and that they had declared, they would not fight the Enemy in caſe they met with them: As this was a Matter of the laſt Conſequence, he immediately made a ſtrict Enquiry into it, and ſent the following Letter to their Lordſhips thereupon.

'GENTLEMEN,

'I HAVE examined into the Matter of your Letter, of 'the 30th paſt, relating to the Uneaſineſs of the Seamen, 'which I find to be in ſome Meaſure Fact. The principal 'Motives to their Diſſatisfaction (according to the beſt In-'formation I can get) are, their being frequently turn'd over, 'the miſerable Condition they are reduced to (particularly ſuch 'as have Families) for want of Pay; and their being not only 'at ſhort Allowance for Victuals, but not paid for it in any 'reaſonable Time; and that the Meat, though full Weight be-'fore boiled, is not ſometimes above half ſo afterwards. I can-'not be perſuaded that theſe, or any other Hardſhips could in-'duce the Seamen to refuſe fighting the Enemy; but this I am 'certain of, that they are much diſſatisfied, and will oftentimes

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'ſay amongſt themſelves, that they had much better be in the 'Service of an Enemy, than to be treated as they have been 'in their native Country. It is, however, my Opinion, that 'if as often as any of her Majeſty's Ships ſhall go into Port, 'their Companies were paid their ſhort Allowance Money, 'whereby they might be enabled to buy themſelves Refreſh-'ments, (eſpecially in this Seaſon of the Year,) it would very 'much contribute to the allaying their preſent Uneaſineſs.'

The 12th at Night, the *Romney* joined the Fleet, and the next Morning the *York* and *Kent*, all agreeing in the Advice, that Monſ. *Du Gue* ſailed from *Breſt* about a Month ſince with 17 Sail, 10 from 76 to 40 Guns; that they ſailed about *Fountain-Head*, and it was thought were deſigned for *Port Louis*, or *Rochel* to take in Proviſions, and that they took in 1000 Soldiers: And further, that the Boats of the aforementioned Ships had been in cloſe with the Harbour, and plainly ſaw there were no Ships in *Breſt Water*, except four ſmall Privateers fitting, the biggeſt not above 30 Guns, which the Enemy's Boats likewiſe confirmed. This Intelligence was immediately diſpatch'd to *Falmouth* by the *Romney*, in order to be forwarded by Expreſs to the Admiralty.

The 14th, the Admiral received Orders by the *Speedwell* to go again off of *Breſt*, the Secretary of State having repreſented to the Admiralty, that they had received Intelligence, that the Squadron which had been fitted out at *Breſt*, was there the firſt of that Month, and were not to ſail from thence under 8 or 10 Days. In Compliance therefore with theſe Orders he proceeded again to that Station, diſpatching two Ships before off of that Harbour to gain further Intelligence; and on the 19th, he had Advice from a *French* Merchant Ship, taken by a *Jerſey* Privateer, that he ſailed with Monſ. *Du Gue*, with 20 Sail of Men of War, and 30 Merchant Ships with Soldiers on board from *Rochfort* the 27th paſt, bound, as 'twas reported, for *Brazil*; and Captain *Scot* of the *Romney* had Intelligence from a *Dutch* Privateer, (who had taken a *French* Merchant Ship) much to the ſame Purpoſe. The ſame Day two ſmall Privateers of the Enemy were taken and brought into the Fleet; and the Admiral diſpatch'd an Expreſs to the Admiralty with the foregoing Intelligence, accompanied with the following Letter to the Secretary.

'SIR,

'HEREWITH you will receive the Intelligence I 'have gained ſince that I ſent by the *Hampſhire*; and 'I think it's not to be doubted, but that the Squadron that 'was at *Breſt*, has been ſailed from thence ſome Time; but

'not having ſeen or heard from the *Aſſurance* and *Mary* 'Gally, (which Ships I ſent to look into that Port) ſince this 'Day ſe'enight; I conclude, that they have either miſſed me 'in the thick Weather, which we have had ſome Days; or 'that they are kept in the Bay by theſe Weſterly Winds, 'which has made a great Sea; ſo that if they do not join 'me by *Thurſday* next, and I receive no Orders to the con-'trary, do intend to leave this Coaſt, and wait for their 'Lordſhips Commands off of the *Lizzard*, or at *Plymouth*, 'whither the Want of Beer and Water will oblige me to go 'in a few Days.

'J. Leake.'

The Fleet continued cruizing off of *Uſhant* till the 26th, when the *Squirrel* arrived, bringing Sir *John* Orders from the Admiralty, acquainting him, that the Squadron of the Enemy's Ships fitted out ſome Time ſince at *Breſt*, by the laſt Advices from *France*, were either at *Belle Iſle* in *St. Martin's* Road, or in the Road of *Rochfort*; directing him therefore to proceed thither in queſt of them. Upon this Occaſion a Council of War was held the next Morning, to conſider of the ſaid Orders, and alſo of the State of the Fleet, as to Proviſions and Water; and it appeared, there was but 12 Days Beer, and 16 Days Water, (and of the latter, for boiling the Mens Proviſions only, after the ſame was equally proportioned, ~~and~~) provided the Caſks were full, and all the Beer wholeſome. It was therefore unanimouſly the Opinion of the Council of War, that the Admiral could not undertake that Service, without expoſing the Fleet to the greateſt Extremities imaginable, as believing he could not proceed to the ſaid Places, and return (with a favourable Wind and good Weather) under 20 Days: They therefore reſolved to leave five Ships to cruize in the *Soundings* 20 Days, for the Protection of the Trade, and to repair with the reſt to *Plymouth*. This Reſolution was preſently diſpatch'd to *England*, by the *Plymouth*, to be forwarded to the Admiralty by Expreſs. The Fleet followed ſoon after, and the 28th, arrived in *Plymouth Sound*. The 3d of *July*, Sir *John* received a Letter from Mr. Secretary *Burchet*, ſignifying their Lordſhips Approbation for his leaving the Command of the Fleet, and coming to Town: For this Purpoſe, he appointed Sir *Edward Whitaker*, (Vice-Admiral of the White,) with ſix Sail, to cruize between the Latitudes of 50 and 47, 60 Leagues Weſt from the *Lizzard*, for the Protection of the Trade; and to continue as long on that Service as his Proviſions would laſt. Two other Ships he ordered to convoy the Trade to *Spithead*; and having made the other neceſſary Diſpoſitions before he left

left that Place, the 9th of *July*, he ſtruck his Flag and went for *London*.

I ſhould here end my Account of Tranſactions at Sea this Campaign, were it not for Sir *Hovenden Walker*'s unfortunate Expedition to *Quebec*; which happening whilſt Sir *John* preſided at the Admiralty Board, may be imputed to him and the reſt of the Gentlemen at that Time in the Commiſſion, as if the Deſign, or the Means, had not been properly concerted by them; whereas in Truth it was quite otherwiſe, and the Nation would certainly have avoided that Misfortune at leaſt, if it had been previouſly conſidered at that Board, as it ought to have been. It was carried on with ſuch unexampled Secrecy; that, as Mr. *Burchet* tells us, the then Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty were ſo far from being conſulted in it, that the Deſign on which this Fleet was bound, was rather induſtriouſly hid from them, and that a certain Perſon ſeemed to value himſelf very much, that a Deſign of this Nature was kept a Secret from the Admiralty. The Project was firſt formed by Colonel *Nicholſon*, and ſettled in Concert with the Miniſters. If it had ſucceeded, it would, no doubt, have greatly increaſed our Naval Strength, and given a fatal Blow to that of *France*; the *Canada* and *Newfoundland* Trade being eſteemed the beſt Nurſery of Seamen that Kingdom has on the Ocean; but the Deſign was ill concerted and worſe executed: It was ſettled by Stateſmen inſtead of Admirals, and kept a Secret from the only Perſons that ſhould have been privy to it: It is judged from many Circumſtances, that Sir *Hovenden* himſelf was not previouſly let into the Secret, and probably, if he had, he would not have been forward to have engaged in it, neither would the Admiralty have thought him the fitteſt Perſon to have undertaken it, (if they had been for it at all, without much better Information than they had,) it being known he was not a very expert Seamen. Mr. *Boyer* ſays, it was executed with leſs Diligence and Forecaſt, than the Nature of ſo important a Service required; and Mr. *Burchet*, that it was an Expedition very chargeable to the Nation, and from which no Advantage could reaſonably be expected, conſidering how unadviſedly it was ſet on Foot, by thoſe who nurſed it up upon falſe Suggeſtions and Repreſentations. To conclude the Naval Tranſactions of this Year: As a *Britiſh* Squadron protected the Trade in the *Mediterranean*, that under Sir *John* did the like in the *Channel* and *Soundings*, ſo that the *French* durſt not ſhew themſelves abroad the whole Campaign. All they did this Summer, was to ſend a Squadron to *America*, which burnt two *Portugueſe* Men of War, and took the Town of *St. Sebaſtian's*; but though the Loſs of the *Portugueſe* was very conſiderable, it's certain, the Gain to the *French* fell

very ſhort of the Charge of the Expedition. They had indeed ſome Reaſon to applaud their own Conduct in that Expedition, in Oppoſition to our Attempt at *Quebec*; but upon the Whole, there was not a Campaign, during the War, wherein the *French* made ſo inconſiderable a Figure at Sea, and we remain'd ſo compleatly Maſters of it. This, no doubt, was the principal Motive to induce the haughty *French* Monarch to ſue for Peace more earneſtly than he had yet done: For however he might have been able to linger out the War by Land, he was not able to oppoſe us by Sea, his Navy being either deſtroyed, or in ſuch a Condition as not to be repaired or renewed; and conſequently, had not a Peace put a Stop to our Naval Glory, all the *French* Colonies muſt have ſubmitted to us.

CHAP. VIII.

Further Tranſactions in the Year 1711, *and in the Years* 1712 *and* 1713. *A Ceſſation of Arms. Sir* John *is appointed Admiral of the Fleet the fourth Time, and takes Poſſeſſion of* Dunkirk. *The Peace concluded*, &c.

SIR *John* having left the Command of the Fleet at *Plymouth*, the Beginning of *July*, as was mentioned in the Cloſe of the preceding Chapter, went no more to Sea that Campaign; ſo that his Tranſactions during the remaining Part of the Year 1711, were entirely of a civil Nature. I obſerved likewiſe, that the Heats and Diviſions which prevailed in Parliament upon the Alteration of the Miniſtry in 1710, diffuſed itſelf through all Ranks and Degrees, eſpecially amongſt thoſe in publick Stations, which made it impoſſible for a Man of Integrity, to act without great Difficulty and Uneaſineſs; and that Sir *John* was ſenſible of this, even at the Admiralty Board, where being the firſt acting Commiſſioner, he had the greateſt Burthen, if not the Weight of the Whole upon him. This made him deſirous, the firſt Opportunity, to reſume his Command at Sea as Admiral, and to leave the civil Oeconomy of the Navy to the reſt of the Lords Commiſſioners, who could act more agreeably to the Times. Accordingly he made a Campaign at Sea, in the *Channel* and *Soundings* with a few Ships; an Expedition not very eligible, but preferable, as Affairs then ſtood at Home. He hoped by the Time he returned to the Admiralty Board, her Majeſty would have made Choice of ſome Perſon to have filled the Vacancy of Firſt Lord Commiſſioner, and he would willingly

willingly have acted in the ſecond Station; but finding Affairs in as bad a Situation or rather worſe, he declined the Buſineſs of the Admiralty Board as much as poſſible; by this Means the Place of Chairman at the Board devolved upon Sir *George Byng*, who being an artful, deſigning Man, and well qualified to fiſh in troubled Waters, improved every Circumſtance to his own Advantage. Not long after, he applied himſelf to the Miniſters, deſiring, that a Firſt Commiſſioner might be appointed at the Admiralty Board, or that he might reſign his Place there, and be put upon the Eſtabliſhment of half Pay, as Admiral of the Fleet; to which it was replied, they would acquaint her Majeſty with his Deſire, and know her Pleaſure. But in the mean Time they uſed Arguments to perſuade him rather to take upon him the Place of Firſt Commiſſioner of the Board, as what the Queen expected from him; and the Duke of *Buckingham*, Lord Preſident of the Council, propoſed to him, that he ſhould be created a Peer for that Purpoſe, as his eminent Services well deſerved. But he told the Duke, that he had not a Fortune ſuitable to that Dignity: That if he had a Fortune ſufficient, he was unhappy in a Son, from whom he had no Expectation of Iſſue; and that for himſelf, he had no Ambition of any further Honour than her Majeſty had already conferred upon him; and as to the Poſt of Firſt Commiſſioner of the Admiralty, he abſolutely refuſed it, and deſired to remain only in his Station as Admiral. This being reported to the Queen, ſhe ordered him to be ſent for, told him, that ſhe was entirely ſatisfied with his Conduct, and deſired he would continue to do his Duty at that Board, as he had hitherto done, till ſhe appointed a Firſt Commiſſioner, which ſhe promiſed to do very ſoon. After this, there could be no Room for further Complaint; he was only blamed by his Friends, for not embracing this favourable Opportunity to put himſelf above the Frowns of Fortune. He was certainly very much in Favour with her Majeſty at that Time, and he might have ſatisfied his utmoſt Wiſhes. To refuſe all this, was an Inſtance of great Moderation and Virtue; ſuch Examples are very rare: It is a rigid Kind of Virtue, that none but the braveſt and beſt Men are capable of, and the Example will rather be admired than imitated.

In the mean Time, the private Negotiations for Peace between the Court of *France* and the *Britiſh* Miniſters ſo far advanced, that the 27th of *September*, 1711, Preliminary Articles were ſigned, and publiſhed the 13th of *October* following, which very much ſurpriſed the Generality of People, and even ſome of the Friends of the Miniſtry. Whilſt this was doing, the Parliament was prorogued, from the 21ſt of *Auguſt* to the 9th of *October*, and afterwards to the 13th of *November*;

November; on which Day being met, they were farther prorogued to the 27th of the ſame Month. The City of *Utrecht* was pitch'd upon for the Congreſs, and the Conferences to begin the 1ſt of *January*, O. S. and as the Duke of *Marlborough* had the chief Management in former Negotiations; which, in the Opinion of many was the chief Cauſe of their proving abortive, now a Miniſter of the Goſpel of Peace was employ'd, namely the Biſhop of *Briſtol*, Lord Privy Seal.

After this, the Parliament was further prorogued to the 7th of *December*, which being ſo late in the Year, made it conjectured it would ſtill be further prorogued till the Peace was concluded; but others aſcribed it to a Diſcovery of a late Coalition of ſome eminent Peers of the High-Church-Party, with thoſe of the contrary Side, againſt a Peace on the Foot of the Propoſals made by *France*. But however that was, the Peace went on, and the 29th of *January*, 1711-12, the firſt Congreſs was opened at *Utrecht*; and the 11th of *February* following, N. S. a ſpecifick Explanation of the Offers of *France* was delivered in Writing; but in ſuch a Strain, that if the *French* had gained as many Victories as the Allies had done over them for 10 Years paſt, they could hardly have offered more extravagant Demands. The 4th of *March*, the Allies delivered their ſpecifick Demands, which were likewiſe exclaimed againſt, as unreaſonable and exorbitant. In fine, many fruitleſs Conferences were held; the *French* Plenipotentiaries refuſing to deliver their ſpecifick Anſwer in Writing, pretending they were not fully inſtructed on that Subject; for they knew the Buſineſs was not to be done at *Utrecht*, but by a Negotiation carried on directly between *London* and *Verſailles*; and accordingly a Plan of a general Peace was ſhortly after propoſed by the *French*, and accepted by the *Britiſh* Miniſters.

Whilſt theſe Negotiations were carrying on, the Campaign was opened by the Allies in *Flanders*, the Circumſtances whereof are not to my Purpoſe to relate, only to obſerve, that the Duke of *Ormond*, who commanded the confederate Army, having poſitive Orders not to fight, refuſed to engage the Enemy, or to act offenſively; and ſhortly after his Grace declared his Orders about a Ceſſation of Arms. Whereupon the Generals of the Foreign Troops in the Queen's Pay refuſed any longer to obey his Orders, alledging, that neither the grand Alliance, nor the particular Conventions, admitted of any Parties treating of, or making Peace, or even a Suſpenſion of Arms, without the Conſent of the others. The 16th of *July*, Prince *Eugene* march'd off, being followed by the Auxiliaries in *Britiſh* Pay. The Duke of *Ormond* decamp'd the ſame Day, and the following Day, in his March, ordered a Ceſſation of Arms for two Months, to be declared between the

the Queen's Forces and thoſe of *France*, and the like Suſpenſion of Arms was declared in the *French* Camp. In the mean Time, *viz.* the 6th of *June*, the Queen made a Speech to both Houſes of Parliament, containing a Plan of the enſuing Peace, and received from both an Addreſs of Thanks. The 21ſt, following, her Majeſty made another Speech in Parliament, and paſſed ſeveral Bills, when they were adjourned to the 8th of *July*, and then prorogued, which put an End to that Seſſions.

As the *French* King had agreed to ſeveral previous Articles demanded by the Queen, as a Foundation for a Suſpenſion of Arms, and amongſt other, the giving up immediately into our Poſſeſſion the Town of *Dunkirk*, a Fleet was appointed to aſſemble in the *Downs*, in order to be ready to proceed with the Troops upon that Service; and Sir *John Leake* was appointed Admiral and Commander in Chief of her Majeſty's Fleet the fourth Time, by Commiſſion, dated the 3d of *April*, 1712. Theſe previous Articles were not however ſo ſoon complied with as was expected, it being the 25th of *June*, N. S. before a Copy of them, ſigned by the Marquis *de Torcy*, was tranſmitted to the Duke of *Ormond*, and then not entirely as the Queen had demanded. But the Miniſters did not boggle at ſmall Matters, eſpecially as the Ceſſation of Arms was not to take Place till *Dunkirk* was actually in our Poſſeſſion. As ſoon therefore as the Articles arrived, Sir *John* received Orders to proceed to the *Downs*, to take upon him the Command of the Fleet there. In his Way thither, he was received with great Marks of Eſteem and Reſpect, by the Corporation of the City of *Rocheſter*, who expreſſed great Satisfaction at the Service he was going upon, which he could, however, hardly perſuade them would be performed on the Part of *France*: Nor was this Opinion ſingular to them, but did generally prevail amongſt the wiſer and more diſcerning Part of the Nation.

By his Orders, dated the 27th of *June*, 1712, he was directed to take upon him the Command of 20 Sail of Ships appointed to rendezvous in the *Downs*, and to keep them in a conſtant Readineſs to proceed upon Service, according to ſuch Orders as he ſhould receive for that Purpoſe. And, whereas ſeveral of the Enemy's Privateers did frequently appear upon the Coaſt of *Kent* and *Suſſex*, and very much interrupt the Trade of her Majeſty's Subjects; he was, when he could conveniently ſpare any Ships, to appoint ſome to cruize upon the ſaid Coaſt, or elſewhere, as he ſhould judge moſt proper for protecting the Trade and annoying the Enemy's Ships, ſo as they might be within Reach when he ſhould think he had Occaſion for them. But there was no Mention of *Dunkirk*, though it was generally known what Expedition they were intended

tended for. Accompanying theſe Orders, was a Warrant to hold Courts-Martial, and they were followed ſoon after by another Order of the 28th, in purſuance of her Majeſty's Pleaſure ſignified to the Admiralty Board by the Earl of *Dartmouth*, directing him to follow ſuch Orders as he ſhould receive from her Majeſty, by one of the principal Secretaries of State: Previous to this, the Land-Forces deſigned to accompany the Fleet to *Dunkirk*, had been ordered to march towards the Sea-Coaſt of *Kent*, conſiſting of a Battalion of the *Scotch* Guards, about 600 Men, detach'd from ſeveral Regiments of Marines, and the Regiments of *Hill*, *Deſaulney*, and *Kane*, under the Command of Brigadier General *Hill*; of this Sir *John* was acquainted by a Letter from Mr. *Lynn*, by Order of Mr. Secretary *St. John*, dated *June* 26, and that they were then actually upon their March. The ſaid Battalion (ſays he) will be put under your Orders in reference to their Embarkation, at ſuch Time and Place as you ſhall appoint, and the Commanding Officer thereof directed to obey you accordingly. In the mean Time, Sir *James Abercrombie* and Colonel *King* were ſent to *Dunkirk*, to regulate Matters with Count *de l'Aumont* the *French* Governor, that there might be no Difficulties remaining when the Fleet and Land-Forces ſhould arrive.

Sir *John* arrived at *Deal*, the 28th of *June* in the Morning, and immediately went off, and hoiſted his Flag on board the *Bedford*, a 3d Rate of 80 Guns; upon which Occaſion he was ſaluted by all the Forts and Caſtles on the Coaſt, as well as by all the Ships in the *Downs*. The ſame Day he ordered Pilots to be provided for each Ship, ſuch as were beſt acquainted with the Coaſt of *Flanders*; and gave Directions to the Agent-Victualler to compleat the Proviſions of all the Ships to three Months, and to ſupply them with more as that was expended, that the ſame Quantity might be conſtantly kept up, that no Delay might happen upon that Account: But there being not a Quantity of Beer in Proportion to the other Species of Proviſion, he ordered him to buy up as much as he could procure from the Brewers at *Deal*; and took Care to acquaint the Admiralty with the Deficiency, which he deſired might be ſupplied from *London* with the greateſt Diſpatch. In relation to that Part of his Orders for appointing Cruizers to guard the Coaſt of *Suſſex*, he found there were already two Ships upon that Service, which he therefore thought proper to continue there. He likewiſe ordered the *Scotch* Guards to march from *Sandwich* and *Deal*, in order to be embark'd on board the Men of War. The next Day they were embark'd, and the like Orders were ſent Expreſs to the Marines of the Lord *Shannon*'s, and Brigadier *Willis*'s Regiments, at *Canterbury* and *Rocheſter*, whilſt in the mean Time Preparations were made to receive them on board the Fleet.

The

The 2d of *July*, the Admiral gave out the Line of Battle, conſiſting of 16 Sail, with a Vice-Admiral, together with the proper Signals, and delivered to every Captain, the Rendezvous ſealed up, and not to be opened but in caſe of Separation, and to be returned when it ſhould be called for. The ſame Day the *Pearl* ſailed, purſuant to her Orders, to proceed to *Yarmouth*, to convoy the Trade from thence to *Holland*. In the mean Time Sir *John* diſpatch'd an Expreſs to the Secretary of State, to acquaint him of his Proceedings, and likewiſe to deſire Inſtructions for his Direction in the preſent Expedition; for though he had now prepared every Thing for that Purpoſe, he had not received any Orders in relation to it; and propoſed to proceed with the Fleet to *Margate*, in order to meet the Yachts and Tranſports which were coming from the *Nore*, with the reſt of the Land-Forces that were to proceed with him. In anſwer to this, he received a Letter from Mr. Secretary *St. John*, acquainting him, that her Majeſty had given Orders to the Lords of the Admiralty, to prepare and ſend him ſuch Inſtructions as were neceſſary for his Conduct in the preſent Expedition; which he received the 3d of *July* as follows.

By the Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Lord-High-Admiral of Great Britain, *&c.*

IN Purſuance of her Majeſty's Pleaſure, ſignified to this Board, by Mr. Secretary *St. John* in his Letter of Yeſterday, you are hereby required and directed, as ſoon as Mr. *Hill* has joined you, to concert with him the moſt convenient Diſtribution of the ſeveral Regiments on board the Ships and Veſſels under your Command; and upon his Application to you therein, to furniſh ſuch Beer and other Proviſions and Stores, as you can ſpare for the Uſe and better Subſiſtance of the Soldiers, as well, during their Continuance with you, as in their Paſſage to *Dunkirk*.

And, whereas we are informed, that you have propoſed, when the Marines are a-board, to go to *Margate* Road to meet the Yachts and Tranſports; you are hereby required and directed to do the ſame, or continue in the *Downs* with the Ships under your Command, according as Wind and Weather ſhall preſent, and as you ſhall judge beſt for Diſpatch of the Service in proceeding to *Dunkirk*, which you are to do without any Loſs of Time, when the Troops ſhall be aboard.

And Sir *James Abercrombie* and Colonel *King*, having receiv'd Directions, that as ſoon as the Governor of that Place ſhould be ready to evacuate the ſame, and all Things neceſſary for the Reception of the Queen's Troops there ſhould

ſhould be prepared; one of them do inſtantly make the beſt of his Way to join the Fleet under your Command, in order to inform you and the Commanders in Chief of the Land-Forces, of the State of all Matters relating to this Service on the Part of *France*; you are upon the Report which this Officer ſhall make, to concert with Mr. *Hill* the Diſpoſition for landing the Troops, and to take all Meaſures neceſſary for executing her Majeſty's Commands with the greateſt Diſpatch, and in the beſt Order; the other of the Officers before-mentioned being directed, upon your Arrival before the Port of *Dunkirk*, to attend you, and acquaint you with what he ſhall have done, in purſuance of the Directions he has received, and to give you a more perfect Account of the Scheme which ſhall have been ſettled there for landing the Troops, and for their taking Poſſeſſion of the Place.

After the Land-Forces are diſembark'd, you are to continue as near the Port of *Dunkirk*, as you ſafely and conveniently can, until the Queen's Troops ſhall be in actual Poſſeſſion of all which *France* has agreed to ſurrender to them; and until you have furniſhed ſuch Stores and other Neceſſaries, as Mr. *Hill* may find that her Majeſty's Service requires, and as you can ſpare.

And you are by ſome ſmall Frigates, to ſend frequent Accounts of your Proceedings to this Board, and to one of her Majeſty's principal Secretaries of State. Given under our Hands this 2d of *July*.

G. Byng.
William Drake.
J. Aislabie.
Geo. Clarke.

To Sir *John Leake*, Knight, Rear-Admiral of *Great Britain*, and Admiral and Commander in Chief of her Majeſty's Fleet.

Downs.

By Command of their Lordſhips, in the Abſence of the Secretary, J. Fawler.

The Day after the Receipt of this Order, another came by Expreſs from the Admiralty, directing him not to ſail till he ſhould receive her Majeſty's Orders for ſo doing, which were ſuſpended till the Arrival of an Expreſs from *Dunkirk*, by Col. *King*. In the mean Time, a Quantity of Beer having been ſent from *London*, to ſupply the Deficiency before-mentioned, the ſame was diſtributed amongſt the Ships, which ſerved to compleat the Victualling of the Fleet to ſix Weeks at leaſt.

Sir

Sir *John* had been under ſome Uneaſineſs upon this Account, as alſo having been hindred by the continual blowing Weather from taking the Proviſions on board, and in his Letter to the Admiralty upon this Occaſion, he ſays, he ſhould now go to Sea better ſtored than he had believed Time or the Weather would have permitted.

The next Day, being the 5th, in the Morning, Colonel *King* arrived from *Dunkirk*, and going on board the Admiral, gave an Account, that all the Diſpoſitions were made at that Place for the Reception of her Majeſty's Forces; upon which he immediately diſpatch'd an Expreſs to the Admiralty and Secretary of State, and to acquaint them, that the Yachts and Tranſports had joined him that Day, and that he was in immediate Readineſs to ſail, as ſoon as Mr. *Hill* arrived, and he ſhould receive her Majeſty's Orders for ſo doing: At the ſame Time he made the Signal to unmoor, and appointed the following Diſpoſitions for diſembarking the Troops, and going into *Dunkirk* by Signals, *viz.* When the Admiral hoiſted a Flag, ſtriped Red, White, and Blue, at his Mizzen Peak, and fired a Gun; all the Men of War were to ſend their Marines a-ſhoar, to ſuch Place, and in ſuch Manner as Sir *Edward Whitaker*, Vice-Admiral of the White, ſhould direct. As ſoon as the Fleet were on the Coaſt of *Flanders*, the ſix Men of War that had the Battalion of Guards on board, were to hoiſt each of them a Pendant at their Mizzen-Peak, as a Signal to the Yachts, who was thereupon to come as near to them as poſſible, in order to receive on board each 100 Men; and when the Admiral hoiſted a Yellow Flag at his Mizzen-top-maſt-head, and fired a Gun, the Guards were to be removed from the Ships on board the Yachts. When the Admiral hoiſted a Blue Flag at his Fore-top-gallant-Maſt-head, and fir'd a Gun, ſix Sail, particularly appointed, together with the Yachts and Tranſports, were to proceed in Company with ſuch Ship or Yacht, as Sir *Edward Whitaker* ſhould hoiſt his Flag on board of, and follow his Orders; and the ſame Blue Flag being hoiſted at the Fore-top-maſt-head, and a Gun fired, Sir *Edward Whitaker* was to proceed with the ſaid Ships, Yachts and Tranſports, under his Command, and land the Forces where General *Hill* ſhould deſire; and in doing this, particular Directions were given to all the Sea-Officers, that they ſhould neither go a-ſhoar themſelves, nor ſuffer any of the Boats Crews to do ſo.

As the Miniſters were very deſirons to ſecure this Earneſt of a Peace, no Time was loſt in returning an Anſwer; for the ſame Night the Expreſs arrived at *London*, another was diſpatch'd with the following Letter from Mr. Secretary *St. John*, and the Points agreed upon, in relation to the Signals on either Side, upon the Appearance of the Fleet off of *Dunkirk*,

kirk, together with her Majeſty's Inſtructions; all which were as follows.

Whitehall, July 5, 1712. 12 at Night.

'SIR,

'COlonel *Kane* brings you this. He is ſent away as ſoon 'almoſt as we receive the Expreſs from Colonel *King*, 'to take Care that Mr. *Hill*, who will be with you To-'morrow Night, may on his Arrival at *Deal* or *Margate*, 'have nothing to do but to go on board. Your Aſſiſtance to 'him will not be wanting, I'm ſure, nor any Thing elſe which 'is in your Power, to advance a Service of ſo much Honour, 'as well as real Advantage to our Queen and Country.

'Incloſed you will find a Tranſlation of the Points agreed 'upon between the *French* Officers and thoſe ſent by her Ma-'jeſty, for your Part of this Expedition; though I ſuppoſe 'Mr. *King* may have already given you the ſame Communi-'cation. I tranſmit likewiſe to you a ſecret Inſtruction, 'which the Queen has thought fit to ſign, and which it is 'her Intention ſhould be punctually obſerved.

'I need not tell you how deſirous her Majeſty is, that this 'whole Affair, which has been tranſacted hitherto upon Ho-'nour between the *French* and us, ſhould be finiſhed with the 'beſt Grace on the Queen's Part. I moſt heartily congratu-'late with you your good Succeſs; and am,

'*SIR*,

'*Your obedient, humble Servant*,

'H. ST. JOHN.'

The incloſed Paper of the Points agreed upon, was as follows.

Whereas the Town, Citadel, and Forts of *Dunkirk* are to be evacuted by the Troops of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, and put into the Hands of her *Britannick* Majeſty, who is to ſend Troops from *Great Britain*, to take Poſſeſſion thereof, the following Points have been agreed on, to the End that the Evacuation may be made by the *French* Troops, and the Landing of the *Britiſh* Troops, and their Entry into the Town, Citadel, and Forts of *Dunkirk*, may be performed without any Confuſion.

When the *Engliſh* Admiral ſhall appear before *Dunkirk*, he ſhall hoiſt a Red Flag on the Top of the Mizzen-Maſt, and fire three Guns; immediately the Fort *de Bonne Eſperance*, which is at the End of the *Weſtern Mole*, ſhall hang out a White

White Flag, and anſwer by firing three Guns, which ſhall be the Signal of knowing one another.

In caſe the Admiral ſhall think fit not to come ſo near to *Dunkirk*, as that the Signal may be eaſily diſtinguiſhed, he ſhall then ſend in a Frigate, who ſhall make the ſame Signal, which the ſaid Fort will anſwer.

As ſoon as the ſaid Signal ſhall have been made, as many Pilots as poſſible, or as may be thought neceſſary, ſhall be ſent to bring the Tranſports, and other Veſſels for landing the Forces into the Road, and upon the Moles.

The *Britiſh* Troops are to be landed at the great Stairs, beyond the Barrier of the Gate of the Haven.

Inſtructions for our truſty and well-beloved Sir John Leake, *Knt. our Rear-Admiral of* Great Britain, *and our Admiral and Commander in Chief of our Fleet. Given at our Court at* Kenſington, *the* 3*d Day of* July, 1712, *in the* 11*th Year of our Reign.*

ANNE *R.*

THE Moſt Chriſtian King having conſented to put the Town and Citadel of *Dunkirk*, and the Forts thereunto belonging into our Hands, in order to eſtabliſh a Suſpenſion of Arms in the *Netherlands*, and to prepare the Way for a general Ceſſation; we have thought it reaſonable, and do therefore charge and require you, whom we have appointed to command the Squadron of our Ships to be employed in this Service, not to commit, or ſuffer to be committed any Hoſtility on the Enemy, whilſt you are actually executing theſe our Orders.

A. R.

Upon the Receipt of theſe Inſtructions and Orders, Sir *John* immediately made Preparations for ſailing, and expecting the Arrival of General *Hill* every Moment, about eight at Night he weighed from the *Downs*, that Mr. *Hill*, according to the Secretary's Deſire, might, on his Arrival, have nothing to do but to go on board. The *Succeſs* he appointed to remain in the *Downs* for any Orders that might be ſent from her Majeſty or the Admiralty to him, and to follow him therewith to the Place of Rendezvous; and there being about 100 Marines not yet arrived, the *Dunkirk* was left to bring them after the Fleet. About half an Hour paſt nine the Fleet came to Anchor again off of the *South Foreland*, and the next Morning early, being the 7th, Colonel *King* came on board the Admiral, with a Letter from Brigadier *Hill*, (who was juſt arrived at *Deal*,) incloſing

another from the Secretary of State, ſignifying her Majeſty's Pleaſure, that not only the 600 Marines ſhould be detained on Shoar at *Dunkirk*, but likewiſe, that he ſhould re-inforce them with as many more as he could poſſibly ſpare out of the Men of Wars Compliments, in Conſideration of the hard Duty which ſo ſmall a Body of Troops muſt be expoſed to, in ſo large a Town with ſo many Forts: And the General in his Letter, having repreſented, that if Colonel *King* was diſpatch'd before, it might be a Means to make their Landing more expeditious; a Frigate was ordered to proceed directly with him to *Dunkirk*, and to follow his Directions till he rejoined the Fleet.

About ſeven o'Clock, the whole Fleet being united, ſailed from the *South Foreland*, conſiſting of about 18 Sail of Men of War, 6 Yachts, and 9 Tranſports. The ſame Day, about two o'Clock in the Afternoon, they anchored in *Flemiſh Road*, within two Leagues of *Dunkirk*, as near as our Pilots would take Charge of the Ships; and the appointed Signal being made, was anſwered from the Town. About ſix in the Evening, the *French* Pilots, who were to conduct the Yachts and Tranſports into the Harbour, came on board the Fleet; whereupon, the Diſpoſitions which had been made for landing the Troops were put in Execution, and the Guards and Marines being put on board the Yachts, went in with the Tranſports nearer to the Town, in order to be landed the next Morning, as ſoon as the Tide would permit, which was accordingly done at 11 o'Clock, and by 12, moſt of the Troops were diſembark'd. Whilſt this was doing, the Pilots return'd to bring the Men of War nearer to the Town, they having no Pilots before; and about half an Hour paſt 12, they all came to an Anchor in *Flemiſh Road*. At three in the Afternoon, the Guards of the Citadel, *Fort Louis*, and the *Riſbank* were relieved; and ſoon after, the Guards of all the other Gates and Forts. This done, and the *French* Gariſon having paraded towards the *Port Royal*, Count *de l'Aumont* took his Leave of Brigadier *Hill*, and delivered up to him the Keys of the Town; after which, the Brigadier accompanied him to the ſaid Gate, where, the Count putting himſelf at the Head of the *French* Gariſon, march'd off for *Winoxberg*. This was at four in the Afternoon; upon which the *French* Colours being ſtruck, the Union Flag was hoiſted in three ſeveral Places of the Town, and the ſame Salute was made to the Admiral, as uſual, from her Majeſty's Fortifications, which Sir *John* returned, firſt by himſelf, and then by the whole Fleet. An Expreſs was diſpatch'd that Evening to the Secretary of State, and the Lords of the Admiralty, to acquaint them, that the Citadel, with all the Forts of *Dunkirk* were now actually in her Majeſty's Poſſeſſion, and believing there

would be little or no Occaſion after two or three Days, for the Continuance of the Fleet, Sir *John* deſired their Lordſhips Directions therein. The next Morning the Admiral went on Shoar and paid a Viſit to Mr. *Hill*, and at his going on board was ſaluted by the Pier-Head Forts; a *French* Privateer likewiſe coming in ſaluted the Admiral. The 10th, he ordered the Yachts and Tranſports to the *Nore* under Convoy of two Men of War, and the *Sorlings* was directed to proceed to *Oſtend*, and ſee the Trade from thence in Safety to the *Downs*. In the Evening the late Governor of *Dunkirk* and General *Hill* paid the Admiral a Viſit on board the *Bedford*, and were entertained with ſeveral other Gentlemen, *French* and *Engliſh*, who accompanied them, and were ſaluted at their going on Shoar.

After this, nothing paſſed for ſeveral Days but Entertainments, Balls, and other reciprocal Marks of the good Underſtanding that ſubſiſted between the late *French* Governor and the preſent *Engliſh* one. Nevertheleſs, this *French* Air did not agree with the *Engliſh* Conſtitutions; for abundance of Men, both Seamen and Soldiers fell ſick with a Fever, from the Place, called the *Dunkirk* Fever, which at firſt was not very mortal, nor of long Continuance, only leaving an extream Weakneſs behind it, but afterwards proved very fatal amongſt the Soldiers.

The 17th, General *Hill* wrote to Sir *John*, to acquaint him, that having conſidered the Situation that the Gariſon of *Dunkirk* might be in, upon his Departure with the Fleet for *England*, he thought it would be abſolutely for her Majeſty's Service, that he ſhould leave two Ships with a ſufficient Quantity of Proviſions for 3000 Men for a Week; that the Reaſon he would have the Proviſions put on board thoſe Ships, and not into the Citadel, was, becauſe he would not give the leaſt Umbrage to the People of the Town. To this Sir *John* returned an Anſwer directly, that he would venture to leave two Ships, and what Proviſions they could conveniently take in; but before he put the ſame on board, he deſired he would conſider, and give him his Anſwer, whether he thought the doing ſo would not give the People of the Town as much Umbrage, as if it was to be ſent a-ſhoar, it being, he feared, impoſſible to conceal ſuch a Thing from them. But the General gave his Anſwer, that this Service was ſo neceſſary in the preſent Juncture, that he thought it ſhould not be left undone, whatever Conjectures it might occaſion. It ſeems, the General did not care to truſt for his Subſiſtance to the *French*, after the Fleet was gone: This was a Circumſtance that was not perhaps thought of, and ought to have been particularly provided againſt; for now there was a Neceſſity to depend wholly upon them, or by providing for their own Subſiſtance,

to give them Jealouſy, perhaps, that we intended to hold the Place, making the Troops independent of the Town. But it appeared ſo neceſſary to Sir *John*, that although he had no Power to do it, by any Order he had received, he readily concurred with the General, that it was a Circumſtance upon which the Succeſs of the whole Enterpriſe might depend, and therefore gave immediate Orders, to put on board the *Portſmouth* and *Norwich*, two 4th Rates, the Quantity of Proviſions deſired; and alſo gave ſtrict Orders to their Officers, to be very careful that no Diſcovery ſhould be made of the Reaſon of its being put on board, deſiring Mr. *Hill*, however, not to make Uſe of any Part of it, unleſs there ſhould be an abſolute Neceſſity for ſo doing.

The 15th, Sir *John* received the Admiralty's Order (of the 12th,) for his Return to the *Downs*: Whereupon, the next Morning he made the Signal to unmoor, and at Noon weigh'd from *Flemiſh Road*, plying to Windward; but at three was obliged to come to Anchor in *Sinten Deeps*. They weighed from thence next Morning, being obliged to tide it over, and the 20th, in the Morning, anchored in the *Downs*, being ſaluted by the Caſtles and Men of War there. By this Time the *Dunkirk* Fever, which before had very much weakened the Ships Companies, had now ſpread itſelf ſo much, that the *Bedford* alone had 150 Men ſick of that Diſtemper, tho' they were conſiderably ſhort of their full Complement; and it became ſo general that few eſcaped: The reſt of the Ships were little better; but by good Providence, it did not prove mortal to many Seamen, as it did to the Soldiers they left behind at *Dunkirk*. The Hoſpitals at *Deal* were filled with the Sick, but not being able to contain one Half of the Number, the Admiral gave Orders to the Agent-Victualler at *Dover*, to victual the Ships every *Tueſday* with Mutton, and every *Saturday* with freſh Beef inſtead of ſalted, by which Means, he had the Satisfaction to ſee moſt of them in a fair Way of Recovery before he left the Fleet; and I think it is very much to be wondered at, that our Men of War are not more frequently, nay conſtantly victualled with freſh Meat whilſt they are in Harbour, ſeeing it contributes ſo much to the Health of the Ships Companies, and more eſpecially when it comes much cheaper to the Government than ſalted. The *Dunkirk* Fever being thus tranſported into *England*, was carried from *Deal* to *London*, and became very troubleſome in that great Metropolis, where, though it lowered their Spirits, it did not make them more pacifick.

The 20th, at Night, the Admiral received an Order for ſending two Ships to the *Nore*, to take on board 50,000 *l.* and carry the ſame to *Holland*, and the next Day he appointed the *Rocheſter* and *Bonadventure* for that Service. Two Days after

after he received another Order from the Admiralty, not to ſeize any neutral Ships bound with Grain to *Spain*. The ſame Day he appointed the *Ruby* and *Succeſs*, to convoy the Tin Ships and other Trade to the Weſtward; another to convoy the Trade to *Oſtend*; and the *Dover* was diſpatch'd with Part of General *Hill*'s Equipage, and Cloathing for the Soldiers at *Dunkirk*. The 24th, he appointed the *Gloceſter* and *Moor* to cruize between the *South Foreland* and *Calais*, with Directions to look into the *Downs* every 24 Hours, in Expectation of Orders; and the *Arundel* coming in with ſome Ships from *Portſmouth*, was ordered to ſee them to the *Nore*, and then return to the *Downs*. In the Evening he wrote to the Admiralty, to acquaint them with theſe Proceedings, and to let them know it was his Deſire, if their Lordſhips had no immediate Commands for him there, that they would give him Leave to wait on them at the Board. In anſwer to this, the 30th, he received their Lordſhips Order, (of the Day before) that whereas the Queen's Conſent had been ſignified to them by the Earl of *Dartmouth*, her Majeſty's Principal Secretary of State, for his coming to Town, he might do it when he ſhould find moſt convenient; but before he left the *Downs*, he was to give Orders to Sir *Edward Whitaker*, to cauſe the Ships there to be victualled to three Months, that they might be in a conſtant Readineſs to proceed on Service; and by another Order, he was directed to ſend a Ship with a Month's Proviſions, to be put on board the *Portſmouth* at *Dunkirk*; the ſame was accordingly put on board the *Dover* and ſent thither; and Sir *John* having given Directions to Sir *Edward Whitaker*, purſuant to the above Orders, and appointed him to take upon him the Command of all her Majeſty's Ships and Veſſels in the *Downs*, the 31ſt of *July* he ſtruck his Flag and ſet out for *London* by Land, where he arrived the next Day; and waiting upon her Majeſty, had the Honour to meet with a very gracious Reception. Indeed, the *Britiſh* Forces being in Poſſeſſion of *Dunkirk*, was a ſenſible Pleaſure to the whole Nation, but in particular to the Miniſters, as being the Baſis whereon their whole pacifick Scheme depended. The latter End of *July* the Duke of *Ormond* detach'd ſix Battalions to reinforce the Gariſon of *Dunkirk*, and relieve the Marines there, and ſent thither a Train of Artillery, with ſome Ammunition, the *French* having drawn off moſt of their Cannon from the Ramparts of that Place. Nevertheleſs, Biſhop *Burnet* obſerves, we had it in a very precarious Manner; and Mr. *Boyer*, that the Force they had in it, rendered our Poſſeſſion of it for ſome Time precarious. We kept indeed, ſays the Biſhop, a Sort of Gariſon in it, but it was ſo ill ſupplied with Artillery and Ammunition, that it was viſible they were not in a Condition to keep the Place any longer than the *French*

were willing to let them ſtay in it: And indeed, there ſeems to be too much Truth in this, when we conſider, that no Care was taken to ſubſiſt the Troops there, but they were left wholly to depend upon the *French* for Proviſions: That the Civil Government was continued in the *French* Hands without any Alteration; and ſeveral of their Ships and Gallies were permitted to ſtay in the Harbour, with two or three Battalions of Marines in the Town, on Pretence of guarding the Stores: The Privateers likewiſe of that Place were indulged the Liberty of going in and out, provided they brought no *Engliſh* Prizes into the Port. This was indeed acting (as Mr. Secretary *St. John* ſays, the whole Affair had been carried on with the *French*,) *upon Honour*, but not altogether ſo agreeable, to what he ſays, (in his Letter before-mentioned,) her Majeſty deſired, namely, that it ſhould be finiſhed with the beſt Grace on her Part: However, we did keep it till the entire Demolition was performed; but this was not done till three Months after the Time limited, and ſix after the ſigning of the Peace; which encouraged the Inhabitants, to petition her Majeſty to ſpare the Port and Harbour of that Town; but the Queen would not hearken to it. Soon after, Colonel *Armſtrong* and Colonel *Clayton*, were, by a Patent under the Great Seal, appointed Commiſſioners, to ſee the Fortifications demoliſhed and raſed; and at the ſame Time two Captains of Men of War were appointed by the Admiralty, to ſee the Harbour ruined and filled up. The *French* upon this, as on all other Occaſions, ſhewed their uſual Chicanery, and would have begun, by making a Breach in the main Fortifications of the Town, whereby the *Engliſh* Gariſon would have been expoſed, and the *French* might eaſily have made themſelves Maſters of the Place, and prevented any further Proceedings; but the Commiſſioners inſiſted the Outworks ſhould be firſt demoliſhed, both to the Sea and Land; next the Harbour ruined and filled; afterwards the main Fortifications of the Place deſtroyed, and laſt of all the Citadel; which was accordingly begun the 26th of *September*, and finiſhed the latter End of *November*, 1713. Thus was this ancient Neſt of Pirates diſmantled, both Haven and Fortifications, which had coſt the *French* King ſuch immenſe Sums, and from whence the *Britiſh* Nation received more Damage in their Trade, than from almoſt all the Ports of *France* beſides, either in the Ocean or in the *Mediterranean*.

Shortly after Sir *John* came to Town, the Queen was pleaſed to declare the Earl of *Strafford*, her Plenipotentiary at *Utrecht*, Firſt Lord-Commiſſioner of the Admiralty; which Poſt, (as it was ſaid,) he had been promiſed before he ſet out for *Holland*; but his Lordſhip continuing to purſue his Negotiations abroad, the Commiſſion remained in effect as before,

fore, and the Management of the Affairs at that Board reſted upon Sir *John*, as the Firſt acting Commiſſioner; and if I am not miſtaken, his Lordſhip never took upon him the Execution of that Office.

In the mean Time the Suſpenſion of Arms, which was only for two Months, was by a new Treaty continued for four Months longer, and the ſame was declared at *London* the 16th of *Auguſt*, by a Proclamation, enjoining the Obſervance thereof; and an Order of Council was publiſhed, that for the Security of Commerce, as ſoon as Paſſes could be interchanged, they would be delivered to ſuch of her Majeſty's Subjects as ſhould deſire the ſame. By this Means, the *Engliſh* Subjects were for their Security, obliged to purchaſe *French* Paſſes from the Secretaries of State at a dear Rate, which coſt them nothing. But what was worſe, the *French* Court not having ſent over the Paſſes, ſo ſoon as the *Engliſh* Miniſters tranſmitted theirs to *France*; it happened that ſeveral *French* Ships which were taken by Sir *Thomas Hardy*, were releaſed upon producing *Engliſh* Paſſes, while ſeveral *Engliſh* Ships were at the ſame Time made Prize for want of *French* Paſſes. After this, the Negotiations not being brought to ſo ſpeedy a Concluſion as was expected, made it neceſſary to renew the Ceſſation of Arms for four Months longer, which was accordingly done by an Agreement, ſigned at *London*, the 26th of *November*; and the laſt Day of *March*, 1713, the Peace was ſigned by the Plenipotentiaries of *Great Britain* and *France*, the Miniſters of *Savoy*, and the Ambaſſadors of *Portugal*, *Pruſſia* and the States General. The ſame was diſpatch'd to *England* by Mr. *St. John*, Secretary of the *Britiſh* Embaſſy, who arrived with it at *Whitehall*, on *Friday* the 3d of *April*. This was immediately notified, by diſcharging the Guns of the *Tower*, and attended in the Evening by popular Rejoicings. The *Tueſday* following, the Queen held a Council, wherein it was agreed to ratify the Treaty; which was accordingly done by her Majeſty the ſame Day, the Time agreed upon for exchanging the Ratifications, not admitting of Delays.

The Peace being thus ſigned and ratified, her Majeſty reſolved not to delay any longer meeting her Parliament; and the 9th of *April*, ſhe opened the Seſſions by a Speech, acquainting them with what ſhe had done, and received the Thanks of both Houſes. The 28th following, the Ratifications were exchanged at *Utrecht*, between the Miniſters of *Great Britain* and *France*; and being brought to *London*, the Queen on the ſame Day [4 *May*,] of the Month, on which the War was proclaimed juſt 11 Years before, ſigned a Proclamation for publiſhing the Peace, which was performed the 5th of *May* with the uſual Ceremonies. Shortly after, the

Treaty of Peace and Commerce was communicated to the Houſe of Commons, and the Conſideration of this was the principal Buſineſs of the Seſſions. In the mean Time her Majeſty having appointed the 7th of *July* for a publick Thankſgiving, for the ſafe and honourable Peace lately concluded, and invited her Parliament to attend her to St. *Paul*'s; accordingly both Houſes went thither with the uſual State; only her Majeſty not having entirely recovered her Strength ſince the laſt Fit of the Gout, could not be preſent at that Solemnity. The ſame Evening was concluded with Bonfires and Illuminations throughout the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*; and Majeſtick Fireworks were played off on the *Thames*, over-againſt *Whitehall*. The 16th following, her Majeſty went to the Houſe of Peers, and having paſſed ſeveral Acts, made a Speech to both Houſes, and prorogued the Parliament to the 28th, but they were diſſolved before that Day came. This was the End of the third and laſt Seſſions of the third Parliament of *Great Britain*, which ſome have diſtinguiſhed by the Name of Pacifick. The Day the Parliament was prorogued, Gold Medals, of about five Pounds Value each, ſtruck upon Occaſion of the Peace, by her Majeſty's Order, were given to all the Members of both Houſes of Parliament; having on one Side her Majeſty's Buſt Laureat, *ANNA D. G. MAG. BRI. FR. ET HIB. REG.* Reverſe, *Britannia*, ſtanding upon the Sea-Shoar, holding an Olive Branch in her Right Hand, and the Repreſentation of Ships ſailing upon the Sea; and upon the Land, Plowing and Sowing, as cultivating the Arts of Peace, with this Motto, *COMPOSITIS VENERANTUR ARMIS.* MDCCXIII.

The Advantages procured us by this Peace are reckoned as follows. The Settlement of the Succeſſion to the Crown in the Houſe of *Hanover*, was acknowledged by the Kings of *France* and *Spain*; the Union of *France* and *Spain* was prevented; the Benefit of the *Aſſiento* Trade, and the Privilege of ſending a Ship every Year to the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, was granted to the *South-Sea* Company; *Gibraltar*, and the Iſland of *Minorca* were yielded to the Crown of *Great Britain*; *Hudſon*'s *Bay* and *Streight* was reſtored; and all Damages ſuſtained by the *Engliſh* Company trading thither, made good. All Right of the *French* Nation to any Part of the Iſland of *St. Chriſtopher's* was renounced: *Nova Scotia* and its Dependancies were left in the Poſſeſſion of the *Britiſh* Nation: Such Parts of *Newfoundland* as were poſſeſſed by the *French* were given up: The Haven and Fortifications of *Dunkirk* (which had coſt immenſe Sums) were filled up and entirely demoliſhed. But all theſe Advantages were thought far ſhort of what might have been expected.

As

As *Great Britain* had been the Head of the grand Alliance, ſo they had the political Honour to ſee that the reſt could do nothing without them; and no ſooner were their Troops withdrawn, but the Allies were beaten every where: And finally, as the Allies had impoſed upon us the Burthen of the War; ſo we impoſed upon the Allies our own Terms of Peace. After all, it is undoubtedly true, that a bad Peace is better than a ſucceſsful War; and as Mr. *Boyer* obſerves, and concludes his Hiſtory of the Reign of Queen *Anne*, impartial Men will not reflect on the Peace ſhe made, before it is mended by more advantageous Treaties.

As to the Peace between *Great Britain* and *Spain*, the Ratifications were not exchanged till the *February* following, and the firſt of *March* the ſame was proclaimed. I have already mentioned as much of this as we may call advantageous to *Great Britain:* But there is one Thing that I cannot paſs over in Silence, which was the little Care we took to ſecure thoſe brave and faithful *Catalans*, whom we had drawn in and encouraged to declare for King *Charles*. 'Tis true, an Amneſty was granted for thoſe People in the Treaty, but no Care was taken to ſecure their ancient Liberties and Privileges; ſo that theſe brave, unfortunate People, being firſt abandoned by their ungrateful Prince, for whom they had done and ſuffer'd ſo much; and truſting that the Queen of *Great Britain*, (in whoſe Hands God Almighty had put more effectual Means,) would interpoſe in their Behalf, held out after the concluding of the Treaty; whereby having forfeited the Terms of it, and become Rebels to the King, who was acknowledged their lawful Sovereign, they ſuffered all the Miſeries that a brave People can do in Defence of their Liberty; and being at laſt overcome, were uſed with all the Barbarities the Conquerors could invent. Some of their General Officers were drawn alive by the Heels at Horſes Tails round the Walls of the City; others were put to diſhonourable and ſhameful Deaths; others were diſperſed in the Priſons all over *Spain*; and thoſe that remained, were living Monuments of Slavery. I need mention but this one Inſtance of it; that they were not permitted to have any Arms, which are worn by all the *Spaniards* from the higheſt to the loweſt, as a Mark of Honour and Freedom; nor ſo much as an edged Tool in their Houſes, only one Knife, which was chained to a Table for the common Uſe of the Family to cut their Meat with: To ſuch compleat Slavery were the freeſt and braveſt People of *Spain* reduced. Her Majeſty indeed did uſe her good Offices to obtain for the *Catalans* their Liberties and Privileges, being obliged (as ſhe declared) in Honour and Conſcience to do ſo. Nay, ſhe deſired it as a Favour, but to no Purpoſe. How altered was the Scene, when ſhe who might have commanded,

now

now could not be obliged even to ſatisfy her Honour and her Conſcience. It was now too late, and there was no good Offices beyond the Letter of the Treaty: So theſe poor People were ſacrificed to the Reſentment of their unrelenting Enemies.

This was the Concluſion of a long and glorious War, but more eſpecially ſo by Sea; for the *French* King not being able to oppoſe our Naval Force, was reduced to the Neceſſity of continuing the War by ſmall Squadrons, Cruizers and Privateers, whilſt the Navy of *Great Britain* was not diminiſhed: And this was the more extraordinary, becauſe the *Dutch* did not comply with their Engagements, not ſending above half the Number of Ships they ought to have done, a Difficulty we did not labour under the firſt War: Nevertheleſs we were attended with much greater Succeſs in this War than in the former, both with Reſpect to the Enemy's Men of War and Privateers: For by Mr. *Burchet*'s Account, it appears, that the Loſs of the *French* in the former War exceeded ours by 1132 Guns, whereas in the preſent War, their Loſs exceeded ours by 1498 Guns, excluſive of what *Spaniſh* Ships were taken and deſtroyed; and the Enemy had much worſe Fortune with their Privateers, 700 of them having been taken and deſtroyed by our Frigates. This Loſs of the *French* in their Cruizers and Privateers was chiefly in the three laſt Years of the War, for till then we had not taken effectual Meaſures to ſuppreſs them. How much we had ſuffered till then in that Particular, by the Ignorance and bad Management of our Admiralty was very notorious. Sir *John* had often propoſed Methods to prevent it, but to no Purpoſe: But as ſoon as he was in Power and could apply a Remedy, he did, and had the Pleaſure to make thoſe three Years he preſided at the Admiralty Board, as remarkably ſucceſsful againſt the Enemy's Cruizers and Privateers, as they had before been againſt us; and more of them were deſtroyed and taken in that Time than had been done all the former Part of the War: Whereby they being ruined in the only Means they could carry on the War by Sea, had no Hopes left but from Peace. As in our Cruizers ſo in other Things the Experience we had had in the former War, did not make us wiſe till almoſt the Concluſion of the latter, ſome of the ſame Miſmanagements prevailed: The Sailors diſcouraged, the Ships conſequently ill manned, and ill paid, (though better than in King *William*'s War.) In the Victualling, great Neglects, whereby many a good Deſign was diſconcerted, and the Ships neither cleaned nor relieved, or ſupplied from *England* as the publick Service required: But it can never be otherwiſe, whilſt Noblemen, Parliament Men and other unqualified Perſons have ſo much Influence in the Oeconomy of the Navy, Land-Commiſſioners being

being always the Tools of Miniſters. This made Sir *John* deſirous to be as much as poſſible in his military Capacity, where he could be ſure of acting always for the beſt: And in this, as he had the good Fortune to begin the War with the firſt remarkable Inſtance of Succeſs againſt the common Enemy, (the Expedition to *Newfoundland*,) ſo he cloſed it by the laſt remarkable Event, namely the taking Poſſeſſion of the City and Harbour of *Dunkirk*.

CHAP. IX.

Sir John *is appointed Admiral of the Fleet the fifth Time. The Death of Queen* Anne. *King* George's *Acceſſion to the Crown. Sir* John *is removed from all his Places; declines his Election; lives privately; his Retirement; Death and Character.*

IN the laſt Chapter, I brought my Hiſtory down to the Concluſion of the Peace with *France* and *Spain*: And before this, as in Order of Time, I obſerved, that ſoon after Sir *John*'s Arrival from the *Dunkirk* Expedition; her Majeſty was pleaſed to appoint the Earl of *Strafford*, (her Plenipotentiary at *Utrecht*,) to be Firſt Lord Commiſſioner of the Admiralty; but his Lordſhip purſuing his Negotiations abroad, never did take upon him the Execution of that Office; whereby Sir *John*, though but Second in the Commiſſion, continued (as he had ſome Time been) the Chairman at that Board. He had likewiſe a new Commiſſion, bearing Date the 17th of *March*, 1712-13, appointing him (the fifth Time) Admiral and Commander in Chief of her Majeſty's Fleet; for this Poſt is kept up in Time of Peace as well as War, and the ſenior Admiral receives Half-Pay accordingly, unleſs otherwiſe provided for. For by the Cuſtom of the Navy, an Admiral may receive Whole-Pay, and a Salary as one of the Lord Commiſſioners of the Admiralty at the ſame Time; but cannot do ſo, being in Half-Pay, the ſame being paid in Conſideration that thoſe who receive it, have not had the Benefit of any other Employment during that Time; and the Admiral of the Fleet being uſually one of the Board of Admiralty, the Half-Pay of that Officer is thereby ſaved to the Publick in Time of Peace. Whether Sir *John* hoiſted his Flag under this Commiſſion I don't know, but it is probable he might, becauſe I find he continued in Whole-Pay as Admiral to the 25th of *Auguſt* following; however that be, it is certain, he never went to Sea any more, nor could there, after the Ratification of the Peace,

Peace, be any Occaſion for a Squadron to require the Command of the Admiral of the Fleet.

Having now done with military Affairs, we muſt conſider what paſſed in the Parliament and the Court, as far as is neceſſary for our Purpoſe. The laſt Parliament having been diſſolved by Proclamation the 8th of *Auguſt*, 1713, the 17th following, another Proclamation was iſſued for calling a new one, the Writs to bear Teſt the 18th of *Auguſt*, and returnable the 12th of *November* following. Upon this Occaſion, Sir *John* was unanimouſly choſe the third Time to repreſent the City of *Rocheſter* in Parliament, and at the Requeſt of the Corporation he gave them his Picture, which was hung up in the Town-Hall, with thoſe of other eminent Admirals, Members for that City. Before the Time came to meet, the Parliament was prorogued by Proclamation to the 10th of *December*; which was occaſioned by the Queen's Illneſs and the Quarrels that prevailed amongſt the Miniſters, who being divided at this critical Juncture, made it ſtrongly reported, there would be ſome Alteration in the Miniſtry. The dangerous State of the Queen's Health variouſly affected the different Parties: Thoſe in the Chevalier's Intereſt vainly flattered themſelves with his Reſtoration; whilſt thoſe in the *Hanover* Intereſt were much alarmed, upon the Report of a *French* Squadron fitting out, to take on board 12,000 Land-Men. This terrified the monied Men wonderfully, made the publick Funds continue to fall ſome Time, and occaſioned a Run upon the *Bank*; but News coming from *Holland*, that there was nothing in all this; that there was no Squadron fitting out in *France*, and that the Pretender continued in *Lorrain*, theſe Fears were diſpelled. Indeed, it ſeems to have been only a Device of the *Whigs*, to diſtreſs the Miniſters and render them odious; and to terrify the People with *France* and the Pretender, agreeable to their Deſigns of promoting the Proteſtant Succeſſion in the Houſe of *Hanover*.

The 2d of *March*, 1713-14, her Majeſty opened the new Parliament by a Speech, and laid before them the Treaty of Commerce with *Spain*; upon which ſhe received an Addreſs of Thanks from both Houſes. The Buſineſs of the Seſſions chiefly turned upon Party Diſputes; the Miniſters in the mean Time carrying on their Schemes, under the ſpecious Cloak of the Queen's Meaſures; the Lord *Bolingbroke* having got the Aſcendant over the Lord-Treaſurer, puſh'd on his Deſigns, deſpairing of the Queen's Life, her Majeſty having been taken ill in the ſame Manner ſhe had been two Months before; and though the Commons voted, that the Proteſtant Succeſſion was not in Danger, the *Whigs* in the mean Time privately concerted proper Meaſures for ſecuring it againſt all Events.

Whilſt

Whilſt theſe Feuds and Debates, in Relation to the State of the Nation, and the late Peace, prevailed in Parliament, died the Princeſs *Sophia*, next, and immediate Heir to the Crown after her Majeſty, by the Act of Settlement: Whereupon it was ſaid to have been debated in Council, whether the Queen ſhould invite over the Duke of *Cambridge*: But though the Chancellor and Lord-Privy-Seal were for it, the Lord *Bolingbroke* carried the Negative, and encouraged by this Succeſs, reſolved, it is ſaid, to uſe all Means to defeat the Proteſtant Succeſſion; but ſome think he was too good a Politician to attempt a Deſign ſo abſolutely impracticable. It is however certain, one Thing he attempted and carried, which was the Bill to prevent the Growth of Schiſm. But her Majeſty at the Inſtance of her Parliament, publiſhed a Proclamation, with a Reward of 5000 *l.* for apprehending the Pretender; for which the Commons returned their Thanks, and voted a further Reward of 100,000 *l.* The 9th of *July* her Majeſty came to the Houſe, and after a Speech from the Throne, the Lord-Chancellor, by the Queen's Command, prorogued the Parliament to the 10th of *Auguſt*, which concluded the Parliamentary Affairs of her Majeſty's Reign. As to the Admiralty Affairs, there happened no publick Occurrence worthy Notice, every Thing being pacifick, unleſs with Regard to Party Buſineſs; ſome that had hitherto acted very freely, begun now very politically to tack about, foreſeeing the Change that muſt ſhortly happen, and judging it for their Intereſt to be diſplaced, in order to make a Merit of it when the Tide turned. It was this that occaſioned a new Commiſſion [a] to be paſſed for the Admiralty to leave out Sir *George Byng*, and Mr. *Aiſlabie*; and Sir *George Beaumont* was added to it.

In the mean Time her Majeſty's Health grew worſe; and not many Days after the riſing of the Parliament, the Jars between the Treaſurer and Lord *Bolingbroke* broke out into an open Rupture. The Treaſurer was removed, and his Removal was ſo ſudden, and occaſioned ſuch Strife and Confuſion, that no Scheme was agreed on, or even formed to ſupply his Place, and ſuch other Vacancies as naturally attended it. In a Cabinet Council, the 27th of *July*, it was propoſed to put the Treaſury into Commiſſion, but no Reſolution was abſolutely taken; and two Days after, the Cabinet Council was to have ſet again, but was put off by Reaſon of the Queen's Indiſpoſition; which was much increaſed, by the late Quarreling amongſt her Servants; and it is ſaid, ſhe intimated

[a] The Commiſſion then ſtood thus. The Earl of *Strafford*, Sir *John Leake*, Sir *William Drake*, Sir *James Wiſhart*, *George Clarke*, Eſq; and Sir *George Beaumont*.

as much to one of her Phyſicians, and that ſhe ſhould not outlive it.

The 30th of *July*, her Majeſty being thought to be either dead or expiring, a Meſſage was ſent to the Council then at the Cock-Pit, who, thereupon immediately broke up and went to *Kenſington*: But her Majeſty recovered her Speech afterwards ſo as to approve of the Duke of *Shrewſbury* to fill the Poſt of Treaſurer, very much to the Satisfaction of thoſe in the Intereſt of the *Hanover* Succeſſion. In the Afternoon the Queen relapſed, and the Phyſicians acquainted the Council, her Majeſty was in the utmoſt Danger: Whereupon, with great Prudence and Diſpatch, they provided for the Security of the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, of the Maritime Towns, and of *Scotland* and *Ireland*; four Regiments of Horſe and Dragoons were ordered to *London*, to keep the Jacobites and Diſaffected in Awe; and ſeven of the Battalions of *Britiſh* Forces then in *Flanders*, were ordered to embark at *Oſtend* for *England* with all poſſible Speed. On the other Hand, the Lords of the Admiralty cauſed an Embargo to be laid on all Shipping, and gave Directions for fitting out as many Men of War as could timely be got ready; and by this Means the publick Tranquillity remained undiſturbed.

The Queen continuing all Night and the next Morning in a Condition that her Life was deſpaired of, the Privy Council ſent Orders to the Heralds and to a Troop of Life-Guards, to be in a Readineſs to proclaim the Elector of *Brunſwick*, King of *Great Britain*, &c. and at the ſame Time, cauſed a Letter to be wrote to his Electoral Highneſs, to acquaint him with the extreme Danger the Queen was in, with the Meaſures they had taken to ſecure the Crown to him, and to deſire he would repair with all convenient Speed to *Holland*, where a *Britiſh* Squadron, which was then fitting out with all poſſible Expedition, would attend him and bring him over, in Caſe it pleaſed God to call the Queen to his Mercy; and by the ſame Meſſenger who carried this, Orders were diſpatch'd to the Earl of *Strafford*, to deſire the States General to be ready to perform the Guaranty of the Proteſtant Succeſſion, if Need ſhould require. This done, they ſent a Re-inforcement to *Portſmouth*, and appointed the Earl of *Berkeley*, Vice-Admiral of the Red, to command the Fleet to convoy his Majeſty to *England*.

By this Time, all Means proving ineffectual, her Majeſty expired at *Kenſington*, on *Sunday* the firſt of *Auguſt*, a little after ſeven in the Morning, in the 50th Year of her Age, having reigned 12 Years and 5 Month, wanting 7 Days; a Princeſs endowed with as many Virtues as ever adorned a private Life, and as few Frailties as ever blemiſhed a Diadem: And though the Tranſactions of the latter Part of her Reign,

have

have been cenſured; yet, as Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, We are not to doubt but her Intentions were, as ſhe declared them to be, All for the Good and Happineſs of her People; and therefore ſhe may juſtly be pronounced to have been a great and excellent Queen. The 24th following, ſhe was privately interred in the Royal Vault, in *Henry* the VIIth's Chapel, in *Weſtminſter Abbey*.

No ſooner was the Queen expired, than the Lords of the Council aſſembled at St. *James's*, to whom the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Chancellor, and the Reſident of *Brunſwick*, purſuant to the Act of the 4th and 5th of Queen *Anne*, delivered the three Inſtruments, under the Hand and Seal of his Highneſs the Elector of *Brunſwick*, nominating the Perſons to be added to the ſeven great Officers of the Kingdom, appointed to be Lords Juſtices. The ſame Day his Majeſty was proclaimed, by the Title of *George*, King of *Great Britain*; and purſuant to the Act of the 6th *Annæ*, the Parliament met that Afternoon at *Weſtminſter*, but the Speaker being abſent, the Members preſent only qualified themſelves, by taking the Oaths, making and ſubſcribing the Declaration, and taking and ſubſcribing the Oath of Abjuration. The 4th, the Speaker came to Town, and the next Day the Lords Juſtices came to the Houſe of Peers, and by the Chancellor made a Speech to both Houſes, recommending the making a Proviſion for the Support of his Majeſty; to which they returned a dutiful and loyal Addreſs. The 21ſt of *Auguſt*, the Bill for the better Support of his Majeſty's Houſhold, and of the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, was paſſed by the Lords Juſtices, and after a Speech, both Houſes were adjourn'd to the 25th of *Auguſt*; when being met, they were prorogued to the 27th of *September*, which concluded the ſecond Seſſions of the fourth Parliament of *Great Britain*, and the laſt of Queen *Anne*'s Reign.

By this Time, all Things being ſettled, the laſt of *Auguſt*, his Majeſty King *George* ſet out from *Herenhauſen* without Ceremony. The 16th of *September*, his Majeſty embark'd at *Orange-Polder*, on board the *Peregrine* Yacht, and was convoy'd by a Squadron of *Britiſh* and *Dutch* Men of War, under the Command of the Earl of *Berkeley* to *England*, and arrived at *Greenwich* the 18th. Two Days after, his Majeſty made his publick Entry into *London*, and the 20th of *October* following, was ſolemnly crowned at *Weſtminſter*.

Every one, who remembers the Times I am now ſpeaking of, cannot forget, that Party like a Torrent bore down all before it. To traduce the late Queen *Anne* and her whole Race, was made the Teſt of Allegiance to King *George*, notwithſtanding the particular Acts of her Majeſty to ſecure the Succeſſion of the Houſe of *Hanover*, which ſhe approved by the

the very laſt Act of her Life. Sir *John* had too much Honour and Gratitude to traduce the Memory of the good Queen for any Conſideration, and his Spirit was above mean Compliances; as he was conſcious of no Ill, ſo he feared none; and in this doubtful State, he behaved with his uſual Moderation; patiently waiting to be made either a Figure or a Cypher. From this reſerved Behaviour, his Enemies drew Arguments of Diſaffection, and that he did not deſire to ſerve his Majeſty; but on the contrary, he was very deſirous of it, but ſcorned to do it upon diſhonourable Terms.

In the mean Time, great Revolutions were made in all publick Offices, and amongſt the reſt there was a thorough Change at the Admiralty Board, by a new Commiſſion the 11th of *October*; nor was there any one in it who had been in the laſt, or even in the Commiſſion preceding the laſt, except Sir *George Byng*, who always fell upon his Feet. The 5th of *November* following, Sir *John* was ſuperſeded as Admiral of the Fleet, by *Matthew Aylmer*, Eſq; and as to the Poſt of Rear-Admiral of *Great Britain*, the ſame being a Patent-Office, was determined by her Majeſty's Death: So that at once, he was diveſted of all his Employments.

The new Adminiſtration being formed, and the Solemnity of the Coronation over, with other previous Matters, it was thought neceſſary to have a new Parliament. For this End a Proclamation was publiſhed the 15th of *January*; the Writs to bear Teſt the 17th following, and to be returnable the 17th of *March*. Sir *John* had ſerved for the City of *Rocheſter* in three Parliaments; and however he might be wanting to his other Friends, in not ſerving them, he had not been wanting to his *Rocheſter* Friends: For beſides many particular Services, both publick and private, he conſtantly maintained a Schoolmaſter, at 50 *l. per Ann.* to teach the Freemens Daughters Writing and Arithmetick. The Harmony which had ſo long ſubſiſted betwixt him and his Conſtituents, would not ſuffer him to decline their Favours, nor let them reject him: On the contrary, though he was now diveſted of all Power, and *Rocheſter* is known to be an Admiralty Borough, they engaged him to ſtand, even after Colonel *Cage*, with whom he had hitherto ſerved, had given it up. Sir *John* for his Part, deſired rather to decline it, knowing how impoſſible it was to act without becoming obnoxious to the Court, or being a Time-Server; and therefore it was in Compliance with thoſe he had hitherto eſteemed his Friends, that he ſuffered himſelf to be named a Candidate. As ſoon as this was known, no Means were unattempted to win over thoſe of his Friends in whom he principally confided. The Chief of theſe was Mr. *Beſt*, an eminent and wealthy Brewer, who had

had married his Siſter. This Man was ſoon wrought upon to ſacrifice all Obligations, and not only to deſert his Brother, but to break his Intereſt and prevent his Election. To effect this, he inſinuated, that Sir *John* being laid aſide, and a Perſon obnoxious to the Miniſtry, would never have it in his Power to ſerve them any more: That indeed, he believed, he would not ſtand the Election, but if he did, he would not be choſe: That he was his Relation and Friend, and therefore, to be ſure they might depend upon it, he would ſerve him if he could; but he found it was to no Purpoſe, and therefore adviſed them to follow their own Intereſt; a Doctrine eaſily inculcated. In fine, as the moſt effectual Means to ſucceed, he undertook to perſuade Sir *John* himſelf to decline it: For this Purpoſe he wrote him a Letter, full of brotherly Love and Kindneſs, and how much he deſired to ſerve him; but that abundance in his Intereſt were gone over, and he thought it his Duty to repreſent to him the Impoſſibility of ſucceeding: And as he had his Welfare much at Heart, begged him to conſider, whether it would be adviſeable to ſtand the Election: That if he was choſen, it muſt be in direct Oppoſition to the Court, which would be attended with a great Expence; and any Oppoſition would make him obnoxious to the Miniſtry; and therefore adviſed him, as a Friend, to decline the Election, which would give them ſome more favourable Diſpoſitions towards him. By this Sir *John* was aſſured of what he before only ſuſpected, that he had a falſe Brother, and as he was himſelf wavering, he reſolved to ſave them the Shame of declaring openly againſt him, and prevent the Diſappointment which would follow to himſelf. He therefore ſent two Letters to Mr. *Beſt*, one declaring himſelf a Candidate, the other declining it, deſiring him, with the Advice of his Friends, to apply which of them they thought convenient. This ſurpriſed them a little, becauſe it threw the whole Succeſs of the Event upon them. They did not care to deliver the declining Letter upon their own Judgments, there being a ſtrong Party for him who did not approve of it; and therefore if they did ſo, it would be to take all the Odium upon themſelves, and then his other Friends might, nevertheleſs, ſet him up the Day of Election: What to do they could not well tell, but after a Conſultation, they agreed upon the following Letter, which his Brother *Beſt* tranſmitted to him from Mr. *Barrel*, Recorder of the City, *viz.*

Rocheſter, January, 17, 1714.

'SIR,

'THE Letter you were pleaſed to write to Mr. *Beſt*, 'with the two incloſed, were conſidered of by Mr. '*Broke*, Mr. *Beſt*, Capt. *Myhill*, Mr. *Unit*, and myſelf; and 'when we had recollected the Accounts we have had from '*London*, *Woolwich*, *Deptford*, and the Out-Parts of our own 'Neighbourhood, and had compared theſe with the Proceed-'ings of our own City and the Dock and Navy in our Neigh-'bourhood; we could not but conclude, that it would be 'impoſſible for us to ſtem the Violence of the preſent Torrent 'that runs againſt us. Since I had the Honour to write laſt 'to you, there have been eight new Freemen made, which 'now ſwells the Number of the new Levies to about 70; 'and as we are informed, there are about 30 of our Freemen 'newly entered in the Ordinary, and the Commiſſioners 'Barge has made Room for a great many more; and to give 'a finiſhing Stroke to our Caſe, Colonel *Cage* has this Day 'wrote a Letter to ſignify publickly, what he had before 'privately intimated to ſeveral of his Friends, that he reſolves 'totally to decline the Election. Theſe Things put together, 'made us all intirely of Opinion, that there was no Room 'for Hope; that all that could be conſidered, was how the 'Election muſt be loſt with more or leſs Honour. We 'therefore thought the declining Letter moſt proper to be 'delivered, and we think the ſooner that were done the bet-'ter, if you are of the ſame Opinion; becauſe it may prevent 'ſome Inſtances of our Adverſaries Cruelty, ſuch as has been 'already practiſed upon *Champ*, and is going to be practiſed, 'as we are informed, upon poor Dr. *Cony*. We are deſirous, 'that whatever final Reſolutions you ſhall pleaſe to take in 'this Matter, they may come from you, as entirely your own 'Determination, and not the Effect of any Influence of ours, 'becauſe, as we apprehend, not only ſome of your falſe 'Friends, but ſome of our warmer Brother *Tories*, would not 'fail to lay the Odium of the Loſs of your Election at our 'Doors; which would be an Infamy as grevious to us to 'bear, as we know ourſelves to be undeſerving of it. I have 'therefore incloſed both your Letters, and we deſire, that of 'them which you pleaſe to pitch upon to be delivered, ſhould, '(after you have filled up the Date yourſelf,) be ſealed with 'your own Seal, and ſent to Mr. *Beſt*, to be delivered by him 'to the Mayor. It is likewiſe thought adviſeable, that you 'will pleaſe in your Letter to Mr. *Beſt* himſelf, to intimate 'ſomething of the Subſtance of your Corporation Letter, 'which might be communicated to the Freemen, in Caſe the

'Mayor

'Mayor ſhould ſuppreſs your Letter to them. The Account, 'Sir, I am forced to ſend you cannot be more diſagreeable to 'you, than it is heartily afflicting to,

'*SIR*,

'*Your moſt humble Servant*,

'FRANCIS BARREL.'

This Letter expreſſed the Sentiments of the Gentlemen therein mentioned, (on whom he principally relied) ſo clearly, that he made no Difficulty in ſending the Letter in the Manner they deſired, which put an End to the Affair; though, as they apprehended, the declining Letter had certainly been ſuppreſſed by the Mayor and others in Sir *John*'s Intereſt, (who ſuſpected ſome Treachery,) had not they taken the Precaution to get the Subſtance of his Corporation Letter, inſerted in that which incloſed it to Mr. *Beſt*, and that being firſt ſhewn, brought out the other, which convinced his Friends and ſatisfied his Enemies.

There was one Thing, yet remained to be brought upon the Carpet, namely, what Proviſion was to be made for Sir *John*, in Conſideration of his long and faithful Service, ſince the national Proviſion of Half-Pay as Admiral, was given to Mr. *Aylmer*. For every Sea-Officer by that Eſtabliſhment, is entitled to Half-Pay, when unemploy'd, according to his Seniority and Rank in the Navy, if he has not forfeited his Title thereto by Miſbehaviour; and as Sir *John* was removed, for Reaſons of State or Conveniency only, his Services moſt eminent, his Conduct unblameable; common Juſtice demanded a Recompence in lieu of that Half-Pay, which he was juſtly and legally entitled to; this the Miniſters were conſcious of, and therefore ſoon after the Meeting of the Parliament, he was acquainted, he might have a Penſion, if he would apply for it: He took ſome Time to conſider of it, for he thought it was a Matter of Right, which ſhould be granted of Courſe, not aſked for: But amongſt Miniſters, it ſeems, this is the conſtant Method, and a Man muſt ſollicit to have common Juſtice, and take it as a Favour; and though Cuſtom has reconciled this Practice, it is irkſome to a generous Mind, not uſed to beg Favours; and Sir *John* could not have brought his Spirit to it for the Sake of the Advantage; but conſidering, (as the Times then were) that he might be ſtigmatized as diſaffected, and under that Character, his old Sea Acquaintance ſtill employed, would not dare to come near him; this Conſideration, he declared, was the ſole Motive that induced him to apply for a Penſion. But he was equally ſurpriſed and

diſappointed, when he underſtood that his Majeſty by his Warrant, under his Signet and Sign Manual, dated *July* 30, 1715, as a Mark of his Royal Favour and Bounty, in Conſideration of his long and faithful Service, had granted him a Penſion of 600*l.* a Year only, upon the ordinary Eſtabliſhment of the Navy; a Penſion no greater than had been given to Sir *Stafford Fairborne*, who had been only a Vice-Admiral; whereas, by the conſtant Uſage, Penſions are always equivalent, at leaſt to the Half-Pay, which of Admiral of the Fleet is the clear Sum of 2*l.* 10*s. per Diem.* This Partiality was the more obvious, becauſe Mr. *Aylmer*, who ſucceeded Sir *John*, as Admiral, (being Junior to him in that Poſt,) only once before commanding in that Station in the Year 1710, at home, having before that only been a Vice-Admiral, and never done any Service worthy Memory, was immediately put upon Half-Pay as Admiral, and paid Arrears as ſuch from the Year 1710, though Sir *John* was actually Admiral all that Time. It was certainly an ungenerous Act of the then Lords Commiſſioners; for Sir *John*'s Actions were well known to his Majeſty; and he would as readily have conſented to a ſuitable as an unſuitable Penſion, had their Lordſhips propoſed it. He was now under a greater Dilemma than before, for he was under the Neceſſity of taking a Penſion below his Character, or poſitively to refuſe it, and thereby bring upon himſelf all the Inconveniencies he intended to avoid. He was much perplexed, and remained ſome Time in Suſpence what to do. Such a Penſion was an ungrateful Return for his Services to the Publick, and he could only reſent it by rejecting it.

But his Friends uſed ſome Arguments to perſuade him to take it: That though it was a mean Allowance for what it was intended, namely, in Conſideration of his long and faithful Services, as Admiral and Commander in Chief of her Majeſty's Fleet, *&c.* yet it however was an Acknowledgment of his Merit and Services; and if it was not ſo much as it ought to be, it would reflect upon the Giver rather than the Receiver: That if he refuſed it, his Enemies might uſe that as an Argument, that he was not ſo well affected to his Majeſty King *George* as he would be thought to be: That it might likewiſe be called an Affront to his Majeſty, and the Effect of Pride; whereas by accepting it, he would give his Enemies no Room to reflect; and though this Penſion was otherwiſe ſmall, yet with Reſpect to his Fortune, it was conſiderable; would make his Retirement more comfortable and eaſy, and enable him to do ſome Things agreeable to his Inclination, which the Streightneſs of his Fortune would not otherwiſe permit him to do: In ſhort, that all the Reaſons which induced him to aſk for a Penſion, were much ſtronger to make him accept of it now it was granted. Upon theſe Conſiderations,

tions, he returned Anſwer, that he would accept of it, which was all that paſſed upon this Occaſion. But this, like other Penſions of King *George*'s Reign, was full taxed and ill paid; ſo that it did not amount to an actual Penſion of 500 *l.* a Year.

And here I cannot but reflect upon the Hardſhips that attend military Perſons, (more eſpecially in the Sea-Service) above the Civil. For what is the Reward the brave Man is to expect, if after a Life of Glory, he happily eſcapes with Life and Limbs? Why, the Honour of having done all this; but as to Advantage, which is the due Acknowledgment of it, if providentially, by ſome lucky Hit, he has not improved his Fortune, (for by the ordinary Advantages of his Profeſſion he cannot do it) he muſt invert the whole Man, and ſubmit to every Thing moſt injurious to a brave and generous Mind, to obtain a juſt Reward, which ſometimes with all this cannot be had. Now in civil Employments we find every Man qualified for what he can obtain, and if one civil Employment does not anſwer, another will: But a military Man can hardly change his Profeſſion; and he has this particular Diſadvantage in *England*, that however great, virtuous and fortunate his Actions may be, if he is not of the reigning Party, or a Turn happens in the Miniſtry, they will profit him nothing. To which I might add, the neceſſary Dependance all military Actions abroad have upon Friends at Home, and how much a Man is expoſed in his Abſence to loſe both Friends and Reputation, by the Treachery of deſigning Courtiers. But having ſaid ſo much upon this Subject in general, I muſt obſerve, that the Sea-Service is more expoſed to all theſe Diſadvantages than the Land: Their Preferments more difficult, their Hazards and Fatigues greater, and their Reward leſs than in the Land-Service: That their Preferment is more difficult in the Sea than in the Land-Service appears from hence; that, whereas a Man may become a Captain in the latter at once, without any previous Qualifications; in Sea-Service he muſt ſerve in different Stations a prefix'd Time, muſt produce Vouchers of his good Behaviour, and prove himſelf qualified by Examinations, both in Theory and Practice, even before he can be a Lieutenant; and being thus qualified, and even having behav'd bravely, he may yet never obtain a Lieutenant's Commiſſion, if he wants a Friend, and greater Difficulty will attend him afterwards to obtain a Command. Now the eldeſt Lieutenant of a Regiment generally ſucceeds to be a Captain, the eldeſt Captain to be a Major, and ſo Lieutenant-Colonel at leaſt, and ſometimes to be Colonel; and then the Promotion to be a General Officer, is ſhorter and more certain than from Captain to Admiral, as there are ſo many more General Officers than Admirals. All this while the Land-Officer is in

Pay, conſtant whole Pay, whereas the Sea-Officer is but occaſionally employ'd, and at other Times on Half Pay only, which, if he has not a good Intereſt at the Admiralty Board, may be always, being forced to make freſh Application to his Friends every Time his Ship is paid off; and in Times of Peace Admirals are ſeldom employed at all, and except two or three of the Admirals, who are Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, the reſt are not upon ſo good a Foot as the loweſt Field-Officers in the Land-Service. As to the Fatigues and Hazards there can be no Compariſon. For beſides all that the Soldiers are liable to, the Seamen are expoſed to Storms, Rocks, Springing of Leaks, blowing up, and various Accidents the others know nothing of; their Lives are one continued Scene of Labour and Danger, never idle; and whilſt the Soldier in Winter is ſafe in his Quarters, then is the Seaman contending with all the Elements, in remote Climates, and ready, if Occaſion be, to do the Soldier's Duty. Neither in an Engagement by Sea is he leſs expoſed, than the Soldier is in a Battle or a Siege; for there, every Man is equally expoſed and cannot flinch, and the Battle is more fierce and bloody; and if it does not happen that in Lines of Battle at Sea ſo many fall as in Battles by Land, it is becauſe all that are killed in Sea-Fights are killed in Battle, whereas three Quarters of thoſe that are killed in Land-Engagements are killed in the Flight. After all theſe Difficulties, Fatigues and Dangers, being arrived to the Rank of an Admiral, I know not by what Fate, but our Miniſters, nor even our Princes do not ſhew the ſame Regard to an Admiral as to a General; and whilſt the Land-Generals, beſides their proper Commands, have Governments, and even civil Preferments, but certainly a Regiment, whereby he is enabled to live ſuitable to his Rank, and every Colonel is enabled in like Manner to do ſo; the poor Sea-General has only the ſmall Pittance of his Half-Pay to ſupport him in Obſcurity, abſolutely excluded from all other publick Employment whatſoever; and this Half-Pay not certain neither; for we have ſhewn that all the Advantage Sir *John Leake* derived from the Merit of his many and eminent Services to his Country, terminated in a Penſion equivalent to little more than half his Half-Pay as Admiral. Nevertheleſs, by taking it, he diſappointed and ſilenced his Enemies, giving a Proof of that Moderation, which he had ſhewn all his Life, never ſeeking a Reward, but patiently waiting to receive whatever his Country might think he deſerved.

We have now brought Sir *John* from the moſt publick to the moſt private Station, a Contraſt which few can bear with an equal Mind. Every Man who has experienced it in private Life, is ſenſible how difficult it is for a Man of Buſineſs to retire; but much more ſo muſt it be to Men in publick Stations,

Stations, attended with Authority and Reſpect, where a Man is never without a Circle of Attendants, receiving Honours and diſpenſing Favours; for ſuch a Man to be alone is almoſt not to be. There is no Station whatſoever, attended with ſo much Power and Grandeur as the Military, wherein, as Generals or Admirals commanding in Chief, they have the Power and Reſpect of Princes. Moreover, in Time of War, eſpecially if attended with the Triumphs of a Conqueror, they are both feared and courted wherever they go, like the Maſters they repreſent. To this, the Grandeur of the higheſt Offices at home bears no Proportion, becauſe in the Preſence of the Sovereign all leſſer Powers are eclipſed; and it does not become a Prince to ſhew that Reſpect and Familiarity to a Subject, however great, which he may think fit, and it may be proper to do to a Foreigner who commands the Forces of an Ally for his Service. Thoſe that have been accuſtomed to theſe Honours, can but ill brooke the Dependance they ſtand in and muſt ſhew to Miniſters at home, much leſs is it tolerable to ſink at once into a Privacy.

Such was the Retirement Sir *John* was now in: He had however one Satisfaction which the World cannot give, neither take away, namely, the Teſtimony of a good Conſcience; his Life had been a Life of Glory, to his own and his Country's Honour, and though his Enemies had taken his Preferments from him, he was ſure they could lay nothing to his Charge, and even were forced to acknowledge his Merits. Theſe pleaſing Reflections are the peculiar Happineſs of great and virtuous Minds; and this (the utmoſt Felicity of human Nature) he experienced. But the moſt virtuous and ſtrongeſt Minds habituated to publick Affairs, cannot immediately be reconciled to a private Life, the Tranſition is too great to be ſuddenly effected: Whatever we have been long accuſtomed to, becoming a Habit, is a Part of our Conſtitution; and we may as well pretend to diveſt ourſelves of Fleſh and Blood, as not to have ſome little Struggle with ourſelves, to overcome thoſe Ideas which have been ſo long and ſo deeply impreſſed; for this is doing Violence to Nature. Whatever is ſtrange to us muſt be diſagreeable till it becomes familiar, and that our Reaſon muſt effect by Time: So Sir *John* was under ſome Diſguſt at a Change ſo great, ſo ſudden; but it ſoon became familiar and eaſy.

After he had declined his Election at *Rocheſter*, he wholly devoted himſelf to Privacy; he hardly ever went to *London*, never to Court: It was a Place he had always avoided as much as poſſible, and now altogether, as he had no Buſineſs there. He had ſome Years had a Country-Houſe at *Bedington* in *Surrey*, to which he had uſed to retire as often as the Buſineſs of the Publick would permit; but that ſome of his Acquaintance

might more conveniently come to ſee him, he reſolved to have another Houſe nearer *London*. For this Purpoſe, he pitched upon a Spot of Ground at *Greenwich*, where he amuſed himſelf with building a little Box, to reſide in now and then for a Week or two. But the Proſpect of the River, and the Navigation, gave him ſo much Pleaſure, that he afterwards enlarged it and ſpent much of his Time there. Theſe two Houſes afforded an agreeable Variety, and at both Places he was viſited by his Neighbours, without Diſtinction of Party, being generally eſteemed by all, for his open, generous, humane Diſpoſition; ſome few likewiſe in Place, who were under Obligations to him, had the Gratitude to acknowledge it: But the greateſt Satisfaction he had in this Retreat, was the Society of his Brother-in-law and his Family, ſome of whom were conſtantly with him, and oftentimes all; for indeed they ſeemed but as one Family. Sir *John* would often tell him, that he ſuffered upon his Account, adviſing him to make Application to be employed, that he might not loſe the Benefit of his future Pretenſions to a Flag; but he had too much Gratitude and Honour, to quit his Brother and his Friend for any Conſideration.

All this while Sir *John* had a Son, Captain *Richard Leake*, his only Child, but unhappily of ſuch a natural bad Diſpoſition, that he ſeems to have been born to afflict him. His Grandfather caſt his Nativity at his Birth, and pronounced, he would be very vicious, very fortunate, and very unhappy: That he would get a great deal of Money, but ſquander it all away and die young. Without concerning myſelf as to the Truth or Falſhood of aſtrological Prognoſticks in general, I ſhall only obſerve, that this Prediction was fulfilled; for being made a Captain in the Navy very young, in a few Years, he got more by Prizes than his Father did in his whole Life. It was an unhappy Circumſtance, that whilſt Sir *John* was gaining never-fading Laurels, his Son was countermining his Reputation by inglorious Actions; and to finiſh the Man, married diſgracefully; ſo that his Father, now retired from the World, to paſs the Remainder of his Life in Eaſe and Tranquillity, was diſcompoſed by his Son's repeated Follies; who, by this Time, having ſpent all, depended upon him for Support: The Conſideration of theſe Extravagancies, and that his Son, if he lived, might ſquander away all *his* Fortune, as he had done his own, and even come to want, was the Reaſon, that making his Will in *February*, 1717-18, he deviſed his Eſtate to Truſtees for the Uſe of his Son, during Life, and after his Death, without Iſſue, to Captain *Martin* and his Heirs. This was an extraordinary Inſtance of Sir *John*'s Regard for Captain *Martin* and his Family; but conſidering all Circumſtances, it could hardly be otherwiſe; for beſides that they

they had always had a brotherly Affection for each other, a Friendſhip had long ſubſiſted between the two Families, which ought to be remembered. Captain *Richard Leake*, the Father of Sir *John* having retired to *Holland* for Safety in the Civil War, as related in the firſt Chapter of the firſt Book, there met with Captain *Stephen Martin*, the Grandfather of Captain *Stephen Martin*; who having faithfully ſerved King *Charles* the Iſt, and King *Charles* the IId, as Captain of a Company during the Rebellion, had been obliged to retire to the ſame Place. As Fellow Sufferers in the ſame Cauſe, they ſoon became acquainted, and contracted a Friendſhip for each other; and upon the Reſtoration, returned together to their native Country, where ſoon after Captain *Martin* died: But the Friendſhip of Captain *Leake* ſurvived; he continued it to his Son *Thomas Martin*, who by his Care and Inſtruction, became both a good Gunner and a good Engineer, and entring into the Service of the Artillery, was made Captain of a Company of Matroſſes. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the Defence of *Tangier* in *Africa*, againſt the *Moors*, (being then in the Hands of the *Engliſh*,) and was afterwards employed with Captain *Leake* in the Demolition of the Town, in the Year 1683, when they returned together to *England*. At the Revolution he went in the Army to *Ireland*, where he had the Reputation of a brave Officer and a good Engineer, and continued there till the Year 1690; when being employed to carry on an Attack at the Siege of *Cork*, he was diſabled by the Burſting of a Cannon, of which Wounds he died about two Years after.

The ſame Friendſhip that had ſubſiſted between the Fathers, was cultivated and improved by the Sons. Captain *Martin* had been recommended to Sir *John*'s Care by both the Fathers, and was very early his Pupil: This was the Occaſion of his entering into the Sea-Service; and the Deſire he had to be with his Friend, made him reject all other Means of Promotion; for Sir *Cloudeſley Shovell* had ſhewed a great Regard for him at the Battle of *Bantry-Bay*, (where he had his Thigh broke by a Cannon-Ball on board his Ship,) and promiſed to provide for him: But he was no ſooner recovered, than he went on board the *Dartmouth*, Captain *Leake*, whereby he loſt ſeveral Years in his Promotion to a Command: He was his Lieutenant almoſt all the while he was a Captain, and became ſtill more cloſely united to him, by the Marriage of *Elizabeth*, the Siſter of *Chriſtian* Lady *Leake* [a], and the

[a] The Daughters and Coheirs of Captain *Richard Hill*, of *Yarmouth*, in the County of *Norfolk*, an eminent Seaman, and for that Reaſon much eſteemed by the Duke of *York*, (afterwards King *James*,) which was the Occaſion of his Death; for attending that Prince

the only Separation afterwards, was in the Year 1697, when Captain *Martin* commanded a Bomb to *Newfoundland*; and in the Year 1702, when he had the like Command at *Cadiz* and *Vigo*; in the former of which Expeditions he ſignalized his Seamanſhip, and in the two latter his Bravery; for which he was immediately promoted to the Command of the *Launceſton* Frigate, in which Ship he was Cruizing in the *Channel*, when Sir *John* being appointed Rear-Admiral of the Blue, made Choice of him for his Captain; and in this Station he continued to the End of the War, and the inſeparable Companion of his Fortune: How well he diſcharged the Truſt and Confidence repoſed in him, Sir *John* himſelf gave an inconteſtable Proof when he made him his Heir.

In the mean Time, except the Uneaſineſs his Son gave him, Sir *John* paſſed his Life with great Tranquillity, and in perfect Health, only a Defluction ~~upon~~ upon his Eyes was ſometimes troubleſome; but in *Auguſt*, 1719, he had ſomething like an Apoplexy, which however went off, without any viſible ill Conſequences. In *March* following his unhappy Son died, at the Age of 38; and though he had been in a lingering incurable Way ſome Time, and his Father was prepared for the Event, yet he could not help diſcovering a more than ordinary Affliction, and ſome thought it haſtened his own Death, which happened a few Months after, in the following Manner. He had ſome Time had an Iſſue between his Shoulders, which had relieved his Eyes, but ſoon after his Son's Death it dried up: As no immediate ill Conſequences followed, it was not regarded; but the Beginning of *Auguſt*, he found his Back troubleſome, from a Pimple in the Place where the Iſſue had been: In a few Days it grew worſe, proved to be a Mortification, and there was no Remedy but cutting. When he underſtood what was to be done, he ſaid he was content to die, rather by the Diſtemper than the Operation, being ſure he ſhould not long ſurvive it; but for the Satisfaction of his Friends he would ſubmit to it chearfully, as indeed he did, and underwent the Operation with the utmoſt Reſolution: But all Means proving ineffectual, he died on the Morning of the 21ſt of *Auguſt*, 1720, in the 65th Year of his Age; and the 30th following, his Body was carried from thence to the Pariſh Church of *Stepney*, in a Manner ſuitable to the Station

Prince in his Voyage to *Scotland*, on board the *Glouceſter*, in the Year 1682, on *Friday* the 5th of *May*, early in the Morning, the Ship ſtruck upon a Sand, called *Lemon and Oar*, (though there was an experienced Pilot on board) and was loſt, whereby ſeveral Perſons of Diſtinction, ſome of the Duke's Servants, and above 130 Seamen were drowned: Captain *Hill* did indeed eſcape drowning, being drove a-ſhoar upon a Grating, but died the next Day.

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he had been in, and was depoſited in a Family Vault, under a Monument, which he had erected ſome Years before, upon the Death of his Wife. Having now brought him to his Grave in Peace, I proceed (according to Cuſtom) to deſcribe his Perſon and Character.

Sir *John Leake* was of a middle Stature, well ſet and ſtrong, a little inclining to Corpulency, but not ſo as to incommode him in the leaſt. His Complexion was florid, his Countenance open, his Eye ſharp and piercing, and his Addreſs both graceful and manly, denoting both the military Man and the Gentleman. As he had a good Perſon he had alſo a good Conſtitution, hardly ever knowing what it was to be ſick; and though he took his Bottle freely, as was the Cuſtom in his Time in the Fleet, yet he was never diſguiſed, or impaired his Health by it. His Diſpoſition was naturally chearful and good-humour'd, free and open, unleſs before Strangers, he at firſt appeared a little reſerved, but it ſoon diſappeared. He was endowed with very good natural Parts, and though he had not what the World calls Learning, yet few Men expreſſed themſelves more properly, either by writing or ſpeaking. His Paſſions, though ſtrong, were governed by the Dictates of right Reaſon, and never betrayed him into any Indencies. He was hot but not paſſionate, and maintained an even Temper, unleſs excited by ſome extraordinary Cauſe; when, nevertheleſs, he was ſoon pacified and ready to forgive, no Man being more humane. In his Dreſs he was neat and plain, never very fine, being as free from Oſtentation and Vanity in all Things, as from Pride, which knew him not. In ſhort, as to his Perſon and natural Qualities, he was what Phyſicians define a perfect Man; namely, he had a ſound Mind in a ſound Body.

Thus formed by Nature, he ſeems to have been born to be a great Admiral: For beſides a Propenſity to a military Life, and a Genius for the Sea, he had all the Endowments requiſite to that End, which he improved by Art, and perfected by Experience. He was certainly one of the beſt Seamen this Iſland has produced, being perfect Maſter both in Theory and Practice; his Journals, in his own Hand-writing, are a Proof of it, which he conſtantly kept, even after he was Admiral of the Fleet, a Duty, which now-a-Days, Captains will not condeſcend to do. Beſides this, he had many other Accompliſhments, which Sea-Officers are generally unacquainted with. He underſtood Ship-Building, Gunnery, Fortification, and the Diſcipline of the Land-Service, wanting only the Practice to have made him both a good Land-Officer and an Engineer: And though all theſe Qualifications are not eſſential to a Sea Commander, yet they are Helps, and ſerved to give him clearer Conceptions of ſome Things, than

than others had who wanted them; and joined with his long Experience, gave him a ſuperior Judgment in his Profeſſion. He had alſo a Head to contrive, and a Heart to execute, could endure great Fatigue, wherein he was patient and indefatigable, neither intimidated by Danger nor deterr'd by Difficulties. His Courage was of the keener Sort, without appearing raſh; but having once reſolved, he was not to be moved by Dangers or Difficulties; with this, he enjoyed ſuch a happy Preſence of Mind in all Dangers and Difficulties, as enabled him to obſerve every Thing that paſſed in Time of Battle, and to apply the beſt Directions; which he did at ſuch Times with a Spirit that gave Life to his Orders, and therefore had a greater Force and better Effect, than attends the confuſed Commands, uſually given upon ſuch Occaſions. He was particularly careful upon all Occaſions to diſtinguiſh his Courage, fearful only of doing any Thing that might look like Fear; for he was of Opinion, that the braveſt Man would always carry it, and that a Man muſt reſolve to overcome or he will never conquer.

The ſame Spirit appeared likewiſe in Councils of War, where, as he obſerved, a brave Man might as ſoon be diſcovered as in Battle: For in Battle there were many, who, forced by Neceſſity, would fight well enough to ſave their Reputation; but could they have prevailed in Council, had never fought at all, nor ever would undertake a brave Action for the Sake of Glory: This he had Reaſon to obſerve in the Courſe of his Conqueſts, ſome of which had never been accompliſhed, had he not exerted himſelf above the reſt. It was too often inſinuated by ſome, that an Undertaking propoſed was impracticable, if we had not a great Superiority, or there was nothing but Honour to be gain'd by it; but Sir *John* uſually replied, Let us make it practicable: And before he propoſed any Enterpriſe, was always well prepared to anſwer all Objections, and even to carry it immediately into Execution. This prudent Forecaſt, on which he laid all his Undertakings, drew a great Deference to his Opinion, and made him fortunate in all his Deſigns; and his Reſolutions being carried into Execution with equal Vigour, were attended with that glorious Succeſs, which juſtly gain'd him the Epithet of the Brave and Fortunate.

By theſe heroick Virtues, perſonal Merit and Induſtry, he attained to the higheſt Preferments in the Navy, without Ambition, but not without Envy, the inſeparable Companion of great Actions, which made thoſe his Enemies, (but thoſe only) whom he rivalled in Glory; neither could he poſſibly have any other Enemies, being of that generous Diſpoſition, that he was every Man's Friend. He neither was proud of his own Fortune, nor envy'd that of others. His Mind was wholly ſet to perform the Buſineſs he was engaged in: He never

never attempted to undermine or ſupplant another, but waited patiently, and received thankfully, ſuch Preferments and Rewards as his Royal Miſtreſs thought fit to beſtow upon him; and in every Station he acquitted himſelf with the greateſt Fidelity and Modeſty. Indeed, he had too much of the latter, which made him backward to ſerve his own Friends, and too ready to ſerve others, that the World might not think him partial. He had a ſtrict Regard to his Honour, and hated every Thing that was mean and unbecoming a Gentleman: This made him deteſt all mercenary Views; and the Man who had his own private Intereſt at Heart, he thought could never faithfully ſerve his Country: Accordingly, in his whole Life, he never purſued an Enterpriſe, with the Proſpect of any bye End to himſelf.

Theſe generous and diſintereſted Notions were the Occaſion of his loſing many Advantages which were his juſt Due; ſuch Things, as Matter of ſmall Moment, never dwelt upon his Mind. But had he been ambitious or covetous, he might amply have ſatisfied both; on the contrary, he diſregarded both Riches and Grandeur, as having in themſelves no intrinſick Excellence. He ſhun'd the Honour of Knighthood for ſome Time: He refuſed to be Firſt Commiſſioner of the Admiralty: He refuſed to be a Peer: He never aſked for any Grants or other Sums from the Crown, as other Admirals had done. For to aſk a Favour for himſelf, or to deny one to another, was equally diſagreeable to him. Neither did he improve the Opportunities abroad, which Fortune had put into his Power, as others would have done in his Circumſtances. What might he not have expected from King *Charles*, after ſo many Proteſtations of an Acknowledgment, for his eminent Services to that Prince: A Recompence was a juſt Debt; yet he was ſo far from ſeeking it, that he ſeems to have ſhun'd all Occaſions of receiving a Reward, which, no doubt, his Majeſty intended to do, though he did not do it; and the Eſtate he left at his Death, is a Proof, how little he ſtudy'd his own Advantage. Theſe are great Inſtances of his Modeſty, and his Moderation was known unto all Men. What Hardſhips, what Difficulties, and even Indignities did he bear, that his Country might not ſuffer; being animated by a true publick Spirit, Love for his Country, and Zeal for the common Cauſe?

By Juſtice and Diſcipline he maintained a good Oeconomy in the Fleet, without Oſtentation, and without Rigour; his natural Temper inclining him to the merciful Side. This made him ready to intereſt himſelf in the Cauſe, even of an utter Stranger, and diſpoſed him to a generous Regard of the common Sailors, being truly ſenſible of the Hardſhips they ſuffered, and the Diſcouragements they lay under: Therefore he mitigated them as much as poſſible. As he was plain in his own

own Dreſs, ſo he did not much affect pretty Fellows in lac'd Coats, unleſs their Qualifications recommended them; but he loved a brave Action wherever he found it, and to ſuch Men, without Diſtinction of Gentleman or Party, he freely diſpenſed his Favours. Theſe are the Men that Seamen love, and this made him beloved by them.

As to his Principles, he was in all Things for the Happineſs and Proſperity of *England*, in Church and State, as by Law eſtabliſhed, as every good Subject muſt be. He ſerved King *James*, as far as was conſiſtent with this Principle, and upon the ſame Principle he ſerved King *William* and Queen *Mary*, and Queen *Anne*, bravely and faithfully: And as he had been engaged all his Life in the Cauſe of the Proteſtant Religion and *Engliſh* Liberty, ſo no Man could be more ſenſible of the Benefits to this Nation by the Proteſtant Succeſſion in the Houſe of *Hanover*. At the ſame Time he retained a dutiful and grateful Regard to the Memory of Queen *Anne*, as the beſt of Women, the beſt of Queens, and the beſt of Miſtreſſes

When removed from all his Employments, and in Retirement, he maintained his Character with an equal Mind, neither reſenting his own Fortune, nor envying that of others: But with a Tranquillity few Men can retreat from a publick Station, having no uneaſy Reflections, nor any After-Reckoning to fear; on the contrary, being conſcious of a Life ſpent for the publick Good, he had thoſe pleaſing Reflections, which the World cannot give nor take away.

In private Life he was no leſs amiable: No Man was a better Huſband, a better Father, or a more ſincere Friend: In Converſation open and affable, and never happier than in his Family, and amongſt his particular Acquaintance. His good Nature and Generoſity ſhewed itſelf to all about him, or that had any Concerns with him; for he took Pleaſure in ſerving others. Few Men were freer from all Manner of Vice; even that of ſwearing, ſo generally practiſed amonſt Sea-Commanders in his Time, he was rarely guilty of: And to crown all, he was not only morally, but chriſtianly virtuous: He had a juſt Senſe of Religion, and was a worthy Member of the Church of *England*, without Bigotry or Superſtition. He cauſed Divine Worſhip to be duly obſerved, and countenanced it by his own Example: He frequently communicated, and I have Reaſon to believe he uſed private Prayers, having found ſuch amongſt his Papers, in his own Hand-writing, adapted to the different Circumſtances of his Life. And his Religion was not Faith without Works, for beſides his general Beneficence to all Mankind, he did many particular Acts of Charity very privately. To ſum up all, he was a virtuous, humane, generous, gallant Man, and one of the greateſt Admirals of

his

his Time, as his Actions demonſtrate. And one Thing can he ſaid of him, which can be ſaid of no other Admiral; namely, that he never betrayed one Miſtake, or had his Conduct cenſured; and his Death did not diſhonour his Life. Thus faithful to the End, he has left an Example to thoſe that come after, both as a virtuous Man and a great Admiral.

By his Will, all his Eſtate, both Real and Perſonal, (except ſome few Legacies) came to his Brother-in-law, Captain *Stephen Martin*, who, in Conſideration thereof, obtained his Majeſty's Warrant, under his Signet and Sign Manual, to aſſume the Name and bear the Arms of *Leake*, together with his own, to continue a Memorial of the ſaid Sir *John Leake* for ever: *To whoſe Memory, I have likewiſe added this Monument of my Reſpect and Gratitude.*

The

The following EPITAPH *was likewiſe intended to his Memory,*

IMMORTALI MEMORIÆ SACRUM.
Sub Monumento
Ad Auſtralem Cœmeterii
Circumjacentis partem erecto requieſcit,
Multis navalibus expeditionibus
Confectis portum tutiſſimum nactus,
IOHANNES LEAKE, Eques,
Richardi Leake Tormentariis Præpoſiti filius:
Per varios officiorum ſummâ ſemper cum laude
Adminiſtratorum gradus
Primaria Maritimæ Præfecturæ munera
Suis meritis & optimorum Principum gratiâ conſecutus.
Ex plurimis, quæ pro patriâ geſſit,
Pauca hæc egregia, Lector, accipe;
Memor, non Hiſtoriam ſcribi, ſed Epitaphium.
Sub Rege GULIELMO,
LONDINO-DERRIÆ periclitanti ſuppetias tulit:
Sub ANNA Reginâ,
Gallorum in Orbe Novo Colonias,
Navium hoſtilium partim captis partim exuſtis, delevit:
CALPEN et BARCINONEM
A Gallis et Hiſpanis obſeſſas;
Illam bis; Hanc pridie quàm erat expugnanda,
Regémq; CAROLUM (nunc Imperatorem)
In hâc clauſum, liberavit:
Urbes, CARTHAGENAM et ALONEM;
Inſulas, MAJORCAM, MINORCAM, SARDINIAM et IVICAM,
Ad deditionem compulit.
Tot deniq; tantiſq; laboribus in commune bonum ſuſceptis perfunctus;
Exemplo virtutis & fidei raræ illis,
Qui in eoſdem labores ſuccederent, propoſito;
Vitam publicam & negotioſam privatâ & tranquilliore mutavit:
Cúmq; vividam uſq; ſenectutem in iis omnibus,
Quæ pium probúmq; civem, affinem, amicum decent,
Officiis exercuiſſet;
CHRISTINÆ conjugi proliq; ex eâ ſuſceptæ ſuperſtes,
Ipſe tandem, quod habuit mortale, exuit;
Anno CHRISTI, 1720, 21 Aug. ÆTATIS. 64°.
Supremis tabulis ſuarum facultatum nominiſq; hæredem ſcripſit
STEPHANUM MARTIN LEAKE Armigerum,
Ipſi cùm affinitate (nam duas ſorores duxerant)
Tum familiari conſuetudine (nam iiſdem ſæpe diſcriminibus interfuerant)
Conjunctiſſimum:
Qui egregiæ Viri optimi memoriæ gratus
Hoc Marmor poſuit.
SIC CŒLUM PETITUR.

F I N I S.

MUSEUM BRITANNICUM

ADDENDA et CORRIGENDA.

IN ſeveral Places for *Cloudſley* read *Cloudeſley*, for *Gallaway*, *Galway*, for *Lichenſtein*, *Litchenſtein*, for *Carthagena*, *Cartagena*. Page 13, l 23, for *Aſhley* read *Aſhby*. P. 14, l. 1, for *the* read *theſe*. P. 18, l. 17, add after Revolution——— This Tapiſtry is inſcribed THE GLORIOUS DEFENCE OF LONDONDERRY; repreſenting a View of the City beſieged, and three Ships, (*viz.* the *Dartmouth* and the two Victuallers) lying near the Town, as having brought the Relief they wanted, the whole encompaſſed with a broad Border, adorned with Feſtoons and Military Trophies. On the upper Part of the Border, the Picture of the Governor, ſubſcribed Major BAKER, Governor. On the Sides four Medalions, the Firſt exhibiting the Buſt of a Clergyman, inſcribed Dr. WALKER; the Second, the Buſt of an Officer, inſcribed the CAPTAIN of the *Dartmouth*; the Third, a Repreſentation of the Ships breaking the Boom, inſcribed, the BREAKING OF THE BOOM; the Fourth an Engagement between two Horſemen, inſcribed IN SINGLE COMBAT, the French General killed by C. M.— At the Bottom, the Arms of the City, circumſcribed VICTORIA, VITA, VERITAS.———P. 27, l. 12, for *off*. r. *of*. P. 32, l. 5, after *for* r. *as*. P. 33, l. 7, for *Eagle* r. *Plymouth*. P. 40, l. 7, for 40 r. 70. P. 60, l. 43, for *Scyne* r. *Seyne*. P. 68, l. 11, for *Company* r. *Companies*. P. 69, l. 36, for *Caſtle* r. *Caſtles*, l. 38, for *Captain* r. *Chaplain*. P. 72, l. 8. after *for* add *the*. P. 74, l. 32, for *detatched* r. *diſpatched*. P. 78, l. 30, for *Ware* r. *Wares*. P. 108, l. 25, for *Neighbour* r. *Neighbours*. P. 117, l. 13, for *his* r. *the*. P. 118, l. 28, for *theſe* r. *there*. P. 122, l. 33, for *them* r. *him*. P. 136, l. 14, for *theſe* r. *thoſe*. P. 153, l. 17, for *Vienna* r. *Viana*. P. 158, l. 47, for *bad* r. *had*. P. 175, l. 12, *ſame ſame*, leave out one of them. P. 181, for *Batle* r. *Battle*. P. 185, l. 46, for *them* r. *him*. P. 219, l. 16, for *Highneſſes* r. *Highneſs*. P. 236, l. 30, for *Catagena* r. *Cartagena*. P. 246, l. 4, *Faucon Fleet*, leave out *Fleet*. P. 252, l. 47, after *up* add *to*. P. 270, l. 43, for *his* r. *her*. P. 274, l. 31, after *came* add *them*. P. 281, l. 4, leave out *honourable*. P. 288, l. 4, for *come* r. *came*. P. 293, l. 29, leave out *of*. P. 301, l. 25, for *ſo* r. *and*. P. 305, l. 31, for *Commander* r. *Commanders*. P. 312, l. 18, for *happed* r. *happened*. P. 332, l. 15, for *import* r. *impart*. P. 350, l. 14, after *upon* add *the*. P. 376, l. 41. for *here* r. *there*. P. 390, laſt Line after *Command*, add Upon this Appointment her Majeſty was pleaſed to tell Sir JOHN, *That ſhe knew no Man ſo fit to repair the Loſs of the ableſt Seaman in her Service as himſelf*. [Oldmixion, Gazette, and Biography, in the Life of Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel*.] P. 398, l. 47 and 48, leave out the Parentheſis. P. 414, l. 42, for *incontaſtible* r. *inconteſtible*. P. 428, l. 4, for *Willis's* r. *Wills*.